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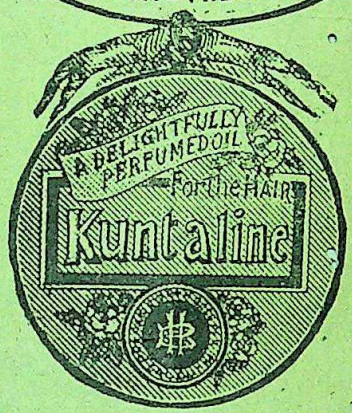

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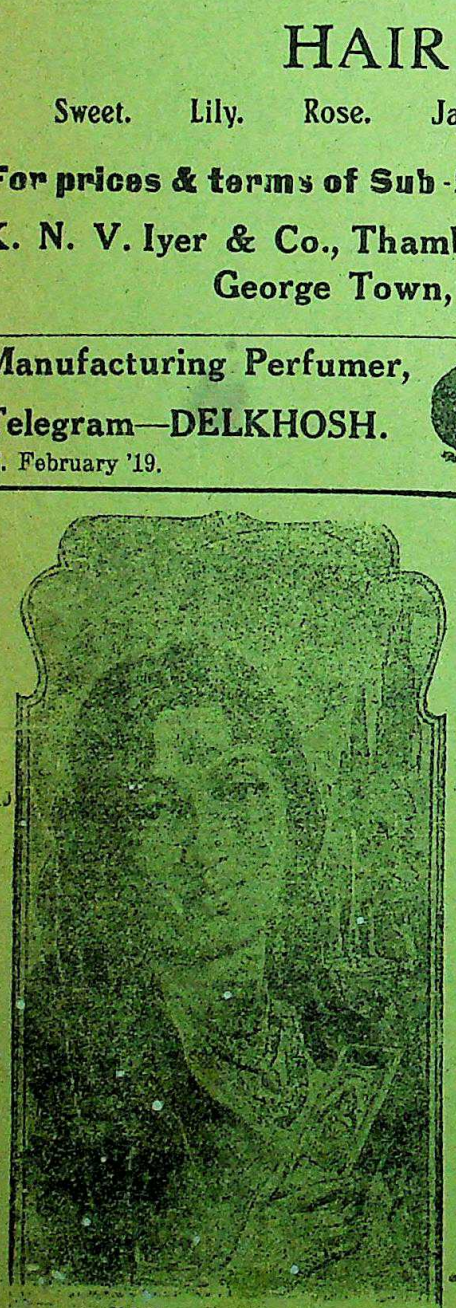

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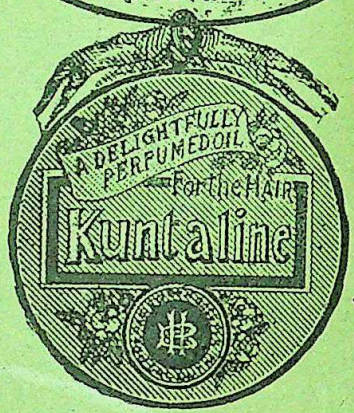

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Sunday	...	2	9	16	23	30
Monday	...	3	10	17	24	31
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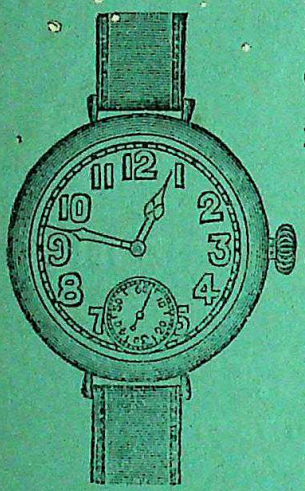

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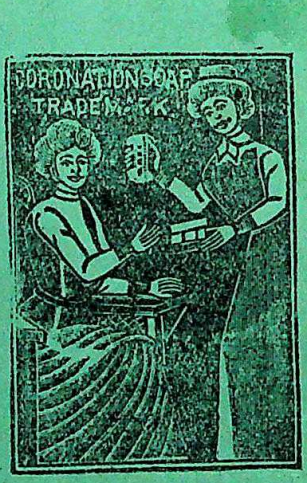

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

Vol. XX. FEBRUARY, 1919 No. 2

INDUSTRIAL PEACE

BY

MR. D. S. GORDON, M.A., (EDIN.)

WITHIN the last few months various places in India, notably the great cities, have been the scenes of industrial war. Time was when it used to be thought that strikes and lock-outs were the peculiar legacies of Western civilisation and industrial system, with which people in this land had nothing to do. The situation has since changed; India has adopted Western methods of production, and it seems from recent occurrences that she has also imported the Western industrial unrest. Given a capitalist-owned factory and a working-class, the "labour problem" naturally arises. It arose in England in the last century, it has arisen in India to-day. In the former country, the Industrial Revolution transformed, within the space of eighty years, its whole industrial organisation and ushered in the factory system with its thousands of wage-earning "hands". The suddenness of the metamorphosis paralysed labour; and it took some time before the working classes came fully to realise what the recent changes meant for them.

In India we are more fortunate, for here we have not had, and shall not have, an Industrial Revolution as there was in England, or France, or Germany. It is true that some writers on Indian economics have spoken about an imaginary revolution which might bring about sweeping changes in our industrial system. This can only be explained by saying either that they were mistaken or that they used a stronger word where a milder one would have described the impending change more accurately. A revolution in industry can only be brought about by the sudden or quick introduction of machinery and mechanical power, and by the rapid adoption of these agents in production. The first power-driven machinery came into India more than half a century ago, but still the greater portion of our industries is in the domestic stage. India, therefore, will not have an industrial revolution but will have an Industrial transition.

The slowness with which the industrial transition of this country is being accomplished is, from the point of view of labour, a blessing; for then labour will not be precipitated into a sudden and unequal struggle with capital, but will have time to deliberate and gradually adjust its relationship to capital. In spite of the recent disturbance in the mills at Bombay, Madras and elsewhere, which seems to have brought on the conflict between labour and capital sooner than one might have expected, the truth is that we have not yet been familiarised with the real combat as it prevails in industrially more advanced countries. The causes for strikes in those countries are fundamentally different from those which at present actuate Indian labour. There a strike is not so much due to specific grievances as to an intelligent comprehension by the labourer, of the incompatibility of capitalistic

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interests with his own interests. It is even born of that hatred of capitalism fostered by trades-unions and by propagandist socialist associations such, for instance, as the Fabian Society in England. The working class in the West knows what it is about. It has been taught that of the three primary factors of production, land, labour, and capital, the second alone is an active agent and that therefore to it alone is due the fruits of production. Its final goal is thus the elimination of capital, either gradually and peaceably as the moderate section of labour advocates, or immediately and violently as the Syndicalists desire.

The education of labour in political economy has not advanced in this country to this dangerous pitch. The recent strikes are not due to a reasoned understanding by Indian workmen, of their own rights and of capitalistic usurpation, but must be attributed to a more or less temporary cause. The suggestion that the present industrial unrest has been fomented by certain interested political malcontents may be at once dismissed with scant courtesy as both malicious and without foundation. As the Bombay workmen stated in their petitions to their emlpoyers, the real cause for their striking work was the increased cost of necessaries, which made it impossible for them to make both ends meet with the old wages. The plea was certainly true, but what gave additional force to their argument was the knowledge that their employers had made enormous profits during the war, and the feeling that it was but just that they should part with a little of it to the needy workmen who had helped them to gain the profits.

Everyone knows that the price of food-stuffs has more than doubled, and even at these enhanced rates it is difficult to obtain them in several places. The food-riots will always be an interesting episode in Indian economic history. In ordinary years, when the monsoon did not grievously disappoint, the 200 million acres devoted to food production in India not only easily supplied her own wants but made it possible for her to export considerable quantities of food-stuffs, especially wheat, to Europe. The acuteness of the present situation, however, cannot be attributed to failure of the monsoon rains but rather to the impolicy of the Government of India in allowing export of enormous quantities outside the country, without considering the requirements of the population in the country. It is now patent to all that there is a world-shortage of food-stuffs, and unless the harvests in the present year make up for their past remissness, we shall be plunged into deeper misery and starvation.

As regards cloth, the hand-loom industry of India together with her power-driven mills, had, in the pre-war days, not only supplied the coarser kinds for home consumption but had also exported further East. Lancashire supplied us only the finer kinds of cloth, chiefly used by the comparatively well-to-do classes. But looking at the present cloth situation, it is the poorer classes, who went in for coarser stuff, that suffer most. The Indian workman, or for the matter of that, all people near the tropics are satisfied with a minimum amount of covering for the body, consistent with decency. In such a country for the prices to rise to the present abnormal level, the scarcity must be phenomenal indeed. In view of the lack of tonnage and the slump in the export of raw cotton to England owing to the labour situation there, we should have expected an unprecedented expansion in the native cloth production. So there was; but the increased output was more than counterbalanced by the new and insistent demand created by the war. Never before, as statistics prove, has there been such huge production of piecegoods, and never before was there such enormous export. The quantity (of piece goods) exported was more than double that in

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the preceding years and nearly three times the average export during the pre-war quinquennium. There was thus more reason for the prices to rise than to fall. The high prices, however, not being confined to one or two articles, but being general, there is reason to believe that there has been an inflation of the currency.

To whatever causes the high level of prevailing prices may be due, it certainly gave the strikers ample cause for their action. Should, then, the prices return to normal level, which by the way is improbable, will the strike cease? There may be a cessation of strikes for a period, but not for long, for contentment is not a virtue of humanity. The Indian workman is intelligent, and intelligence is the mother of ambition. It makes him understand his surroundings better; it plants in him the desire for emulation; it opens to him the vision of a more commodious house, better clothing, and an improved standard of life. This desire for the good things of the world, however, means higher wages and slender profits to the capitalist. When the Indian working-class has fully realised what it wants and how to set about to gain its objects, we would have a real labour problem. The world of industry will not then be marked by a strike here and a strike there, in order to gain a paltry four annas a week, but by a more intelligent and universal demand for a "living wage" which would be amply sufficient for the workman and his family to provide the necessaries of life. To bring about this situation labour must be strong, and only organised labour can be strong; hence our workmen in mills and factories must form themselves into associations.

But the question may well be asked: Is it desirable to have a strong, well-organised labour population in the country? This is a difficult question to answer, for it determines whether the struggle with capital shall be prolonged or cut short. The stronger the combatants the longer the fight. Solidarity among labourers will so strengthen their hands that they will collectively stand on an equal footing with the capitalist. We desire industrial peace, but if conflict between labour and capital is an inherent evil of the present industrial system, which cannot be avoided, then our sense of fairness requires that one party shall take advantage of the weakness of another, that capital shall not always crush labour. Hence, unless a solution is found which would give the quietus to this fundamental antagonism, it is the duty of labour to protect itself by organising. And India has now to learn the first lessons in organisation; but the task is less difficult, for the excellences and defects of the Western trades-unions are at once an encouragement and a warning.

The history of these trades-unions furnishes us with one or two very important points, essential to the success of any association of workmen. A labour-union is not a mere combination. This, the earliest, the easiest, and the weakest form of organisation to oppose capital, has long ago been abandoned for better methods of securing the interest of labour. The permanence and unanimity of the members are not assured in a mere association. The men have to be held together by the golden thread; common financial interest must be the binding force and strength of the organisation. The vitality of a labour-union depends upon its common fund to which all the members have contributed. This has been again and again demonstrated in the early history of English and French trades-unions. Strikes are wars of attrition, the greater the financial efficiency of the strikers, the longer they can maintain, and the nearer the victory. Belgium and Germany, which before the War possessed the best organised trades-unions in the world, have set the pattern in regard to sound financing, centralisation, and leadership. Haphazard co-ordinations, and overlapping federations have been a source of inefficiency in England and in the

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United States, though in respect of leadership and finance they are second to none. In India, however, we are not concerned with problems of co-ordination and concentration, but with the creation of local unions with strong funds and sagacious leadership.

Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon leadership, for whether the union shall be a force for good or for evil, whether it shall make or mar the progress of the working man, depends upon the choice of a successful leader—one who is distinguished for his character, integrity, sense of justice and zeal for the uplift of labour. Organising labour is like training an army; and as an army without a leader or with a bad one, is capable of inflicting enormous injuries, so is organised labour liable to inflict serious damage to trade and industry under similar circumstances. Capable leaders, however, are not common, especially in the ranks of labour, and they must therefore be secured from among the well-to-do classes until labour itself produces suitable men. Even in England, which is a pioneer trade-unionist, some of the labour leaders have always belonged to other classes.

It is a disappointment to think that labour and capital should always be in a state of war, that preparedness should be the test of the efficiency of labour. But human ingenuity has not been idle; voluntary concilliation was tried, and compulsory arbitration too, but with little success. We now await with interest the result of the proposal for international regulation of labour over which the Peace Conference is sitting.

A LONDON LETTER

BY "A FRIEND OF INDIA."

ON February 4, members of the new Parliament will commence to meet in order to take the oath, with a view to the forthcoming opening of Parliament by the king. It will be a very different House of Commons from the last one, and most of the well-known friends of India will no longer find a place there. The Government will have such a huge majority that they will not know what to do with it. The House could not contain all the members even before their number was enlarged; but no one supposed that such a stage of affairs would be reached that one party alone would have an absolute majority over all other parties in the House, assuming that they all attended. As it is, the Government majority will be obliged to spread themselves over to the opposition side of the House. I say "the Opposition side" advisedly, for no one knows exactly who will be the Opposition. Ordinarily, the honour, if it be one, would fall to the largest of the minority parties. But this happens to be Sinn Fein, and Sinn Fein has sworn a vendetta against all kinds of English institutions, including Parliament, which it has decided to boycott. It has meanwhile set up its own "Parliament" in Dublin, appointed a secret Cabinet (evidently thinking that the elect might otherwise see the inside of one of His Majesty's Jails), and proclaimed the Irish Republic and its independence. What will come of this political freak remains to be seen. Whilst I am on the subject, it is as well to record two other phenomena in Irish politics. The first is the disruption of the Unionist party, owing to the secession of the Southern Unionists who are opposed to the Ulstermen's panacea of separation of Ulster from Ireland and its attachment to England for purposes of political administration. The other is the formation of a centre party by Captain Stephen Gwynne, one of the few survivors of the Nationalist wreck. Reverting to the House of Commons, the next largest party is the

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Labour party, which wishes to occupy the front opposition benches. But the Asquithian Liberal rump does not like this idea at all. It is not anxious to be dispossessed of its ancient dignities and prerogatives, even in favour of Labour, and claim that its members of the Privy Council should be entitled to sit on the coveted bench, side by side, at any rate, with the Labour leaders. It is not to be expected that there will be any attempt on the part of either to eject physically the others.

When Parliament meets, it will have to face a very difficult and dangerous industrial situation. Labour unrest is everywhere. The workers are kicking over the traces rather viciously, and strikes are breaking out all over the country, with or without obvious provocation. Some of them are sympathetic strikes, but all are symptomatic of the chaotic conditions with which the country is faced at the commencement of the period of reconstruction, which finds the Government so far apparently unprepared with a definite industrial programme. The worst strike centres at the moment are in Belfast and on the Clyde. The Labour element in Ulster is becoming much stronger, and is spreading its influence to Dublin, where it will contest the control of the situation with Sinn Fein, on the one hand, and with the Roman Catholic Church, on the other. On the Clyde, however, the position is somewhat different. Here Labour extremists have been preaching their doctrines for a very long time, and the Government were unable to deal effectively with a situation of peculiar difficulty during the war owing to the great need of ship-building specialists. It was in Glasgow, it will be remembered, that the only avowed British Bolshevist candidate for Parliament stood, and it is believed that the hostility aroused against his candidature spread to the neighbouring constituency which Dr. G. B. Clark was contesting, and at least partially accounting for the latter's defeat. There is no doubt that a considerable section of labour has become restive, and is unwilling to listen to the warnings of the older Labour leaders. Men like Mr. J. H. Thomas, Mr. Clynes, and others of like calibre are beginning to realise that, unless they and the country take heed, the control of labour politics will have passed from their hands. It is not easy to say what will be the immediate results of this unrest; but meanwhile the process of reorganising the National life is impeded by reason of uncertainty. It is very natural that the workers should demand far better conditions than obtained when the war broke out. They are entitled to take their proper place in the life of the country and this position they certainly did not enjoy before. Many of the employers are still, however, living in the dark ages, and do not recognise that a new light has dawned, and that the old conditions will not be tolerated nor can they be revived. On the other hand, a large portion of the industrial population is in the hands of younger leaders, who have never really had to work their way up like their predecessors. They have found things much easier for them, and have been nurtured on a pabulum consisting chiefly of incitements to a class-war. As eloquence is cheap among them—like other strata of society in other countries—their stock-in-trade is not expensive to acquire. The mass of the workers are dangerously ignorant still and only too docile, and they thus provide good material for the energetic extremists to work upon.

It is because of this spread of industrial unrest, for bad reasons as well as good, that American Industrial heads have encouraged the campaign against the sale, purchase, manufacture or distribution of liquor throughout the United States. Almost at the same time that the announcement was made here that the campaign had succeeded with wholly unexpected rapidity, another announcement was made here that, in response to a growing demand on the part of the British

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worker, the Government was making arrangements to increase the quantity and quality (which means the strength) of beer. It is a very sad commentary upon the fact that we are in many ways a generation behind the States, in this country, in matters of social reconstruction.

One cannot write a letter for public perusal to-day and ignore the Peace Congress that is now sitting in Paris, with its Inter-Allied Conferences, its War Cabinet meetings, its Supreme Councils of War and of Food, and all the other subordinate or connected bodies conferring among themselves on one subject or another intimately related to the matter on which all are anxious to see a settlement. Not only is a definite peace urgently needed, in order to put an end to the present uncomfortable intermediate period, in which no one seems to be able to determine whether he is at war or peace with his neighbour, but the peoples of the world demand insistently that they should, so far as is humanly possible, for ever be free from a repetition of the menace from which, it is hoped, the world has escaped. Permanent peace may be a mirage, a beautiful fiction of imaginative minds. But it must be attempted, everyone feels, for otherwise the burden of armaments will be unbearable, and the nations will be crushed, unless they are driven into the arms of Bolshevism, which implies the same result by another and scarcely more acceptable means. It has so far been decided that a League of Nations must at any cost be founded. What will be built upon the foundations, even if they are well and truly laid, we are all waiting to see. It is not anticipated that a perfect building will at once arise; but it is earnestly hoped that, with good-will and inspired by right desires and ideals, a good, sound, storm-proof structure will result. President Wilson is working hard to that end, and it would be unfair to other statesmen to suppose that they are not animated by like principles, though they may differ among themselves as to the method of the expression. But under the observation of t democracies of the world, whom, and not t Governments, the Peace delegates represent, may be accepted that they will not rise from the labours until they have devised some workin plan that will diminish the possibilities of inter national ill-will and friction, and so create favourable atmosphere for the spread of idea of mutuality, concord, co-operation, an brotherliness.

Mrs. Besant's appeal to the Privy Council fo the reversal of the decisions of the Madras High Court in regard to "New India" will come o early next week, and it will be known, probably before this reaches you, what the result will be unless, as frequently happens, the Judicial Committee reserves judgment. Another case of very great interest in India is the libel suit o Mr. B. G. Tilak against Sir Valentine Chirol an Messrs. Macmillan and Co., which commenced i the King's Bench Division yesterday, before Mr. Justice Darling and a special jury. Six separate libels are complained of in the book "Indian unrest," and the jury will have a very difficult task before it, and at the conclusion o the trial, some dozen Englishmen, at least, wil know a good deal more about Indian affairs than the majority of their countrymen do to-day. Sir John Simon is leading for Mr. Tilak, who is now under cross-examination, and Sir Edward Carson for Sir Valentine Chirol. The case promises to take several days yet, and the decision should be known immediately, for the jury is bound to give a verdict. The Court is thronged with interested Indian visitors. There is one Indian counsel in the case, young Mr. Padshah, nephew and step son of Mr. B. J. Padshah, so well-known in connection with the Tata enterprises.

LONDON,
January 30th

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A WRITER'S RECOLLECTIONS

BY J. C. MOLONY.

MRS. Humphrey Ward begins her "Recollections"* with a half-playful apology for the inevitable garrulity of old age. Such apology is needless in this particular case; for if some might in malice suggest the sub title "Great People I have known" for Mrs. Ward's literary autobiography, the great people presented to the reader, at any rate in the earlier part of the book, are well worth reading about. Towards the close, the aristocratic atmosphere becomes somewhat oppressive; one would welcome the appearance of a pawnbroker named Miggs as a relief to the glittering procession of ambassadors, cardinals, and statesmen.

Mrs. Ward is a grand-daughter of Thomas Arnold, whom "Tom Brown's Schooldays" immortalised as "The Doctor." It is interesting to learn how the great "Doctor's" bent of mind was reproduced in his descendants. The young Arnolds essayed sundry callings, but what was bred in the bone was sure to come out in the flesh, and the Doctor's sons soon busied themselves about education. Mathew, the eldest, and best known to the outside world, became a school inspector, and there, Mrs. Ward seems to think, did his most worthy and enduring work. William Arnold reached India as a subaltern in the army; in a few years he was Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab. Thomas Arnold, Mrs. Ward's father, like the hero of Clough's "Bothie"—probably "Philip" of the "Bothie" is Thomas Arnold—"rounded the sphere to New Zealand," intending there to "dig and hew, subdue the earth and his spirit; in a short time he was called to Tasmania, there to organise primary education. Mrs. Ward admits that without the constant promptings to action of J. R. Green she herself would in all probability have ended a mere bookworm, a student lost in blissful enjoyment of old and out-of-the way chronicles in the Bodleian Library. From Tasmania to the Bodleian is certainly a far cry, and the story of how and why Mrs. Ward as a small child accomplished the journey is not the least interesting part of her book. "The Doctor" had been a doughty champion of English Protestantism, and in "The Oxford Malignants" he lustily smote Newman and Newman's followers. His son at Oxford "had only once crossed the high street to hear Newman preach, and felt no interest in the sermon"; in his early days at the antipodes so aloof did he stand from dogma and ritual that he would scarce agree to the baptism of his children. But "under the surface an extraordinary transformation was going on." At Hobart, in 1854, young Thomas Arnold was received into the Church of Rome: two years later on reaching England he announces the fact to Father Newman, and receives the following letter: "How strange it seems! I knew your father a little, and I really think I never had any unkind feeling towards him. In seeing you I have a sort of pledge that he at the moment of his death made it all up with me."

Religious feeling ran high in those days. Conversion to Catholicism meant for Mr. Arnold the loss of his Tasmanian appointment: he re-crossed the seas, and spent the best of his life in teaching at Birminghan, Oxford, and Dublin, in laborious study, and in the editing of ancient records. A temporary reaction against Catholicism brought him to Oxford, and incidentally, shaped Mrs. Ward's career. Mrs. Ward's first vision of Oxford can scarcely have decreased her sympathy with her father's temporary lapse from faith. "There," said Mr. Arnold pointing to a window, "lives the arch-heretic." It was Jowett's window; and Jowett's salary as Professor of Greek had been withheld from him for years "on theological grounds" by a governing body which contained Canon Liddon and Dr. Pusey. There are

* *A Writer's Recollections.*—Mrs. Humphrey Ward. (London, W. Collins, Sons & Co., Ltd.)

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doubtless many methods of upholding the orthodox faith, but repudiation of a lawful debt is surely one of the strangest.

Into the learned life of Oxford Mrs. Ward plunged with the delight of a young retriever fetching his first stick from a pond. So modestly does she write of her own achievements that one scarcely visualises her as anything more than a young lady with a taste for serious reading. But there must have been something vastly more than a mere blue-stocking tinge in a girl of 18 who became the intimate friend of Jowett and Mark Pattison, whose writings on early Spanish kings and bishops were solemnly weighed and not found wanting by Bishop Stubbs, and to whom Creighton paid such a compliment as "tell her to go on. There is nobody but Stubbs doing such work in Oxford now." One story of this historical period is worth repeating; it illustrates amusingly Freeman and his eternal bugbear James Anthony Froude. In a letter to Mrs. Ward dealing with Spanish Historical Geography, *á propos* more or less of nothing, Freeman suddenly observes, "I have always held that the nursery account of Henry VIII

And Henry the Eigth was as fat as a pig

is to be preferred to Froude's version. For though inadequate, it is true as far as it goes." Not without reason did Froude on returning to Oxford as Professor of history express the pious hope that the ghost of Freeman might not haunt him.

Miss Arnold married Mr. Humphrey Ward, Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose: after a few years her husband became a leader writer in the "Times," and she left Oxford for good. Thereafter the book tells of the success of Mrs. Ward as a novelist, of a full and busy life, of solid and well rewarded work. But interest wanes; for one hardly thinks that Mrs. Ward the novelist will live in literature. "Robert Elsmere," "David Grieve," "Helbeck of Bannisdale," dealt with topics which then interested the thinking public; "Robert Elsmere" had the good fortune to interest Mr. Gladstone, whose notice probably did much more for Mrs. Ward than the intrinsic merits of the novel. For though Mrs. Ward's books, unlike those of modern lady novelists, are built on a solid foundation of learning and reflection, there is in them little artistry. They are "serious" and "thoughtful," but they are painfully lacking in charm and in the magic of style. The fact is illustrated by the occasion which Mrs. Ward finds to quote certain passages from "Marius the Epicurean": these catch the eye as gleaming threads of silk in the homely worsted of Mrs. Ward's prose.

Most interesting are the writer's criticisms of her contemporary workers in fiction. She has known them all; she is unfailingly generous, and as a rule shrewd and instructive. Henry James one suspects, she over-rates somewhat: in later years did not his genius rather lose itself in a waste of words? Mrs. Ward considers the *Portrait of a Lady* the masterpiece of James' earlier manner; of the same book R. L. Stevenson said in a letter to the author "I can't stand your having written it; and I beg you will write no more of the like." Meredith, Mrs. Ward admires with a somewhat qualified admiration: "the man is great enough, and rewards the reader's effort to understand him with a sense of hightened power, just as a muscle is strengthened by exercise;" a strange testimonial. To Kipling she is more kind than was Stevenson in this judgment; "he is all smart journalism and cleverness, it is all bright and shallow and limpid, like a business paper." On H. G. Wells this is surely an excellent pronouncement; "Mr. Wells seems to me a journalist of very great powers, of unequal education, and much crudity of mind, who has inadvertently strayed into the literature of imagination."

But quotation cannot do justice to these "Recollections." Mrs. Ward has met most people worth meeting, read most things worth reading, written honestly and well, if a trifle heavily and uninspiredly. Her present book is the interesting record of a well-filled, well-spent life.

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Protection, Free Trade and Imperial Preference.

BY PROF. BRIJ NARAIN

THE Report of the Industrial Commission is not altogether disappointing. But having said that, one may still doubt whether the recommendations made by the Commission for assisting Indian Industries, if accepted in their entirety by the Government, would tend to make India self-contained to any substantial extent. This is because foreign competition is a more formidable obstacle in our way than the lack of banking facilities, the shyness of our capital or the inefficiency of our labour, and it was not within the scope of the Commission to deal with this aspect of the question. It can, in fact, be shown that to some extent foreign competition is responsible for the shyness of our capital, if not also for the fact that our labour is still untrained. Our money, says the Commission, has been invested in commerce rather than industries and only those industries have been taken up which appeared to offer safe and easy profits. This is only natural. If, on account of foreign competition, profits in certain industries are small and unsafe, those industries will attract little capital. Our capital is shy because profits in Indian Industries which have to compete with imported manufactures are uncertain. If this element of uncertainty could be somehow removed, capital would be less shy than it is. The point is simple. Suppose I have ten lakhs of rupees which I am willing to invest for the sake of profit. But how shall I invest the money? If I set up a match factory, I must be able to manufacture matches at about the same cost as the Japanese, Swedish, Austrian or British manufacturer in order to earn substantial profits. I should earn good profits even if my cost of production were slightly higher than that of the foreign manufacturers, for he has to pay the cost of transportation of his product to the Indian market, which I save; but if the difference between my cost of production and his is much greater than this, it is obvious that I cannot afford to sell at the price that he charges. Also remember that the foreign manufacturer can lower his prices, for a time, just to destroy his rivals. In these circumstances, I should think twice before I invested my money in the match industry. That is also how other investors would argue, and it will be said that the lack of capital hampers the development of the match industry. But there would be no lack of capital for this and other industries if the price of the product was not fixed for the Indian manufacturer by his foreign rival, that is, if prices were higher and if profits were large and not uncertain.

That our capital is not inherently shy is shown by the fact that during the war several new industries have been started with Indian capital. To take an example. No lammetta was manufactured at Delhi before the war. The imports of lammetta before the war came chiefly from France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and the United Kingdom. When the war broke out, imports from enemy countries ceased altogether, and imports from France and the United Kingdom fell off. The price of imported lammetta in the markets of Delhi rose rapidly and continuously; and within a few months after the outbreak of the war, lammetta was selling in Delhi at about three times the pre-war price. The process of manufacturing lammetta is not very complicated and more than one factory was set up at Delhi for its manufacture. The price was much higher than cost of production and profits realised after the payment of wages, etc., were good. One of the manufacturers showed the writer over his factory. When asked about the prospects of the new industry after the war, the manufacturer explained how he was utterly unable to compete with foreign manufacturers. He could go on so long as prices did not fall and imports continued to be small. As

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soon as foreign competition began and prices fell, he would simply be unable to produce. Well, he had no difficulty in finding capital for his factory when the price of lammetta was rising. Whether he would be willing to invest any of his capital in the industry after the war or whether he would be able to induce others to place their capital at his disposal, is a matter of the greatest doubt.

Our capital in this respect is not peculiar. Capital all over the world seeks those industries in which it can earn the greatest profit. Expectation of profit breaks the shyness of capital; otherwise, capital remains shy. This may be shown by an American example—the growth of the iron and steel industry of the United States of America under protection. In 1870, Great Britain was the greatest producer of iron and steel; the United States "held but a distant second place." In that year, a duty of $7·00 per ton was imposed on pig iron imported into the United States, and the production of pig iron in the United States began to increase by leaps and bounds. In 1890, the American output exceeded the English production and in 1910 the production of the United States was double that of England. The British out-put increased from 5,963,000 tons in 1870 to 10,012,000 tons in 1910, but during the same period, the American output increased from 1,665,000 tons to 27,304,000 tons. "If as the extreme protectionists contend," says Taussig in his "Some Aspects of the Tariff Question," "the growth of domestic industry is in itself proof of the success of their policy, a degree of success was attained in this case that could admit of no cavil."

The production of steel rails was insignificant in 1870; it increased to 1,000,000 tons by 1880 and 2,000,000 tons by 1890. "So far as the increase of domestic production is concerned, the protectionist may well point with pride."

A free trader might urge that the growth of the American iron trade was due not so much to protection as to other causes—cheap transportation, large scale production, the boundless extent of the American market, the enterprising nature of the American people and their inventive spirit and lastly the natural resources of the country. Protection or no protection, it might be said, the American industry was bound to grow. Taussig admits that the free trader's argument "is not without show of reason." But it is difficult to say what would have been, and he thinks it to be improbable that the productive forces of the United States would "have turned in this direction so strongly and unerringly" without protection against foreign competition. "Beyond question the protective system caused high profits to be reaped in the iron and steel establishments of the central districts; and the stimulus from great gains promoted the unhesitating investment of capital on a large scale." If prices had been lower, profits would have been smaller and the American capitalists would have been less eager to invest capital in this industry and the American manufacturers, to exploit the natural resources of the country.

The intensity of foreign competition explains why Indian capital does not readily flow into manufacturing industries.

This is, in a way, admitted by the Commission: "Of the readiness to invest money in industries which can already claim a number of successes we have had abundant evidence; indeed, this tendency has had the unfortunate effect, in some instances, of creating more individual undertakings, than the industry can support. This seems, at any rate, to indicate that there is capital seeking industrial outlets, and that the directions in which it can be employed are at present, from the point of view of the Indian investor, insufficient." Again, the labourer is trained in the factory by doing the work. The greater the intensity of foreign competition the more limited

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will be the scope for the scientific training of labour in the methods of industrial work.

It seems to me that, unless the intensity of foreign competition can in some way be lessened, the industrialisation of India is an impossible task. Foreign competition has destroyed many of our indigenous industries, and it has seriously retarded the growth of factory industries. As regards the Punjab, the indigenous paper industry is gone, the wire drawing industry is gone and it is with the greatest difficulty that the weaver makes a living. There is the Sialkot Sports goods industry which has grown up in spite of foreign competition. The measure of success which has been achieved in this case is due to the enterprise of certain Panjabee manufacturers whose names are well known throughout India, but even in this case, but for foreign competition, the industry would develop much more rapidly than at present. One finds the Lahore market flooded with British sports goods of all kinds. Sialkot has shown what it can do and what it is capable of; it has become the home of the Indian Sports goods industry. If it could be protected for some time against foreign competition, it might be able to supply, in time, most kinds of sports goods of the same quality as imported goods, at even cheaper prices. Take another example. Very good gold and silver thread is made at Delhi. But the work is done by hand, and lately, the Delhi manufacturers have been finding it increasingly difficult to compete with the imported gold and silver thread. In 1913-14, gold and silver thread of the value of £262,000 was imported from France, £25,000 from Germany, £5,000 from Austria-Hungary and £3,000 from the United Kingdom; the value of the home production is not known. During the war the imports have decreased, but after the war foreign competition will begin again. It is too much to hope that the Delhi manufacturers who employ hand labour, will not be undersold by their foreign rivals who employ power-driven machinery. It would be different if our manufacturers could substitute machinery for hand labour, but machinery has to be imported for that purpose from foreign countries and the substitution cannot be easily effected. Unless they were protected during the period of transition, they would be ruined by foreign competition long before they were ready to compete with the foreigner on equal terms.

The effect of foreign competition upon the wire and tinsel industry of the Punjab is described in a Monograph by Mr. E. Burden, I. C. S. (published by authority).

> "While it cannot be said" Mr. Burden says, "that the demand for tinsel made from drawn wire has in any way decreased, there is no doubt that the indigenous wire drawing industry is and has for some years been declining and indications are not wanting that it may in time disappear altogether."

The importance of this industry to the Delhi people may be judged from the fact that not long ago about 300,000 miles of gold and silver wire were turned out annually in Delhi, and that about one hundred thousand men, women and children in Delhi and the surrounding villages were dependent upon this industry.

The cessation of imports from Germany during the war revived the industry. Its fate after the war when German competition begins again, can be easily imagined.

I have described the effect of foreign competition upon some of our industries. The case of other industries is similar. The lack of technical education, the shyness of capital, the lack of banking facilities, the inefficiency of labour, the aversion from industrial pursuits of the educated Indian are undoubtedly great evils, but the greatest of all evils is foreign competition.

Foreign competition cannot altogether be abolished. In the first place, it is impossible; in the second place, it is not desirable in the interests of the Indian consumer. But foreign competition should be brought under con-

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trol, in the interests of the Indian producer, the Indian working man and in the ultimate interests of the Indian consumer. It is useless to pretend that protection does not raise prices to the consumer in the beginning, but, in the long run, as the case of the American industries shows, it lowers prices, provided combinations are not formed behind the tariff wall.

Protection is the only means by which foreign competition can be effectively controlled. The economic history of France, Germany, the United States of America and Japan shows what protection, judicially applied, can do for native manufactures. Great Britain herself at one time, before the days of power-driven machinery, made use of protection to develop her industries. She abandoned protection when she had no longer any use for it. And recently the growth of Germany, Japanese and American competition, which has seriously affected some British industries, has revived the agitation in favour of protection. In view of this fact does it not seem desirable that the question of a protective tariff for India should be reconsidered?

* * * *

Some time ago the British Cabinet declared itself in favour of Imperial Preference as the fiscal policy of the Empire. What is the meaning of Imperial Preference? There is an idea that Imperial Preference means Imperial free trade, that it means the formation of a Zollverein within which trade will be entirely free, while imports from foreign countries into any country which belongs to the Imperial Fiscal Union will pay protective duties. That is not the meaning of Imperial Preference. Imperial Preference, we are told, does not mean Imperial free trade.

"The idea of the 'Preference' is" says Mr. Chiozza Money "that each part of the Empire should remain an independent fiscal unit and levy such duties for revenue or protection as may seem good to it, but should relax them in part in favour of other parts of the Empire, thus taxing foreign goods on a higher scale than British goods."

The British self-governing Colonies object to a Zollverein. They cannot give up protection. All that they can do is to give British imports a preference by taxing foreign imports at a higher rate. This is recognised by British statesmen. In a speech delivered in June 1905 before the members of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association when they visited Birmingham and were entertained at the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain said:

I know there are difficulties. We all know there are difficulties. You have your difficulties. I recognise the limitations which your conditions impose upon your statesmen. I can see how impossible it would be for a great country with unlimited resources and opportunities and policies like Canada to mortgage its future to make a treaty which would hamper the progress of its natural industries; which would either injure them in the present or prevent their development in the future. I recognise that that with you is a cardinal condition of a treaty.

In another speech delivered in February 190 on "Preference, the true Imperial Policy," Mr. Chamberlain had said:

I quite agree that at the present moment you cannot get free trade from the Colonies. Rightly or wrongly they believe in a certain amount of Protection. They are not going to hand over their growing industries entirely to competition, even from the mother country. Very well, you cannot get that. But are you like a child that has set his heart on the moon? Will you not be satisfied with, say, a bun instead? You can get the bun.

The bun means a share in the home industries of the colonies and a large part of the trade of the colonies with foreign countries.

Mr. Bonar Law gave expression to a similar sentiment in a speech delivered at Newcastle in October 1907:

No one either at home or in the colonies who advocates Preference has ever suggested that the result of it will be to induce the colonies to cease to develop their own manufactures, to confine themselves simply to the production of raw material, and to buy their manufactured goods from us. Such an aim, even if it were desirable, is obviously impossible. The Colonies would never make such a bargain, and more than that I do not believe that there is any one who looks upon the Empire as a whole, who considers that the increasing strength of any part is an increase in the strength of the whole, who would desire that such an arrangement should be made even if the Colonies were willing to accept it. The development of a country which depends solely on raw material must be extraordinarily slow, and it is therefore in the interest of the whole Empire, not only from the point of view of

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natural strength, but from the point of view even of our trade, that the Colonies should develop in the most rapid way possible. Imperial Preference does not mean free trade within the Empire. If there were free trade, there could be no Preference. The case for Colonial Preference is, and always has been, that even after the Colonies have developed their own industry to the greatest extent that they find desirable or possible, there will still be an enormous surplus of manufactured goods which they must import from somewhere and that it is greatly to our advantage that they import this surplus from us.

Unless the British colonists now think differently, and likewise, the British statesmen, Imperial Preference means for the self-governing Colonies protection not only against the foreigner but also against the United Kingdom. For the United Kingdom Imperial Preference means protection against the foreigner in her own markets and a limited amount of protection in the colonial markets. What amount of protection will the United Kingdom get in India against the foreigner? To answer this question we must consider the position of India under Imperial Preference.

British statesmen have repeatedly declared that they do not want to force free trade upon the colonists if the colonists do not want free trade. The late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, as we have seen, would have been well satisfied with a 'bun' from the Colonies; and he asked his countrymen to accept the 'bun' because they could not get the "moon."

Now India wants protection quite as much as the Colonies. She, in fact, wants it more. "No remedy for present evils can be complete," wrote the Famine Commissioners of 1880, "which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures, or in some such employments." For other countries, the question of industrial development and protection is a question of higher profits and higher wages; for us it is a question of life and death. The improvement of our industries would insure us against famine. For this, if for no other reason, India should be allowed to adopt a protective tariff with the object of lessening the intensity of foreign competition.

The question of protection for India is outside the sphere of practical politics, we are constantly told. But how can England refuse our demand for protection when she wants to adopt it herself? If Imperial Preference does not mean Imperial free trade, then India has as good a right to protect her industries from British competition as the Colonies. Mr. Chiozza Money says:

"As I have pointed out in the case of our self-governing colonies, if we decide that our old established industries which do as much export trade as that of America and Germany put together, need Protection, it is illogical to deny import duties to newly established colonial industries, which with reason regard the British manufacturer as their chief competitor. And if our self-governing colonies are protected, and we also are protected, who shall deny Protection to the industries of India?"

Even if Imperial Preference meant Imperial free trade, England, in fairness to us, cannot deny protection to our industries. Imperial Preference is simply another name for protection for the British manufacturer against foreign competition in the Colonial and Indian markets. The chief object of Imperial Preference is to enable the United Kingdom to recover her old supremacy in our markets. To gain that end she is willing to sacrifice her *laissez faire* traditions in matters of trade. That being so, how can she deny Protection to us?

India was forced to adopt free trade because England thought that free trade was for India's good, and because she herself was a free trade country. It was not denied that the abolition of protective duties would benefit English manufacturers, but it was not this fact which determined the decision of the fiscal question in 1878.

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Free trade, it was said, was essential to India herself. It was not desirable that the Indian cotton industry should grow up under unhealthy conditions.

"Whether the question be regarded as it affects the consumer, the producer or the revenue," wrote Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State for India in 1878, "I am of opinion that the interests of Indian imperatively require the removal of a tax which is at once wrong in principle, injurious in its practical effect and self destructive in its operation."

Sir John Strachey who was then the Finance Member thus comments upon the opposition to free trade in India in his "India, its Administration and Progress :"

"Popular opinion in India had always in regard to questions of fiscal reform been obstructive and ignorant and the fact that the abolition of customs duties would be favourable to English manufacturers was enough in the belief of many to prove that the party purpose of obtaining political support in Lancashire and not any care for the interests of India, was the real motive of the Government. This foolish calumny deserved no notice or reply. The opposition to the reform of cotton duties satisfied Lord Lytton that he must carry out the measure himself or acquiesce in nothing being done. He believed that the interests of India required it and he was not to be deterred by the imputation of base motives."

India was never quite convinced that the cotton duties were abolished in her interests, and it would be still more difficult to convince her that the proposed change in the fiscal policy of the Empire is in her interests. This is recognised by English economists. If it is decided to adopt preferential tariffs, then so far as India is concerned, there would be two alternatives before British statesmen, says Lees-Smith.

"It is possible for them to assert unashamedly that India is merely a 'plantation' whose good must be sacrificed to the interests of British Capital. They can acknowledge that their arguments and pledges in the past were mere hypocrisy, which having served their purpose, can now be abondoned. This alternative is, of course, inconceivable. The only other is to grant India her fiscal freedom and to allow her to erect a protective tariff."

India, let it be clearly understood, wants Protection, and not Imperial Preference. Some English writers are fond of talking about the "Indian offer of Imperial Preference" as if India could not get along without a preferential tariff and begged England's permission to adopt one. "The Indian Offer of Imperial Preference," the title of Sir Roper Leithbridge's book published in 1913, was probably suggested by a resolution *re* preferential tariffs moved in the Imperial Legislative Council by Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis on March 17th 1913. But the Hon'ble mover himself regarded protection as a necessity to India. In the course of his speech, he said :—

"Sir, I have said more than once that protection is a necessity to us. We have infant industries to protect. Granted even that as free traders we lose wealth thereby, yet wealth is not the only thing that nations desire.....We want protection because we have to find employment for our people and to foster our growing industries. The question is not whether free trade or protection is the most profitable policy, but whether the benefit that we expect to get from protection is worth the price that we shall pay for it. I contend that it is."

As every one knows, public opinion in India is sincerely protectionist; and most of us understand the difference between protection and Imperial Preference. The late Mr. Gokhale once drew a valuable distinction between two kinds of protection, the right kind and the wrong kind. The right kind of protection gives the necessary encouragement to nascent industries. The wrong kind of protection is that under which powerful combinations and interests receive assistance to the prejudice of the general tax payer. "And I beleive," said Mr. Gokhale, "that the right kind of protection, if available, will do good to India." But if the right kind of protection was not available, and the choice lay between Imperial Preference on the one hand and the existing system on the other, India will know what to choose.

Imperial Preference is protection of the wrong kind for two reasons. In the first place in the actual framing of the tariff, British interests may receive more consideration than Indian. The kind and amount of protection required for British industries may not in all cases be exactly that which Indian industries require. And if a conflict arises between Indian and British interests, while the final decision in settling the

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details of the tariff, directly or indirectly, rests with the British people or their representatives, it would be too much to expect, human nature being what it is, that British or 'Imperial' interests will not be regarded as of greater importance than Indian. In the second place, a preferential tariff would most certainly injure the Indian consumer; whether it would be of any great assistance to the Indian producer is doubtful. The Indian consumer will have to pay the full price of protection; the benefit of it will be largely reaped by British manufacturers, unless the Indian industries are protected to some extent against British competition also. British manufacturers need protection against the competition of Japan, the Central Powers and the United States of America; Indian competition, they can, in most cases, disregard. But he would be a bold man who would say that Indian producers can ignore British competition. In spite of the growth of foreign imports into India during the last twenty or thirty years, about 60 per cent of the imports in 1913–14 came from the United Kingdom. Imperial Preference is no solution of the difficulties of the Indian producer, unless he is protected against British competition also. The effect of British competition upon our industries is the same as that of German or Japanese competition—in both cases the growth of our industries is retarded. The imports of certain classes of British goods into India have decreased in recent years, the proportion of most other imports is smaller now than what it was about forty years ago, and the chief object of a preferential tariff is to enable the United Kingdom to regain what is called her 'natural' share of Indian trade. The adoption of a preferential tariff by India will certainly help in the attainment of that end, but how will that assist the development of Indian industries? From the point of view of the Indian consumer Imperial Preference is worse than free trade; from the point of view of the Indian producer there is not much to choose between the two.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN INDIA

I. BY HIS HONOUR SIR HARCOURT BUTLER.

LOOKING back over 28½ years, I see vast strides in the education of this province. One great change is the extension of the hostel system which has done much already and assuredly will do more as an agency for forming character. If we compare India of to-day with European countries at a corresponding stage of development, we need not be ashamed of our achievements. England did not get facilities for compulsory education until 1870 and it took six years, until 1876, before education was made generally compulsory. For several years after that, the teachers in elementary schools in England were largely illiterate. Secondary education in England is still unsatisfactory, although there has been great improvement in the last few years. True, our own educational ideals in India are still far from clear. Our educational machinery is in part worn out and rusty. But still it has accomplished much. Faulty and makeshift as it necessarily has been our education has made modern India. It has purified the public services; it has increased the number of men who think; it has prepared the way for new ideas and larger conceptions of civic duty; it has opened new avenues of employment; it will end, I trust, in the growth and the spread of imperial ideas. There are still great walls of ignorance to be

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battered down. There are many and great temples of education to be built up. There is a call for the highest service from the best of India's sons. But the embers have been stirred. The beginnings of a desire for free and compulsory education are manifest. Great hopes thrive and grow. In a short time we have fulfilled a long time. Sir Alfred Lyall said truly in his inaugural address: "Whatever else may be said of the English administration of India, no one can assert that in the matter of education the English have not been open-handed and unreservedly, almost audaciously, liberal." We have tried to give education to India on the basis of trust and common aspiration.

HUMANITIES AND SCIENCES.

No country is satisfied with its educational system. All are trying to improve it. We in this province, the Government and the people, are striving shoulder to shoulder to better things. It is mainly a question of finance, in other words, of material progress. For education and material progress go hand in hand. As education improves, so material prosperity advances; and with the advance of material prosperity funds become available to make education more efficient. The United States of America with a population one-third of that of India spend 160 million pounds sterling annually upon education. In India, we cannot yet anticipate such an expenditure; but every sacrifice made for the cause of education will bear fruit a hundredfold in the years to come. Never forget that education breeds prosperity and prosperity breeds education.

None appreciates more than I do the value of a liberal education for its own sake. But we have to face things as they are. Every educational system rests on certain social order. The social order has changed and with this there must be a change of educational system. Even before the war, new ideals of educational policy were in the air; and the war has changed the aspect of policy much as a stream of lava changes this country at the base of some great volcano, or a tidal wave changes some island in the Pacific ocean. The war has broken up the despotism of the humanities and has installed a federation of the sciences and humanities. This is the great, the master change. For centuries education has, to use Macaulay's phrase, disdained to be useful. It must be useful now. And yet one may hope that the humanising of science, the scientific use of the humanities will go on side by side. No mere materialistic education will ever satisfy India. Over and above us all towers the peak of sheer educational power, over us all is still cast the spell of the ideal.

Some of you will remember how Sir Auckland Colvin preached the importance of science to this University, and how his arguments were then regarded as an insidious undermining of political aspiration. I have seen one of our public men attacking Government in those days for its designs on humanistic studies and of late attacking Government for its neglect of science in education. I welcome the change of view. I will do my best to help you to meet the new demand, to promote "research and discovery and the application of knowledge for the improvement of mankind."

In England the epoch-making report of Sir J. J. Thomson's committee has pealed the bells of a new era. On every side one hears the cry for more and more applied science. The day of the specialist has dawned at last. Chemistry, as Sir Thomas Holland aptly said, is the foundation of all modern civilised activities. India's great need to-day is the application of chemistry to agriculture and industry.

REFORM OF UNIVERSITIES.

The question of university reform will soon come upon us. The policy of the Government of India has been to restrict the area under which the affiliating universities have control by securing, in the first instance, a separate university for

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each of the leading provinces of India, and secondly, to create new local teaching and residential universities in each of the provinces in harmony with the best modern opinions as to the right road to educational efficiency. We have already a new university in the province, the Benares Hindu University. It is not a provincial institution, but it serves a larger number of our people. Considerable funds have been collected for a Muslim University at Aligrah. May I, as an old friend of Aligrah, who had the honour of knowing Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan and was an intimate friend of Mr. Justice Mahmud, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and others, appeal to my Muslim friends, who have done so well under trying conditions during the war, to close up ranks and work together for their sons and companions' sake in order that they may play their proper part in the educational development of the province. I contemplate the creation of new universities at Lucknow and later on at Agra. I shall appoint a committee to consider the establishment of these new universities as soon as the report of Dr. Sadler's committee is published. Great distinction must be drawn between the conditions that prevail in Calcutta and the conditions that prevail here, but I hope that we shall learn much from the report of that committee. We must also try to develop a teaching university in Allahabad. This will involve the separation of what may be called the internal and external branches of the university. There are rumours that Dr. Sadler's committee will make important proposals in this connection. It has long been my own view that all work above the standard of Bachelorship in arts and science should be university work concentrated at the university centre and directed entirely by the university. It was an objection to this view that it would lower the standard of collegiate study and so lead eventually to a lowering of the college professional staff. This argument will be met in the future by increasing the number of local teaching universities. The province lends itself extraordinarily well geographically to a rearrangement of this kind. In any case, the view advocated resembles the line of advance in the West. Sir J. J. Thomson's committee is clear on the point. In America, distinction is already drawn between the disciplinary education of the college and free-ranging education of the university. This, according to one American authority, is "the most characteristic fact in the history of higher education during the past quarter of a century." "The college," he continued, "has for its object the important work of training students for the duties of citizenship, not primarily the duties of scholarship." Another eminent American authority has outlined his idea of a university. The success of the higher work, he says, depends upon the intellectual and moral qualities of the professors, their freedom from all pecuniary anxiety, the widest publicity for their work and that of their assistants and students, and the steady improvement of libraries and laboratories.—*From the Convocation Address to the Allahabad University.*

II. THE HON. JUSTICE SIR JOHN WOODROFFE

We cannot separate the question of University Education from that of Education in general. The under-graduate has already been made or spoiled in the family school, or college. Nor if we pursue the subject to the end can we avoid an enquiry into political, religious, and cultural questions in general. The fundamental fact is that a Government alien in race, habits, thoughts, feelings, religion and general culture controls the Education (more and more strictly in recent years) and essays to teach the people of this country. It has been well

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said that probably in the whole world there are not two more dissimilar persons than an Englishman and a Hindu. The position is unnatural, and injurious to the true interests of this country. This control may be, and I think has been, directed by self-regarding political motives. But even if the point of view be one which primarily regards the interests of the Indian people, there is still place for conflicting theories and practice. There are some (the foremost of whom may be called Missionaries of Race) who, sincerely believing in the superiority of Western Civilisation, think that it will be for the benefit of India to impose it on the East. The product of this system is Macaulay's "Coloured Englishman." The drift of Education has been in this direction. As my friend, Mr. Havell (formerly Principal of the Calcutta School of Art) has rightly said, the fault of the Anglo Indian Educational System is that instead of harmonising with, and supplementing, national culture it is antagonistic to, and destructive, of it. Sir George Birdwood says of the system that it "has destroyed in Indians the love of their own literature, the quickening soul of a people, and their delight in their own arts, and worst of all their repose in their own traditional and national religion, has disgusted them with their own homes, their parents, and their sisters, their very wives and brought discontent into every family so far as its baneful influences have reached."

Since writing the above, I have read a speech recently addressed by Sir Subramania Aiyar to the law students at Madras, in which he, pointing out that it seems to be thought that the aim and end of British tutelage in India is to westernise its children, says that the fulfilment of that aim must in the very nature of things tend to sap all true life and initiative natural to the people as a distinctly Eastern race destined to evolve on lines of its own. He also refers to a recent issue of the Journal, "The Statist," to the effect that the object of the present rule seems intended to metamorphose the Indian into "a quasi-Engl breed." Such a breed, I may add, is likely to l to half thinking, inefficient action and worse.

As nothing is wholly evil, I personally beli that some benefits have been gained through Education given, but looking upon the matter a whole, I concur in thinking that this Educati has had baneful effects. What else can be expe ed from a position so unnatural? Wrong Educ tion is the cause of physical and mental str and sapping of moral strength. It is producti of instability leading in the case of some to vi lence, in the case of others to a paralysing inn conflict or a sense of intolerable oppression, a in a large number of ordinary and inferior natu to imitation, automatisms, and sub-serviceab The influences working on the student have be deracialising (if I may use the word to den destruction of racial characteristics) devitalisi and deforming.

If they have not worked their full evil, it due to the resistance of the racial spirit defendi itself against the assaults, increasing in numb and strength, made upon it in recent years.

Personally I should like to see the education the Indian people in the hands of Indians the selves without any interference from Governme as at present constituted. But if Governme must control education, the principle on which now proceeds should be changed.

Let us recognise the strength, persistence a value of the racial characteristics of the Indi people, who have survived in a way, and to degree, which is not seen in the case of any oth country in the world. It is not necessary enquire into the question of the respective sup riority of the civilisation of East and West. is sufficient to hold that Indian civilisation is t best for the people whose forefathers have ev ved it. Let us stop all attempts, direct or i direct, whether political or religious, to impo our beliefs and practices on a people to wh they are foreign. Let us admit and give eff

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to the claim of the true Indian patriot that his language, history, literature, art, philosophy, religion, general culture and ideals should be given the primary place in the prescribed courses of study.

If education be to educe, what can be educed from the Indian mind and character but inherited racial impressions? Is it education to neglect or suppress these and to cram it with foreign stuff? This observation does not exclude any form of knowledge Western or otherwise. Knowledge is knowledge whether it comes from East or West. An Indian student is none the less true to his type because his own cultural inheritance has been enriched by what of worth the West can give. It is directed to the positive cultivation of Indian culture, and in other matters the adoption of an attitude favourable to it. The 17th question asks whether the conditions under which students live undermine traditional morality. "Conditions" (if I understand the question rightly) indicate that the question has in view only some superficial features of the student's life. Where morality (I use the term in its general sense) has been undermined, it is due in primary degree to the alleged "neutrality" of the State as regards religion, its teaching, which ignores religion, the past attacks on the Indian religions, Hindu and Mussalman, westernising influences and the general atmosphere produced by these and other causes.

How can traditional morality be preserved when the whole course of education is to ignore it and thus leave it the easier prey of sectarian attack and secular scepticism? How can the Indian student present an effective attitude to life if the source of his vitality is neglected or suppressed and his movements are cramped by foreign vestures? It is true that an increasing national consciousness has been to some extent remedying the evils of an English education on English principles by English teachers; but the necessity to remove the causes of these evils still remains.

It follows from the above views that in my opinion education should be such as a true and not a denationalised Indian would desire to see given and would himself, if an educator, give. Such an education can only be properly given by an Indian, able in his subject and inspired by great ideals, who has not been denationalised under the English system of education which has hitherto prevailed. The class here excepted may be less competent to teach than the English original of which they are a copy. All intriguers for posts of teachers and professors should be rigorously suppressed. As a result of this, it follows that distinctions in the educational service should be abolished and Indians should be employed in every case except those in which the expert knowledge of an European (and not necessarily an Englishman) justifies his appointment. The educational curriculum should give Indian culture and the Indian standpoint the primary place. Art should be recognised and not as it is now ignored by the University. India being an agricultural country, there should be courses of agriculture, professorships and travelling agricultural lectureships (Q. 13.). Law is at present too much encouraged. All the public opinion with which I am acquainted made from a study of the archæological is against the further multiplication of lawyers. Teaching should be in the vernacular as much as possible. Students are greatly strained by having to learn in a foreign tongue. The University should be as free of Government interference and have as much independence of action as is possible. There should certainly be a large degree of freedom of teaching and study. In short, I would claim for the University every freedom to follow those ideals which the past history of India, and its past and present Indian culture, present to it.—*Note in reply to questions issued by the Calcutta University Commission.*

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PATEL'S MARRIAGE BILL

BY

MR. K. G. KRISHNASWAMI AYYAR, B.A.

I

THE ordinances laid down in the various Smrithis have to be considered in the first instance before coming to a conclusion as to the desirability or otherwise of the Marriage Bill introduced by the Hon. Mr. Patel.

According to the 23rd Verse of Chapter I of Parasara Smrithi, the authoritative Smrithi for Kaliyuga is the said Smrithi, as against the Code of Manu which was the authorised Code in the Satya Yuga, the Code of Gautama which was the authority in the Tretata Yuga and the Codes of Sanka and Likhita in the Dwapara. In Verses Nos. 20–26 of Chapter IV of Parasara Smrithi, various ordinances are laid down permitting and forbidding marriages under various circumstances, but there is nothing said either for or against mixed marriages. Rules regarding parentage of children conceived under various circumstances are laid down in verses 17 and 18 of the same Chapter, but there is nothing in them for or against mixed marriages. The Parasara Smrithi, therefore, does not throw much light on this question. In Chapter X of the said Smrithi which deals with penances in cases of prohibited intercourse with women, incestuous intercourse, and intercourse with Chandala or Svapaka woman is referred to and there is nothing about intercourse with women of the four castes except in cases where the intercourse is an illicit one. In the case of female offenders, the Chapter deals with adulturous intercourse and intercourse with a Chandala. In the seventh chapter of the said Smrithi which lays down rules regarding the time at which a girl ought to be married; the following verses occur :—

A Brahmana marrying such a girl (a girl w menstruates before her marriage) through temp tions of flesh, should be looked down upon as husband of a Sudra wife (Vri Shalipati). should neither be spoken to, nor allowed to sit the same row with other Brahmanas at a din (Verse 9).

A Brahmana visiting a Sudra woman even a single night should live by begging for th years from the date, in order to be absolved fr the sin thereby committed. These two ver give rise to the inference that Parasara approved of the marriage of a *Brahmana* wit *Sudra*.

There is nothing in the Parasara Smrithi f bidding marriages between members of the vari castes other than Brahmanas; and even in t case of the Brahmanas, there is nothi against their marriage with women belonging the other twice-born castes (Kshatriya and Vai and marriage with Sudra woman is looked do upon with disfavour without being actu prohibited.

In Verse 19 of Chapter I of Parasara Smrit Vyasa is addressed by Parasara as his son a Verse 8 makes it clear that the Vyasa referred is the son of Parasara. Parasara's son is Krish Dwaipayana Vyasa or Veda Vyasa as he popularly known, and from Chapter 1 of Vya Smrithi, it will appear that the ordinances la down in the said Smrithi have emanated fr Veda Vyasa. Ordinances promulgated under t authority of Veda Vyasa have to be consider to be supplementary to those promulgated und the authority of his father Parasara; and in matters where Parasara Smrithi is silent or is

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explicit, the rules in Vyasa Smrithi ought to be considered valid and binding. In Vyasa Samhita, the following injunctions are laid down :—

(1) At the close of Vedic studies and having performed the rite of Avabhuta ablution, a twice-born one, wishing to be a house holder, should seek the hands of a girl of unimpeachable birth and family (Chapter II Verse I).

[*N.B.*, It will be interesting to know how far the above is done except merely in name].

(2) The daughter of an erudite father of good conduct and having sons of his own loins and born of a family free from all blemishes or any contagious or hereditary disease and not plighted for money to any other bridegroom before, and not of the same pravara or gotra, nor related to him as sapinda in his father's or mother's side, and belonging to his own varna and social order, slender of auspicious signs, clad in silken garments and not above eight years of age and whose paternal ancestors to the 10th degree in the ascending line were all men of renown, should be solemnly wedded, if preferred, in marriage.

(3) A daughter should be given in marriage to one, befitting her family in respect of learning, birth, etc., and suited to her in years according to the rites of a Brahmana marriage or according to any other regulation where the former would not avail.

[*N.B.* It cannot be pretended that the above two rules are followed in their entirety. A reading of the rules will show that the rules are merely recommendatory instead of being mendatory. Thus even if there were no express provisions in the Smrithi authorising intercaste marriages, these two Verses could not be regarded as a conclusive authority against intercaste marriages].

Verses 7 and 8 of Chapter I of Vyasa Smrithi lay down rules for the religious rites to be done for the children born to a Brahmana by his Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra wives, to a Kshatriya by his Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra wives and to a Vaisya by his Vaisya and Sudra wives. The Brahmana wife of a Brahmana is called a Vipravinna, and the Kshatriya wife, Kshatravinna. Verses 8 and 9 will show that the marriage of a man of an inferior caste with a woman of a superior caste is reprobated.

In Verse 11 of Chapter II, it is said that a Brahmana may marry a Kshatriya or Vaisya girl; a Kshatriya can take a Vaisya wife and a Vaisya can wed a Sudra's daughter, but the member of an inferior caste cannot wed a girl of superior caste.

In Vishnu Samhita, there are rules similar to those found in Vyasa Smrithi allowing intercaste marriages. In Chapter XXIV, it is laid down that a Brahmana may have four wives in the direct order of castes, a Kshatriya three, a Vaisya two and a Sudra one. Wives marrying husbands of their own caste shall join their hands. In marrying a husband of a different caste, a Kshatriya girl shall take hold of an arrow in her hand; a Vaisya girl a goading stick, and a Sudra girl the skirt of her cloth. Chapter XVI lays down rules regarding the castes to which the offsprings of intercaste marriages are to be assigned, the rule being that in all cases of Anuloma marriages (marriages of women of inferior caste with men of superior caste) the caste of the issue is that of the mother and in cases of Pratiloma marriages (marriages of women of superior caste with men of inferior caste) the offsprings ought to be assigned castes inferior to that of Sudras ranging from the Ayoguva (musicians) to which the offspring of a Sudra upon a Vaisya woman is assigned, to the Chandala caste to which the issue of a Sudra upon a Brahmana woman is assigned.

Chapter XXVI deals with the status of the co-wives of different castes and Chapter XVIII

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with the rules regarding division of property between sons of twice-born fathers by wives of different castes, the general trend of which is to give the largest percentage to the son of a Brahmin woman, a little less to the son of a Kshatriya woman, still less to the son of a Vaisya woman and the least to the son of a Sudra woman. In cases of only sons, those born of wives belonging to the twice-born classes inherit the whole property, while the son by a Sudra wife gets only half the property. From the above, it will appear that the marriage of a higher caste woman with a man of a lower caste is discouraged in all possible ways if not actually prohibited. The Hon. Mr. Patel's Bill, so far as it relates to marriages between men of lower castes with women of higher castes, is in conflict with the ordinances laid down in the Smrithis. But Anuloma marriages (marriages of women of inferior caste with men of superior caste) is not against the ordinances, though owing to various causes they have fallen into disuse during several centuries. If Mr. Patel's Bill is to be confined to Anuloma marriages, it is a question for consideration whether the non-Brahmanas may not think it inconsistent with their self-respect to consent to legalisation of Anuloma marriages alone. Are the non-Brahmanas likely to be satisfied with the provisions in the Smrithis regarding the distributions of property?

If the Bill is passed into Law, the legitimacy of intercaste marriages may be assured. But the question of shares to properties will have to be regulated by the rules laid down in the Smrithis. If the rules in the Smrithis are not abrogated, no Pratiloma marriage may take place and the issue of such marriages as may take place may be as helpless as the issues of intercaste marriages are supposed to be at present. Thus without introducing a provision of equal status as regards property, the bill is not likely to prove an effectual measure in practice.

The question arises, whether the legislature will not be making inroads into the personal Law of the Hindus by attempting to over-ride the provisions in the Smrithis about division and devolution of property. No doubt, there is the precedent of the Convert's Disabilities Act. It may be said by the opponents of the bill that the Convert's Act stops merely with removing the bar which conversion placed in the way of inheriting property and did not pretend to place the convert within the society of Hindus, whereas the present bill aims at giving a status in society to persons born of unions which have fallen into disuse for a very long time. To justify a legislation which aims at not merely reviving ancient usuages but also to validate unions which are reprobated in the Smrithis, and which requires to make it effective that alterations should be made in the law of inheritance as laid down in the very Smrithis that allowed such marriages, the promoters of the bill ought to satisfy the public that the Hindu ideal of marriage will be kept up by the proposed Legislation.

The World

BY

MR. C. C. CHATTERJEE, M.A., B.SC.

The child thro' time doth grow to man,
God lends him grace; he lives a span;
The smiles of childhood's years to scan
The sighs of old age only can,

He finds his wishes far and near,
And oft betrays his joys in tear;
He lives like wronged but silent Lear,
And doting fondly on the dear.

In sorrow's season he would smile;
In hours of darkness, moments vile,
The light of heav'n on him a while
Would flash, like beams thro' clouded pile.

He saw the frailties hid in might,
He saw the shadow follow light,
He saw in heav'ns of darkest night
The prospect of a starry sight.

He found the creeds were faithless faith,
Too weak to blunt the sting of Death;
"We gain a life through quick'ning Death,"
Re-orient Nature mutely saith.

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INDIAN AGRICULTURE

BY

THE HON. MR. G. F. KEATINGE, C.I.E.

IN farming there are two fundamental units, the farm and the farmer. For agricultural progress it is necessary that the farm should be a fixed and permanent unit, so that it may admit of permanent improvement and adequate development, and that the farmer should be fluid and moveable unit, so that the right men may get to the right places. Speaking generally, we find, to our misfortune, that in India the exact reverse is the case, that the farm, on the one hand, is subject to a continuous series of economic earthquakes, and that the farmer, on the other hand, is fixed and rooted.

To turn first to the farm. So much has been said during the last few years on the subject of the sub-division and fragmentation of holdings, and the evil has been so generally recognised that I do not propose to go into the matter in any detail. No orderly development, no effective improvement can take place in a holding which is the wrong size and shape and which has no stability. The fact that this is true not only in theory but also in practice can be verified by anyone who will take the trouble to do so. Not only is the land totally undeveloped, as development is known in other countries, but the idea of progressive development is hardly understood by the landowners. To develop and improve a permanent 10 or 20 acre farm is an intelligible proposition; but to develop and improve a 10 or 20 acre farm which must in the near future be split up and fragmented is not an intelligible proposition to anyone; and since this is the proposition which confronts the Indian farmer, it is not surprising that he does not consider it seriously. In this way, a low standard in set of agricultural methods and of agricultural results, a serious obstruction to progress is presented, and there arises a generally uneconomic situation which tends to become worse rather than better.

UNPROGRESSIVE FARMING.

Now let us turn to the farmer. The farmer owns his small and fluctuating area of land, it may be 15 acres of land in three plots of one generation, and 5 acres in 6 plots in the next generation. The point is that the farmer is fixed and permanent. His farm may fly into fragments and grow steadily smaller, but generally speaking he himself persists, whether he be a good, bad or indifferent farmer. In highly individualistic and competitive countries, efficiency is secured largely by the elimination of the unfit, who are squeezed out of the race by keen competition coupled by a high standard of living. This law is in constant operation in England, and there have been periods of agricultural depression there, when unprogressive farmers have been ruined and squeezed out wholesale, while on some kinds of soil it is recognised that a bad farmer cannot hope, even in prosperous times, to survive many seasons. In rural India, however, the competition is less keen, the standard of living lower and an easy-going tolerance, combined with an elastic joint family system, helps to tide the less effective members over their difficulties and to keep them in their places to the obstruction of the more effective members of the community. It is by no means contended that there are no good farmers, nor can it be expected anywhere that all farmers will reach a high degree of excellence; all that is suggested is that, owing to the causes mentioned above, the proportion of bad and indifferent farmer is unduly large. And after all it is this proportion which counts; for

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while we would term a country backward in agriculture in which only 10 per cent. of the farmers were good farmers, we would be able to class it as advanced in agriculture if 50 per cent. of the farmers were advanced and progressive.

REFORMS NEEDED.

We may then sum up the situation thus—

The majority of the farms are of the wrong size and the wrong shape, they are not permanent units and are not susceptible of orderly and adequate improvement. The majority of the farmers are deficient in skill, industry and energy, and balance a low standard of endeavour by a low standard of living.

These are the fundamental obstructions to agricultural progress to which I have to refer. The question is how we are to overcome them. It is clear that what we have to do is to endeavour to create and maintain suitably sized and suitably situated holdings which will admit of adequate development, and to arrange that there shall be nothing to prevent these economic units from passing by natural laws into the hands of the most progressive farmers who will be in a position to make the best use of them. If we can do this, we can trust to the natural fertility of the soil and the natural industry of the farmers to secure the progress which we desire, aided by the scientific investigations which have been made and which will be made in future. But until we can do this, we shall not secure anything like the full results that we look for from our natural advantages or from our scientific labours.

Now what is it that prevents us from taking action of the nature indicated? Whenever any remedial action of this nature is suggested, it is always urged that the people have not asked for such action and do not want it, that such action would be opposed to their religion and to their sentiments, and that a shuffle of farms and of farmers would constitute a political danger. These aspects of the question must, of course, be carefully considered. This is a country where religious and sentimental ideals count for much where political dangers must be given due weight. But there is also a persistent demand on the part of a section of the population for material progress. We have come to the parting of the ways, and India must decide which road she wishes to take. You may set up a sentimental ideal, an æsthetic ideal, an ideal of voluntary poverty, or an ideal of political caution. Such ideals are quite intelligible. The trouble is that to a large extent they are not compatible with the ideal of material progress. All that I say is this, if the former ideals are chosen to the exclusion of the latter, let us stop all talk of rapid material progress, for we shall have deliberately refused to take the first steps that lead to it.—*From the Presidential address to the Agriculture and Applied Botany Section at the Indian Science Congress.*

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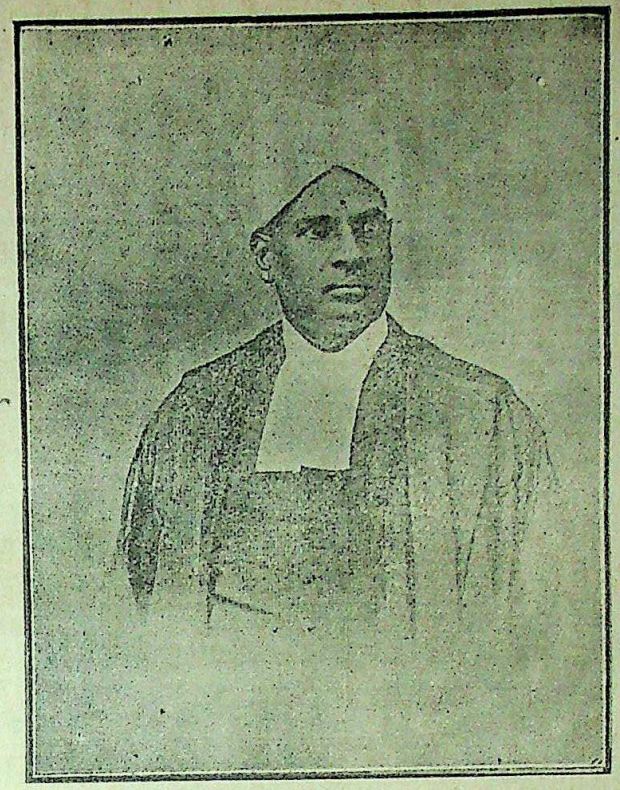
H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE

Chancellor, The Hindu University, Benares.



SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR,

Vice-Chancellor, The Hindu University.

The first Convocation of the Benares Hindu University was held at the premises of the Central Hindu College on January 17. There was a distinguished gathering of noblemen and Scholars and Educationists. The graduates having been duly admitted to their respective Degrees, the Chancellor, H. H. The Maharaja of Mysore, delivered the Convocation Address. The Vice-Chancellor, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, also made an impressive speech. The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya announced some handsome donations for the Hindu University, in aid of students' Hostels and Ayurvedic education.

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D. L. RAY

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A PATRIOT-POET OF BENGAL

BY MR. HEM CHANDRA NAG, B.A.

I

"*Devi amar, sadhana amar,*
Swarga amar, amar desh!"
"Goddess mine oh! thou my haven,
Paradise mine, Motherland!"

THIS is the last and the most beautiful line of a famous Bengali song which attained wonderful popularity at the time of the Partition and Swadeshi agitations. The late Mr. Dwijendra Lal Ray, the most popular play-wright of Bengal is the author of the song. Two biographies of this great poet have of late been published in Bengali. Babu Devkumar Ray Chaudhury, one of the biographers and an intimate friend of Mr. Ray, describes how and when this song was composed. Mr. D. L. Ray was Magistrate-in-charge at Gaya in 1907, and Babu Devkumar, himself a poet of no mean repute, was a guest of his. So was also the late Babu Baroda Charan Mitra, the celebrated poet and Judge. The late Mr. Lokendranath Palit, I.C.S., the distinguished son of the distinguished father, the late Mr. T. Palit of Calcutta, was then the District Judge at Gaya, and he was a daily visitor to Mr. Ray. One fine evening Dwijendralal stood before them and sang the song in his unique voice and style. When he finished, it seemed that the air of the room was surcharged with love for the country. The effect was thrilling, and the friends lost their power of speech in wonder, awe and admiration. For a time they looked at the deep blue sky outside, and then suddenly, up rose Mr. Palit, grasped the two hands of Mr. Ray, and broke out: Oh! how wonderful—how magnificent! Let me confess, my dear Dwiju, it's undoubtedly the very—very—very best and noblest national song that I've ever heard or read in my life. It's indeed a Divine inspiration!

Soon the song came before the country. From the streets of Calcutta it entered the innermost depths of villages in Bengal, ennobling, inspiring and strengthening the national movement. When the judgment of the country was passed, it of-course agreed with the verdict of Mr. Lokendra-nath Palit.

II

This is not the only song of Mr. Ray which has attained celebrity, Mr. Ray wrote poems and dramas innumerable, but there is no doubt that if he lives for any of his writings, he will do so for his songs. They are the life-breath of his dramas, and there are a good many of them which may be mentioned. The above song is known in Bengal as the song of *Amar Desh* or *My Country*. There are at least two other patriotic songs—*Amar Janmabhumi* or *My Native Land* and *Bharatavarsha*—which appeal equally powerfully to imagination and patriotism. While the latter has a most forcible diction, the former sends imagination to a dreamland, such is the charm of its wording and sentiments.

Mr. Ray began his poetical career as a satirist. He composed a good many satirical and comic songs, and it may be said with confidence that they have to this day no equal in Bengal. Through these songs, Mr. Ray ruthlessly attacked every form of social abuse of the day. They left no sting in the heart of the reader, for they were not aimed at individuals; nevertheless they carried a needed lesson to the person who required it. The sham patriot who *must* live for his country at the cost of allowing his brother to die of cholera unattended, the so-called reformed Hindoo who is "a queer amalgum of Sasadhar (a Hindu revivalist), Huxley and goose," preaching profusely but practising none of his precepts, the England-returned *sahib* who smiles in the Parisian and coughs in the Russian fashion—these are all things of beauty and joy for ever, and there was a time when they were on the lips of everybody. Mr. Ray did not spare his own faults in composing these songs. He was a *pucca sahib* when he returned from England as agriculturist in 1886, and was appointed a Deputy Collector, but that did not deter him from writing his exquisitely fine satire on the England-returned. Mr. Ray was pre-eminently a hater of sham. Look at the merciless way in which he ridicules the man of fickle faith who changes his religion as often as he would change his coat. He is made to adopt Christianity for the sake of a girl and leave it for a kick of his father. He becomes a Brahmo for the fun of the thing, but has to abandon that faith when he is married in due course in accordance with the rites of Hindu orthodoxy. He turns an atheist, but leaves atheism on the birth of a daughter or two. And so on till the end. The finest touch of satire is reached when the man excuses himself at every change on the plea that everyone must act in the same way under such circumstances. Beautiful as these songs will read in paper, the fullest depth of their humour and satire can only be felt when they are set to the tune.

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III

The first comic play of Mr. Ray is *Ekghare* or *The Excommunicated*. It is full of "withering sarcasm," as said by the late Babu Rajnarain Bose and was an attack on the leaders of the orthodox movement. The book has a history of its own. When Dwijendralal returned from England, he married a daughter of Mr Pratap Chandra Majumdar, a famous Homeopathic practitioner in Calcutta. The marriage was celebrated in the Hindu way, and he was anxious to return to the bosom of the old society. But the leaders of orthodoxy would not allow him to do so. Pandits demanded money when their opinions were sought by the friends of Mr. Ray, and this injustice and shamefacedness made him rebel against the society. The stinging satire of the book created a sensation and its banters produced heart-burning in the noted quarters. We read in his biographies that a Bengali gentleman went to a bookshop to purchase a copy of the book. He went through it then and there, and tore it to pieces at the time of leaving the shop. This shows that the book served well the purpose for which it was written.

While he attacked orthodoxy, he did not spare those who went to the other extreme. The artificiality, greed of money and the luxurious living of the Indo-English stung him to the core, and the result was a comedy called *Prayaschitta* or *Rightly Served*. The obvious object of the comedy was to teach that it was well for the Bengali to live in his native way. These books have been criticised on the ground that they are guilty of exaggeration. But no comedy can avoid exaggeration, and it may be said without hesitation that there was a real need for both of these plays in Bengal when they were published.

The other comic plays he wrote with no more definite object in view than provide innocent amusement for theatre-goers. The bad taste of the existing farces pained him deeply, and he turned the tide by his powerful pen. The exquisite but refined humour of these plays made the whole Bengali Society roar in laughter. Who can indeed help it when he finds a lover devouring sweets in the sheer despair and putting up flesh in the utter exhaustion caused by the pangs of separation, and who can help it when he is seriously advised by Mr. Ray not to be re-born on Thursday afternoons which are considered particularly inauspicious by the Hindu almanac?

IV

Mr. Ray's wedding took place in 1887. He was a loving and devoted husband. Properly speaking, his literary career began in 1894. With a loving wife of many virtues and accomplishments, this was a period of unalloyed domestic enjoyment to him, and this happy period continued till the death of his wife in 1903. The happiness which he enjoyed at home was successfully transmitted to his literary productions, and it is worth recording here that all his comic plays and songs were published in this period. He also tried his hand in the composition of serious dramas, and produced three of them in this period. The first was on the basis of the unfortunate story of Ahalya who was beguiled by Indra and was turned into stone, the second was on Sita, the model of Indian womanhood, and the third was on the basis of the historical story of Prithwiraj of Rajasthan and his wife Tarabai. *Pashani* or *The Stone Statue* and *Sita* received high encomium from the Bengali reading public, and these two books will for long occupy a high place in the Bengali literature, be they considered from the standpoint of character painting or the arrangement of the plot. Saint Gautama is simply superb, and his Sita is even more noble than the Sitas of Valmiki and Bhababhuti. *Tarabai* was not as successful as the above two, but in spite of its defects it established the reputation of Mr. Ray as a writer of historical plays in which he was latterly so much to shine. These books were, however, criticised on the ground that verse, especially blank verse, was not suitable for drama. Many including the late famous poet, Nabin Chandra Sen, were of this opinion, and Mr. Ray accepted this view and definitely abandoned the idea of writing dramas in verse.

V

"All my smiles are gone in this evening of life; they are asleep by the side of tears." Thus wrote the poet in a pithy Bengali poem a few years after the death of his dear wife. This portrays the true picture of the plays he was producing after the tragic event referred to. His wife died in 1903 leaving a son who is still a student and a daughter who is now daughter-in-law of the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea. After this we seldom meet him as a writer of comic plays and songs. Henceforth he dedicated himself to the production of serious and patriotic plays, and almost all his plays of this kind are tragedies. The loss of the dear partner of his

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life cast a deep gloom over him, and he was not able to get rid of it till his end in 1912, the forty-ninth year of his life. He was a most open-hearted man of jovial disposition, loving and loved by all who came in contact with him. But there came a change over him after the death of his wife. He was the same kind and loving friend, but he was no longer the same jolly man. He became moody. In the midst of joviality, he used to become serious and gloomy and it is believed that this mental depression was one of the causes of his premature death. As usual, he was pressed by his friends and relatives to marry again, but he remained firm in his determination not to commit the same foolishness. "How many times must a man marry?"—was his only reply to them. He used to say that a second marriage was not a marriage in the proper sense of the word. It was only feeding the lower desires of life. Such marriages might be neceasary at a certain stage of the society. A man or a woman must be free to contract such marriage if he or she thought it necessary, but it was better to avoid it. It may be thought that a man holding such an opinion must bear prejudice against widow remarriage, but such was not the case with Dwijendralal Ray. However that may be, as he was still being pressed by his friends for marriage, one day he thrust a note into the hands of one of them and asked him to show it to all who might come to induce him to marry. The note was written in Bengali and ran thus:

"Dr.	"Cr.
"1. It is a mistake to marry at all. Those who desire marriage for the second time require treatment.	"1. Who is to look after my household? Answer—It is a meaningless word to him who has no house.
"2. It is wrong to marry when one has not the money necessary for the purpose....In my opinion I have not that money.	"2. Who is to look after me in my old age? Answer—Susi and Giris (his sister-in-law and her husband).
"3. It is madness to try to serve two masters. The service of a second wife is terrible, specially if her temper be a little high.	"3. Who is to look after my children? Answer—Their guardian-tutor.
"4. It is not wise to bring a step-mother for the children.....	"4. A bride's father would be saved by my marriage, as I would not take money? Answer—I am not selfless enough to marry for this reason only.
"Dr.	"Cr.
"5. It was not the wish of my wife that I should marry a second time in case of her death."	"5. Life will be purposeless without marriage? What would be the object of my future life? Answer—*To serve the mother tongue.*"

The above is taken from Babu Devkumar Ray Chaudhury's biography of the poet, and it shows that he could be humorous in the midst of deep sorrow. But the temper indicated by the above is not just the kind of temper required to produce comic literature, and it was well that he bade adieu to it.

VI

"I have wasted half of my life in jest," the poet says somewhere. So he was no longer to jest. He was now to learn "how to shed tears in deep sympathy." His object was achieved, and he learnt the lesson under the guidance of the best of teachers, Time. The time was propitious for him. It was indeed the time most suitable for such a lesson. Bengal was then a vale of tears. It was the time of the Partition of Bengal. It was exactly in the year of the Partition that his first patriotic play, *Pratap Singha*, was published. There was immediately a stir in the Bengali community. Another Bengali play of the same kind—*Pratapaditya* by Pundit Khirode Prasad Vidyabenode had been in the field, and both received a most hearty welcome from the Bengali public. They drew enormous and unparallelled crowds to the theatre halls, and were eagerly discussed by every gathering that met. Thanks to a historical novel by the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, the life of the great hero of Rajputana was already familiar to the people of Bengal. Bengali students learn the histories of Rajputana and Maharastra, not from their text books on history, but from the admirable novels of Mr. Dutt, *Rajput Jeeban Sandhya* and *Maharastra Jeeban Prabhat*, and it may be said with certainty that these novels are better history than many of the so-called histories of the day. It was due to these two books that Rana Pratap and Sivaji became objects of worship in Bengal. Dwijendralal Ray touched therefore a familiar chord, and the response was immediate and full. The historical character of Rana Pratap was preserved, but the poet sought to impress a moral on the public through him. Throughout the book he has tried to prove that narrowness and bigotry cannot win. According to him, Rana Pratap fought more for the race and racial pride than

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for the country and therefore he failed. The best character in the play is not the Rana, but his brother Sakta, the cosmopolitan, who married a Mahomedan wife. It is needless to tell the student of history that his Sakta is the creation of his imagination with the exception of the name.

When Pratap Singha was receiving the homage of the theatre-goer, Mr. (now Dr.) Pramathanath Banerjee requested Mr. Ray to write a drama on Durgadas, the Rathore hero. Durgadas was an embodiment of the virtues of selflessness, faithfulness and dutifulness, and a nobler character than his does not exist in the whole history of Rajputana. So he at once agreed, and the play was shortly published. This play has, too, a moral like the other. Durgadas was an ideal man, he had no narrowness, no bigotry, but still he failed to drag the nation out of the mire. And why? Because the nation was divided against itself, manhood was gone. *Durgadas* is a tragedy in spite of the successes of the hero, and its tragic character lies in the fact that his successes led but to the grave.

There is one other important drama which Dwijendralal Ray wrote with an aim. It is *Mewar Patan* or *The Fall of Mewar*. The execution of the book is excellent, but conception defective. It is unfortunate that the poet set up in this drama an artificial quarrel between Universalism and Nationalism, and deliberately gave the superior place to the former. Nationalism, rightly understood, can have no quarrel with Universalism, and that Nationalism is no Nationalism at all which quarrels with Universalism. If the Nationalism as displayed by some of the characters in the drama was defective, it would have been enough to teach the right kind of it. However that may be, one may boldly say that the lesson that was sought to be impressed was lost upon the people, and even this book they accepted and applauded as a gospel of Nationalism. The quarrel referred to was ignored by the general public as a most minor matter.

VII

It has been said by an English critic that success is the only test of merit. If by "success" we are to understand the applause and patronage of the people in general, then it must be said that the above three dramas were highly successful. It would however appear to many that their real value does not lie so much in the intrinsic merits of the plays as dramas, as in the useful service they rendered at an important period in our national life. Mr. Ray has observed somewhere that his dramas must not be considered as political essays. The people however accepted them as such. They may or may not survive the ravages of time, but that does not imply that they had no use in the economy of Bengal's national life.

These plays are valuable for another reason. In spite of their imperfection, it was through them that the real Dwijendralal came out to the public. Dwijendralal Ray has produced works of art, but it is not as an artist that he is adored by the populace in Bengal. He is admired and adored as a poet of patriotism, and there is no doubt that his was a highly patriotic soul. Mr. Ray has said himself that he could never feel easy after he had sung his famous song, *Amar Desh*. He was an official, a Deputy Magistrate, but we found him singing national songs with procession parties in Calcutta, attending the famous Partition-day meeting at Bagbazar, and so on. His patriotism was based on love and not on hatred. We find ample evidence in his letters and conversation that he for ever refused to admit that race or class-hatred could ever be a factor of a nation's progress. It is this patriotism—noble and unalloyed—that he propagated through his dramas. They are the embodiment of a highly patriotic soul, and as such they are valuable. The entire teaching of the above pieces may be summed up by citing one line of a song of Mr. Ray, *viz.*, *Giachhe desh duksha nai, abar tora manush ha*— Mourn not for the country fallen low, be men again.

VIII

The chief defect of the above dramas is that their characters are not life-like. They are either too good or too bad. Babu Navakrishna Ghose observes in his biography of Mr. Ray that Mr. Lokendranath Palit used to call Durgadas a bundle of qualities. So he is, and so also are most other characters. If they are not bundles of qualities, they are bundles of sins, Except one or two, the characters in these plays are not troubled by a conflict of emotions. The heroes are almost all so many incarnations of singleness of purpose. In a word, the principal characters in these plays are idealistic and not realistic. It is not recognised in these dramas that the life of a man is but the resultant of many forces acting from different directions. A man is actuated by various motives even at one and the same time. It is not unoften that one and the same action is inspired in life by different motives, some good, some bad. It was

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Mr. Palit who pointed out this to Mr. Ray, and he learnt the lesson from him. Mr. Palit was a singularly well-read man, and he produced a great impression on the poet. He therefore began to try his hand in the production of realistic plays and live-characters, and he succeeded to a certain extent, though not to a very great extent. *Nurjehan, Shajahan* and *Chandragupta* are the result of this effort, and considered from all points of view these are perhaps the best dramas of Mr. Ray. It is in Nurjehan that we first come across a real internal struggle, a strong conflict of emotions. The world-famous consort of Selim is actuated by hundred different feelings in her actions—feelings some of which, at times, she was trying to conceal from herself. But even this character is not so intricate as one would like it to be. The character of Aurangzeb in *Shajahan* is admirably drawn up, and it is one of the most successful characters of Mr. Ray. He is neither the villain of the Hindu writers, nor the idol of worship of the Mahomedan writers. One of the most remarkable characters of Mr. Ray is certainly Chanakya, the Indian Machiavelli, and chief minister of Chandragupta. It has its merits and demerits, but on the whole it is unique. It is not known what sort of man the historical Chanakya was, but Mr. Ray's Chanakya is a strange mixture of sanity and insanity, hardness and softness; a weird touch has made the character almost uncanny. But Mr. Ray has failed to make a great diplomat of him. The Machiavellian side of his character is very imperfectly developed. The reader feels fascinated with him because he appears to him not of this earth, earthy, but he is at the same time sorry that it is not the traditional Chanakya he meets. A certain mysteriousness hangs about the figure all along, and that is the principal charm of the character. There is little in him to identify him with his traditional namesake except the name and his own confession. This defect is probably due to the fact that there is so little in history and traditions to help the author in the successful drawing up of this side of Chanakya's life. I am also disposed to agree with the late Babu Baroda Charan Mitra that intricacy was so much out of tune with Dwijendralal Ray that it was difficult for him to conceive intricate characters. On the whole, however, it must be admitted that Mr. Ray's Chanakya is a really artistic production.

I have not exhausted the list of Mr. Ray's publications, but I stop only to mention the names of *Sinhal Bejoy* or *The Conquest of Ceylon*, published after his death, and *Lyrics of Ind*, a collection of his English poems. These lyrics are nearly the earliest productions of Mr. Ray, and they were warmly received by Indians and Englishmen alike.

IX

One noticeable incident in the career of Mr. Ray is his clash with Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, his once dear friend. Dwijendralal Ray was an upholder of morality in literature, and mysticism in poetry never appealed to him. Sir Rabindranath is preeminently a mystic poet, and Dwijendralal came to hold that some of the poems of the great poet bore no meaning. Besides this, somehow or other, he also came to think that some other poems of Sir Rabindra were not in keeping with the eternal principles of morality. He contributed an article on this subject to a Bengali magazine and a bitter controversy followed for sometime between the adherents of the two poets. This embittered the feelings of Mr. Ray, and he went so far as to write a parody on Sir Rabindra and had it staged at a Calcutta theatre. It is a relief to learn from Babu Devkumar that Mr. Ray confessed it to him as a great mistake of his life.

While the extreme length he went must be regretted by all, there is no doubt that the whole controversy arose out of Mr. Ray's zeal for morality. He was an agnostic all his life, though we are told that a change was coming over him at the later period. Like many of the agnostics of the past, however, he was a man of sterling moral worth—a worthy son of a worthy father, Dewan Kartikeya Chandra Ray of the Krishnagar Raj, named after Raja Krishnachandra of Plassey fame. A close friend of Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and many other great men of the then Bengal, Dewan Kartikeya was a remarkable man of his time. He was a man of varied gifts, but the greatest of them was perhaps his unimpeachable character. Pundit Sivanath Sastri, the recognised leader of the Brahma Samaj, has observed in one of his books that Dewan Kartikeyachandra led an ideal life at Krishnagar at a time when that town was notorious for giddy immorality. Dwijendralal Ray fully inherited his father's moral fervour, and much may be forgiven of a man whose failings rose from virtue's side.

X

The above episode serves to illustrate another important trait of his character—his sturdy independence. Sir Rabindranath was a dear friend of his, all his life he was an ardent admirer of Sir Rabindranath, but he did not spare him when

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the choice lay between friendship and public good according to his ideas. Mr. Ray was a close student of every phase of public life in the country —politics not excepted. More often than not we meet him as a critic in his letters and conversation, and as a critic he was original and independent.

He was no less independent in service, and he came in conflict with the Government several times in life for this particular trait of his character. I shall refer to one incident he himself described in a Bengali magazine. He was for some time a Settlement Officer somewhere in the district of Burdwan. In a certain case pending in his court, he stood by the tenants and gave his decision against the Government setting aside a plea for increment of rent. The decision was set aside by the District Judge on appeal to him, and the Government increased the rents accordingly. Sir Charles Elliot was then the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, and the case attracted his attention. He called for the papers and severely condemned the action of Mr. Ray. Mr. Ray, however, defended himself vigorously, but the only answer the Lieutenant Governor gave him was that he had been a Settlement Officer himself, and that he was well-versed in settlement regulations. Conscious of the justice of the cause he represented, Mr Ray, however, did not yield, and he retorted by saying that His Honour had been a Settlement Officer in the Punjab and not in Bengal, and that there was a great deal of difference between the regulations of the two provinces. On this, the Lieutenant Governor issued a Resolution and Mr. Ray's promotion was stopped. The case, however, went to the High Court, and the decision of Mr. Ray was upheld. In another case, the Resolution of Sir Charles came in for severe criticism at the High Court, and thus the triumph of Mr. Ray was complete. This however intensified the wrath of the Lieutenant Governor, and he remarked in the *Calcutta Gazette* that Mr. Ray was not an industrious officer. To the eternal credit of Mr. Ray's European superior, it must be recorded here that he came to the aid of Mr. Ray at this juncture, and protested against the unjust aspersions of the Lieutenant Governor in his report. He wrote that Mr. Ray's work was a "monument of industry and ability."

The fact that he published his stirring plays at the time of the great political ferment in Bengal offers abundant testimony of this side of Mr. Ray's character. There are few Government officers in these days who would venture far less.

Independence, liberality, moral zeal, and an ever waking eye for public good marked him out as man, and it was due to these qualities that he uttered nothing base. The least that can be said of him is that his memory will be enshrined in the heart of Bengal for many a year to come.

THE CHIEFS' CONFERENCE

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH

THE third Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs assembled at Delhi in the Imperial Legislative Council Chamber on January 20, H. E. the Viceroy presiding. Over forty of the Ruling Chiefs of Feudatory India were present. His Excellency opened the proceedings with an address of welcome to the Princes who had come from far and near. He deplored the death of the Maharajas of Jodhpur, Rewa and Faridkot, the Maharana of Dungarpur, the Nawab of Palanpur, and the Raja of Khairagarh since the Princes assembled last. He then paid a handsome tribute to the magnificent services rendered to the war by the Feudatory States and their Rulers for the cause of the Empire and referredat some length to the recommendations embodied in the Montagu Scheme of Reforms. The first recommendation, said His Excellency, is that with a view to the future improvement of relations between the Crown and the States, a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from others. While discussing the methods of such classification, His Excellency pointed out "that the Government of India are concerned to safe-guard the rights, privileges and interests of their relatively small States no less than those of their larger neighbours, and welcome their rulers equally as partners and co-workers."

The next recommendation is that with "the consent of the rulers of States their relations with the Government of India should be examined, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy but in order to simplify, standardise and codify existing practice for the future."

His Excellency added that he would welcome

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any general observations which any of Their Highnesses might desire to make during the conference, either on the subject of the infringement of treaty rights or in regard to the possibility of revising treaties or simplifying and standardising custom and practice.

COUNCIL OF PRINCES

Of the proposal to establish a permanent Council of Princes, His Excellency said:—

I desire at this point to make it quite plain that the institution of the Council of Princes will not prejudice the relations of any individual Durbar with the Government. It has already been said in paragraph 306 of the Report that the direct transaction of business between the Government of India and any State would not, of course, be affected by the institution of the Council, but it is important to emphasise this in the clearest possible terms. The durbar of a very important State, in their written memorandum, have said in this connection that it would be more desirable to have a properly constituted deliberative assembly with defined powers to deal with matters applicable to all the States generally as well as questions of common interest between the States and British India. The assembly could be vested with defined powers unless the Rulers who compose it are willing in some measure to entrust to a corporate body rights which they at present enjoy as individuals. Such delegation of powers is apparently deprecated by the Durbar, because they say later that the preservation of the right of dealing direct with the Government of India should in fact be an absolute *sine qua non* of the working of any such general Advisory Council.

Lastly, His Excellency urged them to bear in mind an essential point:—

We on our part are glad to develop means whereby Your Highnesses may maintain your rights and peruse your *Izzat*. You on your part will not forget that the British Government is the paramount power in India and that this fact must colour its relations with your Highnesses in respect of the institution and proceedings of this Council as in other matters.

The Viceroy then dwelt on the need for the appointment of Standing Committees and Commissions of enquiry and concluded with a reference to the proposed Council of State and its joint deliberation with the Council of Princes.

Such joint deliberation would take place only at the instance of the Viceroy, and it will be obvious that in making use of the provision the Viceroy would attach the greatest weight to any wishes which Your Highnesses might from time to time express in the matter. The arrangement would be permissive only, and at the outset I suggest that simplicity and freedom from restrictions will be a supreme merit of a scheme which rightly used may well hold a rich store of benefit for this great country, which we all love and in which the Princes and Chiefs have a joint heritage with the peoples of British India.

On the conclusion of the Viceroy's address, H. H. the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior thanked His Excellency for opening the proceedings.

MAHARAJA OF KAPURTHALA

A Resolution on the Victory of the Imperial and Allied Forces which was carried unanimously, was moved by H. H. the Maharaja of Kapurthala in the following terms:—

That the Ruling Princes of India assembled in this Conference request His Excellency the Viceroy kindly to transmit to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor the respectful but warmest congratulations on the glorious termination of the War, coupled with an assurance of their abiding loyalty and attachment to His August Person and Throne. They also desire to seize the opportunity of paying a collective tribute to the brilliant achievements of the Imperial and Allied Naval, Military and Air Force on all fronts, which have so completely crippled the enemy power and resistance and have brought the prospect of an enduring peace within measurable distance.

This was seconded by H. H. the Maharaja of Bavanagar and supported by the Jam Saheb.

MAHARAJA OF GWALIOR

The Conference concluded its sittings on the 25th instant. His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior explained that the Banquet as announced in the original programme was dropped owing to the mournful event in the Royal Family.

PRESENTATION TO THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA

His Highness then requested H. E. the Viceroy to present a Sword to H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala on behalf of his brother Princes, in recognition of the "dignity and self-restraint with which he exercised the functions of a representative of the States at the Imperial Conference." His Excellency then presented the Sword to the Maharaja of Patiala.

THE REFORMS AND INDIAN PRINCES

The Maharaja of Jaipur then moved the following Resolution:

"This Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs desires to express its sincerest gratitude to H. E the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India for the solicitude shown by them in their report on the Indian constitutional reforms for promoting the welfare of Ruling Princes and Chiefs and safeguarding their interests. They are especially grateful for the assurance that no constitutional changes which may take place will impair the right, dignities and privileges secured to them by treaties, *sanads*, and engagements. This Conference also desires to place on record its deep sense of appreciation of H. E. Lord Chelmsford's noble endeavour in bringing together the Ruling Princes and giving them an opportunity for free and frank discussion and friendly exchange of views with their brother-princes and the Government of India in all matters affecting their States. They are specially grateful for the confidence His Excellency reposed in them where questions of Imperial interests were concerned, thus bringing the

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Princes and Chiefs of India in closer touch with the Imperial Government and encouraging them to take an active interest in the problems not only of India, but of the whole Empire."

H. E. the Viceroy thanked His Highness for the cordial words in which he moved the Resolution and promised to communicate its terms to the Secretary of State.

INDIA AND THE WAR

H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior made a lengthy speech, in the course of which he dealt at some length with "certain epoch-making events" which by their importance, he said, "claim priority of mention." He referred to the armistice and the solidarity of the British Empire which made the victory inevitable. He next turned to the influence of His Majesty's personality which rendered perfect cohesion possible at a time when crowns are tumbling into the melting pot. Reverting to the subject of the reforms, he said :

THE REFORMS

These measures, which are irrevocably promised, will bring in their train enhanced loyalty and contentment in India, and the ampler they can be made with due regard for the conditions that are, and the quicker they can be enforced, the greater will be their certain result. I am not using the language of convention, but I speak from conviction, when I say that both amplitude and expedition are assured by the combination which we all regard to be of happy augury, *viz.*, the continuation of Your Excellency's Viceroyalty, and the re-appointment to the Secretaryship of State for India of the Right Hon'ble E. S. Montagu. The recent elevation of our distinguished countryman, Sir Satyendra Sinha, to the Peerage and his appointment to an office in the British Government, is an example of true insight, great political imagination and what is even more important, of genuine honesty of purpose and we refuse to credit the libel from wherever it emanates that in this measure of simple justice to people, there is even the slightest taint of party or other questionable tactics. The recognition of India's rights is further emphasised by her direct representation in the Peace Conference, and in the inclusion of our illustrious brother, the Maharaja of Bikanir, amongst the delegates to Versailles, we recognise the determination to accord to the Indian States their rightful place in the fabric of the British Empire. For all this our heartfelt thanks are due to Your Excellency's insight into the existing conditions, Mr. Montagu's powerful support, no less than to the sympathy and sense of justice of the British Cabinet.

Referring to H. E. the Viceroy's opening address, His Highness emphasised that "the paramountcy of the British Government is a fact that is not open to challenge. "Alluding to the importance of a Council of Princes," he pointed out :

The absence of an organ for the collective expression of opinion was also responsible for bringing about a condition of affairs in which the interests of the States in such matters as affected them jointly with British India were exposed to the risk of being ignored. In addition, there were certain crying needs which it has now been sought to meet by the application of plain and direct remedies, and these remedies such, for instance, as the appointment of Commissions of Enquiry for the purposes stated, and the placing of States in direct political relations with the Government of India are, I may say, so essential that their application does not admit of delay.

Touching the relations between Native States and the Imperial Government, His Highness defined the scope of the old treaties :—

It will be admitted that no treaties are for ever comprehensive documents. Ours having drawn up to meet the conditions that existed at the time of their conclusion, and having had for their purpose the attainment of particular objects, they can cover but a very limited field. Their tenor, however, is unmistakeable, and their general clauses clearly indicate the enjoyment by the States of a status and position which, in the course of time, have suffered deterioration in practice. Therefore, what the States ask for is, that no measures inconsistent with this tenor and those clauses should be adopted by the Imperial Government and imposed upon the States. In any case, to all such measures as are likely to affect in any degree the internal autonomy of the States their free consent should be previously obtained.

His Highness concluded by recounting the result of the present Conference :

We have decided by a majority that a definite line should be drawn hereafter between the Sovereign States and others. As regards the question of the examination of treaties and the need of codifying and standardising past usage, we have appointed a Special Committee to thrash this question and make suggestion at our next meeting. We have unanimously decided in favour of the early establishment of an organisation of Princes, which is to be hereafter called by the name of "Narendra Mandal" (in English "Chamber of Princes.") We have carried resolutions for the establishment of Commissions of enquiry and for the election of standing committees as outlined in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, but with slight modifications. We have cordially and unanimously supported the propositions of direct political relations between all the important States and the Imperial Government. A Committee has been appointed to deal with the question of precedence under Section 7. We have also decided that this Conference recommends that the consideration of the question of the means to be provided for joint deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes should be postponed until the Chamber of Princes and Chiefs has been established, and until the result of the proposals made for the introduction of the reforms in British India is definitely known.

The Conference closed with a reply from H. E. the Viceroy who assured the Princes assembled that the debates of the Conference would receive the most careful consideration of the Government.

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H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF BHAVANAGAR

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF KASHMIR

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF KOTA

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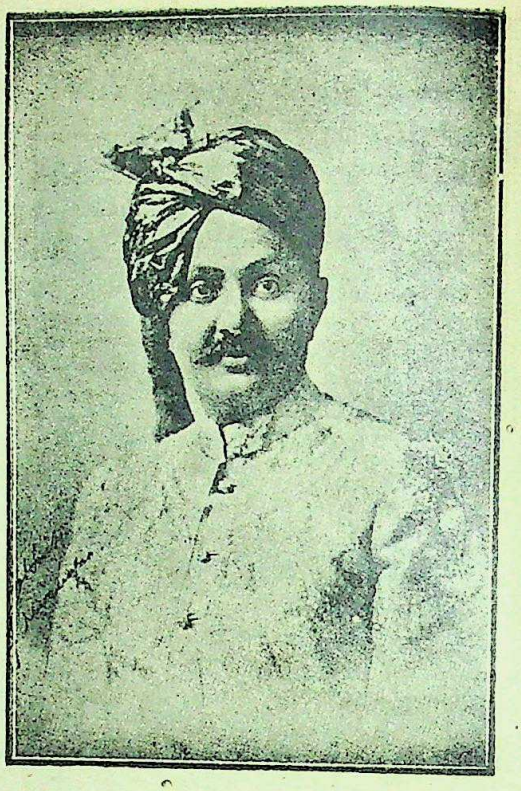
H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF ALWAR



H. H. THE JAM OF NAWANAGAR

H. H. THE BEGUM OF BHOPAL

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF DHAR

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"THE DANCE OF SIVA"

A REVIEW BY

MR. K. HANUMANTHA RAO, M.A.

AT a critical juncture in European political and social story no greater service could be rendered to the statesmen concerned in National re-construction than a clear presentation of the Indian Ideal as embodying a fundamentally different "motif" in social organisation and cultural vitality. And it is part of the good fortune as certainly it is part of the mystery of all great human movements, that a new epoch in Indian Nationalism, which sprang at first whole from the heart of the common people, should so rapidly find for itself a large and powerful band of writers, artists, and thinkers, who, blessed with the word and vision divine, have each, in the measure and vein peculiar to him, successfully striven to express one aspect or another of its infinite-faced idealism in Art and Life. Not the least among these and in a sense occupying a unique place of his own as gathering into one braid many separate threads of thought and criticism is Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami, whose most recent contribution to Indian Literature constitutes as much a testimony to the variety of his intuition and the patient devotion of his love-labour as it is a wonder-striking revelation of the consistency and one-heartedness of the Indian Ideal in its application to all the varied and vital problems of human well-being.

The fourteen Indian essays, named appropriately after the most characteristically Indian of them, "The Dance of Siva,"* were written and published during the critical years of the European war and owe their peculiar interest and suggestiveness to their continual reference to the vital imperfection and self-destructive contrariety of the European scheme of personal art and competitive social order. Over against this background, dark with the primeval passions of the forest and the mountain, the Indian Ideal shows clear and chaste, illuminating with flashes of light the depths of an infinite mystery of Life and Being.

The essays are mostly distinct in theme dealing with a variety of topics, all however making one clear and related garland about the central thread of all Indian culture, a pure and consistent monism of thought but expressing it variously, now in terms of the technique of Indian music, the fundamental relation between 'srtuit' and 'alap' and again as the philosophy of the Hindu communal organisation, a subtle and successful blending of the "Pravrutti" and "Nivrutti" marga in an arc of social experience which leads with varying insistence but with compulsive sweep through the four-fold 'purushardhas of life,' or again by a characteristic theory of the æsthetic positing for every perfect experience of 'Rasa' the realisation of emotional identity between the Artist and critic or 'Rasika' and interpreting every perception of beauty in nature as essentially a direct intuition-impression of Reality and Identity.

Such a close and critical analysis of every phase of the Indian experience not only brings out the pure consistency of higher Indian thought but helps to explain how through untold centuries of varying National fortunes Indian Life has remain-

*The Dance of Siva: Fourteen Indian Essays.. By Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami, D. SC., George G. Harrap & Co., London and New York.

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ed entirely faithful to itself, spiritually whole and united though outwardly under the need of alien domination. The picture of such an embodied culture alive and functioning to-day as in the vigour of youth should yield lessons of importance both to the modern Indian in the re-adjustment of individual and communal life successfully to resist the general characteristic vulgarisation of experience in the present predominantly industrial epoch, and to the statesmen of Europe and America in their anxious endeavour to re-habilitate the most elementary virtues of communal life in a social organisation weighted with the worst passions of individual rivalry and insatiate greed. Thus to the modern occidental, it must help to create and unravel a new series of individual values and a new order of progress based not on wealth, or the will to power and self-assertion but on the measure of true self-denial and self-regulation and the keenness of spiritual insight which must spring out of it. It must teach him too some of the characteristic and to him most needed, of oriental virtues, preached through its simplest folk-lore, the capacity for deep and undisturbed inwardness amidst an eddying whirl of external action, the pre-occupation with the eternal elements of life through all the abandon to the richest and the most delicate variety of sense-experience.

A higher service perhaps for the moment would be to explode the long-accepted doctrine that it is only the economic bond which could effectively hold communities together and to do it by a clear and positive illustration of how at least one society in the past very early outgrew the merely economic stage and deliberately moulded itself into a purposive organisation where the finer powers of the human soul would have free and untrammelled play, and so guided and controlled the lower desires and passions of Nature that Life thereby grew more abundant, and to wider and larger amptitude for æsthetic apprehension, emotional rhythm and spiritual richness, and how similarly the European type of communal organisation too must rapidly release itself from the grip of physical want and struggle, to be free to reach out to the finer Ideal hidden in its own ardent industrialism and love of power, and so perhaps add its own contribution to human culture by a persistent and passionate emphasis of the Individual note in the Absolute.

To the Indian himself, such a clear exposition of the underlying philosophy and æsthetic unity of the most important situations of his social life is even more important as finally deciding for him the absolute impossibility of any change of "venue" for his social and spiritual evolution. It would be little short of moral and cultural suicide now to let himself launch out on the new seas of a purely economic and individualistic civilisation, and whatever the final chances of self-fulfillment for a communal life tuned to an "Idealistic Individualism" his must for ever remain a nursery of communal co-operative virtues, of group-harmony and guild-government if the characteristic virtues of gentleness, hospitality, æsthetic self-abandon, and spiritual pre-occupation, in other words his essential and innermost Indianness, are to continue to distinguish him from, and keep the memory of his fathers among, the important nations of the earth. Not that all or even any of the social moulds should remain into the future as of old all unbroken, but that however the forms may change or be deliberately changed to suit new times and new relations between Nations, the Indian Spirit, with its unfailing touch on the universal behind every note of individualistic experience, must have firm hold of every social situation and cultural advance, guiding and governing every step of the National Life into nearer and nearer intimation with the Ideal determined once and for ever by the ancient Aryan Rishis, the builders of the "City of Gods."

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Surdasa: The Milton of Hindi Poetry

BY

MR. KANNOOMAL, M.A.

In the pantheon of immortal saintly bards who consecrated their lives in tuning their soul's song to the praises of the Lord and held direct communion with Him through the all-absorbing ecstasies of their holy music, Surdasa occupies one of the highest—if not the highest—places. He stands head and shoulders above his contemporaries—successors and predecessors as far as religious poetry goes. Although sufficiently well known in the land of his birth, Surdasa's greatness remains to be duly known and appreciated by the western world, which has so far worshipped only its own idols.

Surdasa was born in 1483 of poor Saraswat parents at the village of SIHI in the vicinity of Delhi. From his very childhood, he was of a religious frame of mind and passed most of his time in the society of spiritual teachers and holy men. From them he drew his inspiration, and while only a boy of eight years, he left his home and parents and wandered about in search of the idol of his heart—Lord Krishna. He ultimately came over to Muttra—the holy birth-place of Krishna and settled there for life. From this place he used to make his wanderings in Vrijmandala where lay the scenes of the sports and deeds of Lord Krishna's early life. Surdasa had by now become the pupil of holy Ballabacharya —the spiritual head of the Vaishnavite sect consecrated to the love, devotion and worship of Sri Krishna. Surdasa died at the ripe age of eighty, in 1563.

Although Surdasa wrote some light works, all of devotional poetry, *his magnum opus* is Sursagar—a collection of songs mainly describing the early deeds and sports of Lord Krishna. Tradition says that this book contained no less than a lakh of songs but the modern manuscripts do not contain more than five or six thousands of them. Each of these songs is a masterpiece of poetry that has never been excelled. From a literary point of view, they stand unmatched and unsurpassed in the whole range of human literature. Their external beauty is immensely enhanced by their depth of devotional feeling that pervades them through and through. The poet loves his Krishna as a child or as a companion and lavishes the riches of his heart upon him. None who can understand the language of the songs, remains unmoved by their pathos. For chastity, beauty, grace, poetic art and depth of devout feeling, the songs of Surdasa, poured out of the depth of his heart in praise of his deity Krishna, remain unsurpassed. Sursagar is a priceless treasury of poetry. To hear and understand its songs is to be inspired by them. While the learned find in them a wealth of poetic beauty and charm, the devout hear in them a clear call to come and merge themselves into the undying, ineffaceable ecstasies of divine bliss. Surdasa was a very advanced saint, a matchless poet, a peerless musician whose harp, inspired by his immortal songs, has poured forth divine and blissful melodies that still reverberate in their undying musical vibrations in the sacred groves of Vrindaban where he saw his Lord face to face, though physically blind.

Sursagar is an inexhaustible treasure-house of beauty. Let some Indian scholar make it a work of his life just as Max Muller did in regard to the Rigveda.

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THE RECENT CONFERENCES

In the January number of the *Indian Review* we published an account of the proceedings of some of the important Conferences held in the Christmas week. In this issue we give further accounts of various other gatherings held subsequently at different places. We have no doubt that this attempt to present a bird's eye view of the more important Conferences will be appreciated by our readers. [Ed. *I.R.*]

Indian Science Congress

The Indian Science Congress met at Bombay, on January 13. H. E. the Governor, in welcoming the delegates, expressed his appreciation of the honour in inviting him to be the patron of the Congress. He then paid a compliment to the President, Sir Leonard Rogers,—"a scientist of international and world-wide repute who has rendered incalculable service to India in the field of tropical medicine and research." After referring to the munificence of Sir Dorab Tata, Chairman of the Reception Committee, H. E. concluded with an appeal to bring medical aid within the reach of the millions.

Sir Leonard began by thanking the Congress for including medical research among the subjects of deliberations at the Congress.

> Realising that I owe my present onerous position to having been fortunate enough to make some practical life-saving advances in tropical medicine, I felt that I shall be most likely to interest my audience by illustrating the subject with some account of my own researches in which the collateral sciences of physiology, chemistry and physics were utilised in solving problems arising in the treatment of deadly diseases: for I feel sure that pure scientists will always rejoice in seeing their discoveries being made practical use of by medical research workers.

He then referred to the immense advantages that modern medicine has derived in the last few decades from advances made in closely related sciences and discoursed at some length on the research work done in the past.

More may yet be done, he continued, but sufficient has already accrued to prove the inestimable life-saving and economic value of medical research work. On this subject Sir Leonard grew warm and urged that increasing facilities should be afforded for medical work.

> In order to get the medical officers with the highest abilities and scientific training required for success in research to devote their lives to it, and to abandon the much more lucrative clinical side of medicine, it will be absolutely necessary to give them salaries in proportion to the long and expensive scientific training of from six to eight years, which they receive after finishing their general school education.
>
> Unfortunately the short-sightedness, to put it as mildly as possible, of the controlling service in India, the senior members of which, admitted before the age of entry was raised to the present standard, were recruited from schools, often with the aid of cramming, and almost invariably without any scientific knowledge, and whose education ceased before they became of age, has for long used its almost uncontrolled power in India to prevent the more highly educated members of the scientific service, including the medical, from receiving pay adequate to their training, much less the princely salaries which the Indian Civil Service obtain for themselves."

Contrasting the emoluments of medical experts with those of the Civil Service, he said:—

> That the Simla authorities are unaware of the value of scientific training and experience will be clear from the fact that, when recently sanctioning a new appointment as director of a post-graduate scientific school and research institute, they cut down the emoluments recommended by the local government, which is finding the money, to below a comfortable living wage in the expensive location of the institution, and actually to below the present pay in a much less responsible position of the very officer whose nomination to the post they at the same time accepted, and that too although he happens to be a Fellow of the Royal Society. Further proof of the truth of the above statement is surely unnecessary.

The Science Congress resumed its sitting on the following day when two papers, one on "Nitrogenous Fertilisers" by Mr. C. M. Hutchinson and another on "Celloids and their Relation to Industry" by Mr. Mackenzie Wallis were read.

In the evening, a public lecture illustrated by lantern slides on the "Life History of a Star" was delivered by Dr. Gilbert Parker.

The next day the four sections of the Congress were in session, these being the agriculture and applied botany, physics and mathematics, medical research and geology sections. At the medical section, Major Glen Liston read a paper on "The Next War: Man versus Insects." Mr. Keating read a paper in the agricultural section on "Some Economic Factors affecting Agricultural Progress" which appears on page 103.

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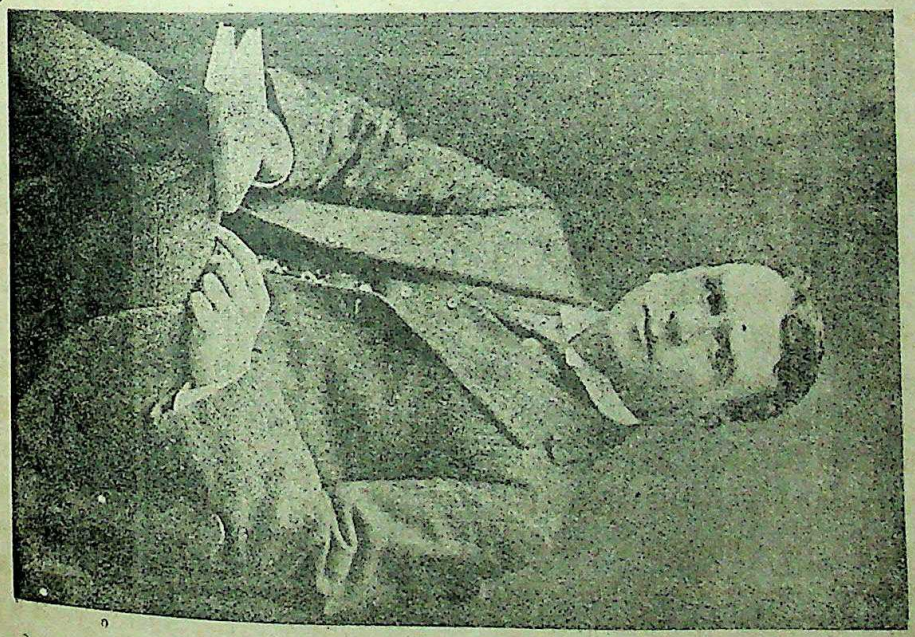
KHAN BAHADUR ADARJI DALAL
President, The Zoroastrian Conference.



PRINCIPAL P. ANSTEY
President, The Economic Conference.

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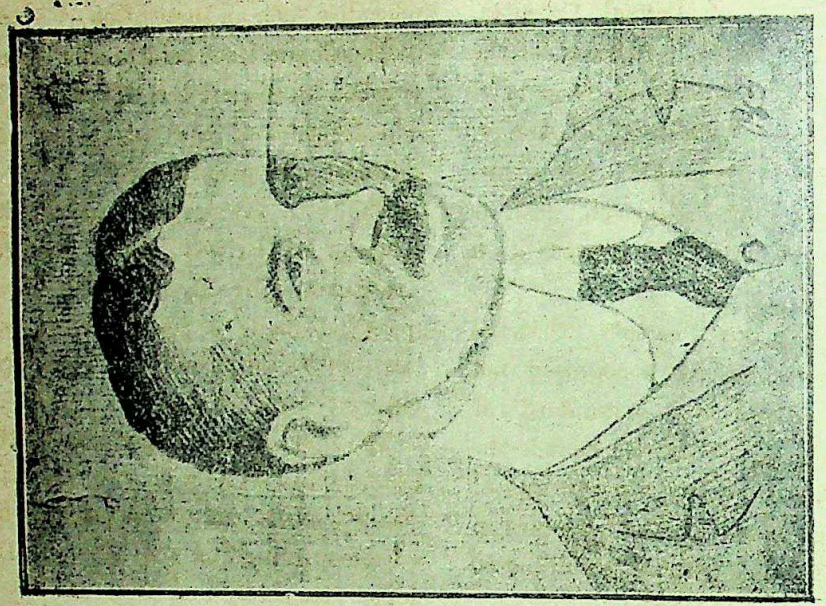

SIR THOMAS HOLLAND
President, The Engineers' Conference.

SIR LEONARD ROGERS
President, Indian Science Congress.

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The Engineers' Conference.

A Conference of Engineers was held at the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, on December 30, to discuss the question of the formation of an Indian Institution or Society of Engineers. On the motion of Sir R. N. Mookerjee, Sir Thomas Holland was proposed to the chair. Sir Thomas, in the course of his speech, dealt at some length on the exact nature of the Institution they were organizing.

"We want to be quite sure," he said, "that the Institution membership will be recognised not only in India but outside as the standard of technical efficiency and competence. That is the line that has been taken up by the Institutions at Home, and in consequence of the standard of official recognition, the membership, according to its grade, has a definite market value."

He then offered some suggestions for forming the central and provincial bodies.

Mr. E. M. Hughman, the Secretary, announced that 179 applications had been received for membership.

The following resolution was adopted: "That it is desirable to form a society for the advancement of all branches of engineering science in India."

A committee was appointed to report to the meeting on the 3rd January regarding the following points: (a) The steps to be taken to approach with a view to co-operation of the representatives of the provincial engineering congresses, the Mining and Geological Institute and the local branches of the English institutions of Engineers; (b) to suggest a name and provisional constitution for the new society; (c) to nominate a list of the provisional committee with a view to completing the negotiations with the related congresses and societies; (d) to provide means for provincial finance; (e) to propose a date for and arrangements for an inaugural meeting.

Sir Claude Hill welcomed the organisation and said that the attitude of the Government of India was one of sympathy and encouragement. He pointed out that they had no intention to officialise such an institution.

The Committee held several meetings and decided on all the subjects allotted for its discussion. The decisions of the committee were then submitted to the general body.

The third day's proceedings consisted of a joint meeting of British and American Electrical Institutes. Mr. H. P. Gibbs, of Bombay who presided made a few remarks concerning the possibilities for the extended application of the electrical art in India.

The fourth and last meeting of the Engineers' Conference was held on January 4th. The Chairman explained to the meeting what the committee appointed on the 30th of December had done. He said:—

"The committee met on the 31st and spent the whole day in discussing the proposals decided upon at the previous general meeting. The committee agreed on certain principles for organisation and certain principles that should govern the drafting of rules and regulations for the proposed society. They then appointed a sub-committee to work out these details, draft the rules, and prepare a financial scheme. The sub-committee worked on the 1st and 2nd January and the full committee reported its consideration of the proposals last night. The proposals that were agreed upon by the committee yesterday evening have been reviewed again this morning by the full committee and we are now in fair agreement about certain points to be put before this engineeering meeting."

Resolutions touching the name, composition and the lines of work of the Indian Society of Engineers were then passed. Sir R. N. Mookerjee proposed and Mr. Cowley seconded the vote of thanks to the President who replied in felicitous terms.

In the afternoon, a special session was held, presided over by Mr. J. W. Meares, at which Mr. Richard H. Martin, District Engineer and Acting Electrical Engineer, South Indian Railway, read an interesting paper on "The Problem of the Electrification of Mountain Railways, with special reference to the Nilgiri Mountain Railway."

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The All-India Cantonment Conference

The first session of the All-India Cantonment Conference met at Amballa on January 25. There were about a hundred delegates from different Cantonments. The objects of the Conference are to obtain certain civic rights in cantonments. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rai Sahib Benarsi Das, in the course of his address, defined the conditions under which the civil population of cantonments live and contrasted them with those of the people of other parts of British India. He said :—

> Even in normal times of peace there are sections in the Cantonments Code that hang like the sword of Damocles over the heads of peaceful residents of cantonments. Even the elementary rights of British citizenship such as are enjoyed by every resident of British India are not extended to us in their entirety.

He deplored that, with all the advantages of the contact with fresh Europeans of broad sympathies and democratic outlook and ideals, the cantonment people are faring worse.

> With such elevating influences of our environment, we in cantonments are more intimately acquainted with and better fitted for the free institutions of the west than other. But it is an irony of fate that though we deserve more we have got much less.

The claims of the Conference are modest enough. The Reception Committee stated in clear terms that the Conference did not desire to meddle with the military administration of cantonments. The Chairman continued :—

> All that we desire is, that in matters pertaining to our own welfare we should be given a free hand. The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme lays down the principle that in local-civil administration the people's voice be supreme. What we contend and pray for is that this principle be extended to cantonments. The constitution of the cantonment Committee is at present most unsatisfactory to my mind. A future cantonment committee should be a more inviting institution where the chosen representatives of the people be as welcome as the Military officers.

The President, Rai Sahib L. Laxminarain, in the course of his Presidential Address, pointed out the scope of the work of the Conference after which he summarised their views on the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. He said :—

We do not doubt but heartily wish that the policy of self-determination should be applied to India in as full a measure as possible, but I do not think there is any one among us who will prejudice India's cause by adopting a policy which may result in the frustration of all our hopes and the perpetuation of the autocratic system under which India is governed at present. However great might be our regret that during the last election many of our most trusted friends have not been returned to Parliament, the British Premier, Mr. Llyod George, has at the present moment done all in his power to restore confidence in us that the pledges held out to us will be fulfilled. The inclusion of Sir S. P. Sinha in the British Government as Under-Secretary of State for India and his elevation to the peerage are landmarks in the history of India's connection with England.

He then dwelt on the special grievances of the residents of cantonments. Resolutions of loyalty, of condolence with Their Majesties in their bereavement and congratulations to the allied armies, were passed.

The next day the following resolutions were discussed and passed :—

(1) This Conference respectfully but emphatically urges on the Government the necessity of introducing in the construction and working of the Cantonment Committees an element of popular control in consonance with the spirit of the recommendations made regarding the constitution and working of municipal and district boards in the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme; that for the purposes of civic administration, the areas occupied by the civil population should be separated from the regimental lines and constituted into separate Municipal Committees, but until this reform is brought about at least 50 per cent. of the Cantonment Committees should consist of non-official Indian Members elected by rate-payers, and separate representation should be accorded to house-owners; (2) this Conference, while viewing with satisfaction the memorandum issued by Army Head-quarters regarding house property in Cantonments, regrets to notice that they are not observed in practice and urges that the same be enforced. The difficulties which the landlords in cantonments experience are (1) the cantonment administration do not act with sufficient consideration towards owners as a class; (2) the house-owners are required to make alterations, repairs and additions to their houses to suit individual fancies; (3) the rents of the houses in many cases were fixed four or five decades ago and are now, when prices have so much advanced, too low to make house property attractive or offer an inducement for investment of capital in new house property; (4) the allotment of houses by cantonment authorities to officers and regiments results in their being vacant for long periods and causes loss of rent. This practice, though it is contrary to law, is vigorously persisted in some cantonments; (5) the owners should have statutory power to deal directly with the tenants; (6) the language used in notices, etc., served upon landlords conveying threats of criminal prosecution sometimes for most trivial points is

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most discourteous and humiliating; (7) that wear and tear due to the usage and negligence of tenants should be made good by the tenants, the service of such notices on house-owners is contrary to the intentions of cantonment law, which contemplates the intervention of the cantonment authority only when somebody's safety is endangered; (8) the awards of arbitration committees would not be final, but should be subject to appeal to the court of original civil jurisdiction; (9) that the tenants should have no right to sublet bungalows occupied by them without the written permission of landlords.

This Conference is of opinion that employment in the cantonment services would become more attractive, and the status of the service would be raised, if cantonment services are regularly granted and made pensionable. This Conference considers that sections 2-15, 21-6 and 21-7 in the Cantonment Code empowering the G.O.C. to expel, without assigned reason, being opposed to the fundamental rights of British citizenship should be expunged from the Cantonment Code.

It was further resolved that a deputation of the Conference should wait on His Excellency the Viceroy, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Franchise Committee with a memorial embodying the purpose of the resolutions passed by the Conference. The next session will meet at Meerut.

The Mathematical Conference

The Indian Mathematical Society held its Second Conference at Bombay on the 11th, 12th and 13th January. H. E. the Governor of Bombay who was unable to be present on the occasion referred in his opening address to the importance of concerted action on the part of Mathematicians all over India. The various papers read at the Conference were mainly of technical interest. But the President, Prof. A. C. L. Wilkinson, in the course of his address, pleaded for an organised attempt to place the teaching of Mathematics on a sound and practical basis and concluded:—

I therefore urge upon you the necessity of carrying into practice that article of our constitution that provides for the formation of branches in the various presidencies, whose duty it will be to promote the study of elementary mathematics by setting on foot inquiries into the methods of teaching, the extent to which each subject should be taught and numerous other questions which will be suggested and then with the material collected, classified and discussed we shall be in a position to advocate such further reforms as may be considered necessary and thus in the future initiate where in the past we have followed.

The Bengal Mahishya Conference

The Bengal Mahishya Conference, the fifteenth session of which was held on 31st December 1918 and 1st January 1919 at the residence of Babu Nut Behary Shee of Howrah, was attended by delegates from the various districts of Bengal. There was a large gathering of distinguished educationists whom the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Babu Preo Gopal Chakravarti, welcomed in a neat little speech. The Mahishyas who number about twenty four lakhs, and formed the main agricultural population of Bengal, he said, were not receiving the degree of attention and sympathy they deserved at the hands of the Government. Rai Bahadur B. N. Das, M.A., B.SC., Vice-Principal of the Dacca College, took the chair on the first day and Babu Bepin Behari Das I. S. O., on the second. The President, in the course of his speech, emphasised the supreme importance of education and advocated its spread amongst the members of his community as the sole means of promoting their material and moral welfare. After referring to the benefit derived by the Mahomedan community from the Muslim Fund, he earnestly appealed to all present to contribute to the 'Mahishya Educational Trust' which had as its object the granting of scholarships to poor deserving Mahishya students.

Then the following resolutions among others were passed after lengthy discussion:

That this Conference urges on every Mahishya to realise the importance of education and to push forward its advancement in all its branches amongst the members of the community and their priests. The Mahishya District Associations are accordingly requested to raise funds through the adoption of the following means:—

(*a*) Monthly subscriptions and donations.

(*b*) Donations on such occasions as Marriage, Shradh, Puja etc.

That steps be taken to collect funds for the creation of an endowment to provide free studentship for deserving poor Mahishya-students in the proposed Howrah College.

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The Zoroastrian Conference

The seventh annual conference of the Parsis met at the Empire Theatre, Bombay, on the 11th January. Miss Shirni Manackji Cursetji welcomed those present in a lively little speech in which she contrasted the condition of the Parsis of to-day with that of the state of things half a century ago. She referred to the freedom of women and the growing Europeanisation of the Parsi people. She advocated the starting of charity organisation and in conclusion deprecated sending Parsi boys and girls to mission schools. Khan Bahadur Adarji Dalal, in his Presidential address, referred to the loss sustained by the Parsis by the death of Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir Ratan Tata. He deplored it was not possible to raise a Parsi contingent.

He next pleaded for the creation of a body of self-sacrificing missionaries to serve the community and the public at large on the style of Mr. Gokhale's Servants of India Society, the Deccan Education Society, Mr. Apte's Women's University, the Benares Hindu University, and the Mahomedan University. Referring to politics, the President said it was a good thing that the aversion which the Parsis showed ten or twenty years ago to a participation in matters political, had gradually decreased, and the tendency now among educated Parsis was towards increased participation in politics in conjunction with other communities.

He favoured the representation made by Sir Jamsetji and others for communal representation because when other Indian communities asked for this, they should take care to press their demand. He again asked the Parsis to co-operate with other communities in the public political movement for the good of the country, and concluded with a word of warning against extremism in politics.

The Economic Conference

The Economic Conference which was held under the auspices of the Indian Economic Association began its sittings at Bombay on December 30. Prominent Economists like Prof. Jevons of Allahabad and Prof. Hamilton of Calcutta were present. Principal Anstey of the Bombay College of Commerce who presided over the Conference discussed in his opening remarks, the constitution of theIndian Economic Conference. Last year, he said, they had a Conference of professional economists. Its scope should now be widened, he said, by the inclusion of members of the civil service, journalists and others interested in different branches of economics. He said that Government should pay due regard to the "collective voice of economists," and he contrasted the conditions in the West where, unlike in India, Economic experts are consulted by Government. Prof. Kale of Poona, in the course of a paper on the "Study of Village Economics," suggested that some distinguished economist must be associated with the Government officials to guide them in their policy. Prof. Coyajee, in his paper on "Some lines of Co-operative Progress," urged that the Co-operative movement might be utilised in organising and guiding the political opinion of the raiyat. Prof. Stanley of the Allahabad University read a paper on "Finance and Economic Development," while Mr. R. B. Ewbank, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, in a paper on "The Co-operative Movement and the Present Famine in the Bombay Presidency," drew attention to the material and moral advantages of Co-operation for the raiyats.

Among the other papers read at the Conference was one by the Hon. Dr. Harold H. Mann entitled "First Investigations on the Efficiency of Agricultural Labour in Western India," excerpts from which appeared in our last number.

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THE LATE NAWAB SYED MAHOMED

We regret to record the death of Nawab Syed Mahomed which occured on Feb. 12. The Nawab Syed was a familiar figure in the public life of Madras. He was a staunch Congressman and an adherent of Hindu-Muslim Unity. He was a nominated member of the Madras Legislative Council having been before Sheriff of Madras. As an elected member of the Imperial Council he served with Mr. Gokhale for several years. He presided over the Karachi Congress in 1913.

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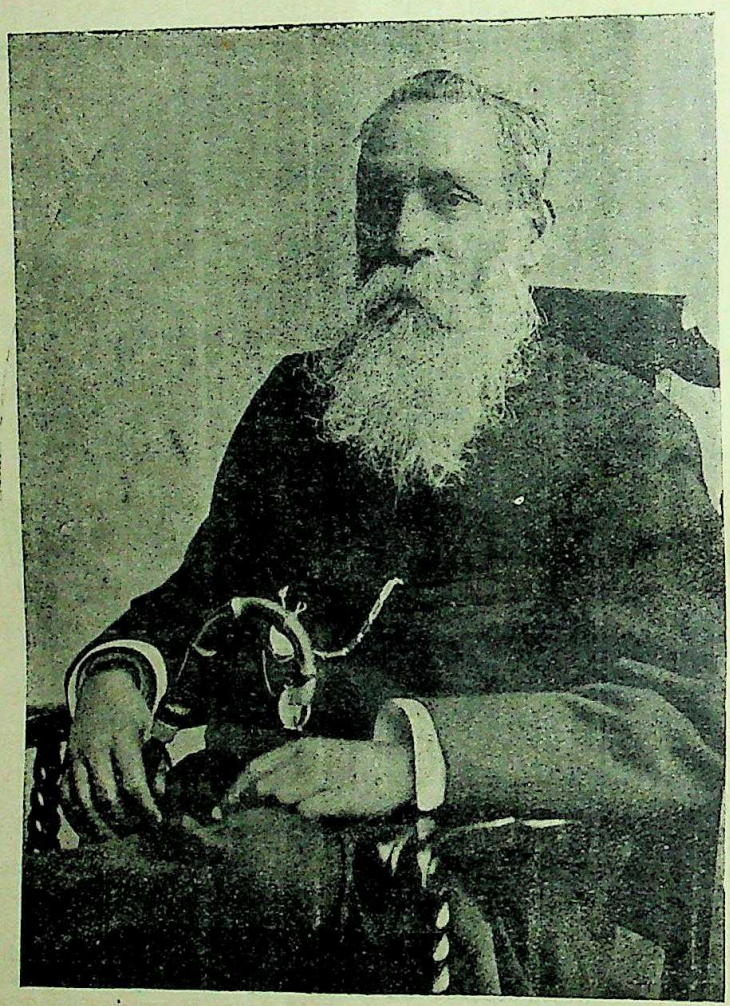

PRATAP CAANDRA MAZUMDAR

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PRATAPCHANDRA MAZUMDAR*

BY

PANDIT SITANATH TATVABUSHAN.

INTRODUCTION

PRATAPCHANRA MAZUMDAR, the writer, orator and theologian, was a great leader of the Brahma movement and in many respects the most eminent of the immediate disciples of Kesavchandra Sen. But he belonged not merely to the small community which recognised him as one of its great leaders, but to the whole country, and in a sense to the whole world. His sympathies were wide, and his literary and missionary activities far-reaching. The most important of his works were published in America, and some of his most remarkable addresses delivered there; and his English and American admirers would perhaps equal, if not actually exceed, in number those who admire and appreciate him in this country. His writings, though written, as they could not but be, from the standpoint of the Brahma Samaj, are so liberal in views and sentiments, that they may be read with profit and without the least offence being felt by men of the most varying opinions. Being written, as all his works are with the exception of two little Bengali treatises, in most elegant English, they afford a great literary treat apart from the value of the teachings embodied in them. A sketch of the life and teachings of such a valued writer and worker cannot but be welcome, we hope, to all, irrespective of creed or class.

FAMILY AND PARENTAGE

Mr. Mazumdar belonged to the same caste as his great master, Kesav, and was distantly related to him. It is called the Vaidya (physician) caste, one which is peculiar to Bengal, having no corresponding caste in other parts of India. It is a high non-Brahmana caste equal in social rank to, if not higher than, the Kayasthas. Pratap was born in 1840 at his maternal grandfather's house at Banseria, a noted village 24 miles north of Calcutta; but his infancy was spent at Garifa on the Hugli, not far from Calcutta, a village which is the ancestral seat of both the Sens and the Mazumdars. Mr. Mazumdar's description of his own childhood reminds one of Wordsworth's *Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood* and lends a remarkable testimony to the truth of the poet's reflections. This description is embodied in a biographical sketch attached to Mr. Mazumdar's *Heart-beats* and is written by the Rev. S. J. Barrows, President of the Chicago Parliament of Religions and a great admirer of Mr. Mazumdar. This sketch and the present writer's personal knowledge of him derived from a rather close acquaintance with his career as a preacher and writer, are the only available sources from which the following narration of his life, uneventful but rich in thought and sentiment, is drawn. Of his father, Mr. Mazumdar says: "In the dim, far, sad past I trace my father's face, a large, generous, loving face, in which great impulsiveness was written in strong characters. He was a stout, florid, full-sized man, very kind, very angry, frank, artless, warm-hearted beyond discretion but not very learned. He was educated up to the ordinary standard of those times, was a teacher in the Hugly College for some time, and then a senior clerk in the bank. I believe he had some leanings toward the Brahma Samaj; for I faintly recollect he had some volumes of the *Tattvabodhini Pattrika*, the organ of the Adi Brahma Samaj, in his room. Oh that he had lived a few years longer for me to have known him better! Oh that he had gone after putting me under the care of some one able to take care of me and teach me! But he

*Condensed considerably from a sketch prepared for Messrs. Natesan & Co's "Biographies of Eminent Indian Series." Price Four Annas each.

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died very early, too soon. In fact, he could not have been more than thirty-two when he died, and I was about nine. He left me an orphan under the care of my young mother, who did not know what to do under the paralysis of her great sorrow. The village woodmen speak of him with tears in their eyes. He always lent them money, took it not, but gave them more. The village widows talk of him to bless his memory. And the village boys, who have grown into older men than myself, mention him with honour and affection. He taught them and read with them, and preferred them before his own son. He often showed severity to me outwardly; but I know he always loved his boy in the heart of his heart, with all the fulness and fondness that there was in him." Mr. Mazumdar's memories of his mother are even more vivid and tender. He says of her: "She was a beautiful being, young, high-minded, intelligent, queenly in her features. She was unlettered, like other women of her time; but she was a lady with the high training of her caste and her position. She became a widow at about twenty-five, and loved me as a heart-stricken widow can love her growing son. She wished I should be comfortable and learn the best that a boy of my age should. But her means were very limited and she could have no hand in my education."

EDUCATION

Having passed through the usual *pathsala* and school courses, young Mazumdar entered the Presidency College. He spent two years there, making good progress in all studies except Mathematics. His deficiency in this branch he attributes to the too frequent promotions with which he was favoured in the school department, and it was perhaps this deficiency that led him to leave college without taking a degree. Henceforth he was left to self-education and to the influence exerted by his friends and companions. For some time the latter was not of the most desirable character; but he was soon thrown by Providence into contact with the two great souls who exerted the greatest influence on his character. They were Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and Brahmananda Kesavchandra Sen. The former stood before him "in his character as a finished piece of workmanship, to be admired, loved and, as far as possible, imitated. Kesav was yet unfinished. But he had the fascination of a growing beautiful character," says Mr. Barrows. "He grew with and into us," says Mr. Mazumdar, "from within: he was in perpetual contact with us. He was most natural, and made everything about him as wholesome as the earth and air. He was so true, strong, warm, elevated and magnetising that he became to me really a part of myself, the better part. He was like another self to me, a higher, holier, diviner self. Yes: we grew together, he in one direction, and I in a somewhat different. I was conscious of the difference; but he grew into me, and I grew into him, in a relationship which outlived the separation of death itself."

MARRIED LIFE

Mr. Mazumdar was married when he was only eighteen years old. The union, though a child-marriage, without choice on either side, proved to be a very happy one.

CONVERSION TO BRAHMAISM

Mr. Mazumdar signed the Brahma Samaj covenant in 1859. This in itself did not lead to any severance of connection with his relatives, but when in 1862 he took his wife to the house of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore on the day of Kesavchandra Sen's appointment to the Brahma Samaj ministry, he was subjected to a good deal of persecution. The Tagore family had lost caste, even before embracing Brahmaism, through Muhammadan influence. A letter was therefore sent to young Mazumdar, while at the Tagores', to the effect that as he had violated the wishes of his guardians in taking his wife to the house of an ex-communicated man, he should no longe

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return to the ancestral house. But Mazumdar "determined for once to stand on his rights. He would cross the threshold and see what came of it. But his poor wife trembled from head to foot. How could she go and show her face to women who were so furious? Her husband took her firmly by the hand and said, 'We must go.' All the houses in the neighbourhood were crowded; every house-top was full of women; every house door was full of men. They were curious to see the destiny that awaited her. There was no open violence, but that fearful boycotting which was one of the consequences of ex-communication was immediately experienced. No cook would prepare their meals. No servant would touch their clothes. The people in the neighbourhood would not talk to them. The experience was painful and humiliating. His wife, in this emergency, managed things with the firmness, heartiness and industry which have always characterised her." There has been incomparably more fearful persecution than the above in the case of many a convert to Brahmaism; but as this was all that fell to the share of Mr. Mazumdar, we have given as full a picture of it as we could.

PREPARATION FOR LIFE'S WORK

Mr. Mazumdar served for a short time at the Bank of Bengal, but he soon found out his real work—the preaching of religion—and devoted himself to it with all the zeal that characterised him. His father left him a property worth about Rs. 15,000, but much of this was wasted through the mismanagement of his guardian, so that when a settlement was effected, it was found to be worth only Rs. 10,000. With this money Mr. Mazumdar subsequently bought his "Peace Cottage" near Kesavchandra Sen's "Lily Cottage." Latterly he built another house at Kurseong, below Darjiling, and called it the "Sailasram." At the time we are speaking of, Mr. Mazumdar's chief occupation was study and writing for the *Indian Mirror*, which was first started as a fortnightly by Kesavchandra Sen and his friends, but which gradually became a weekly and then a daily. Mr. Mazumdar's studies at this time lay mostly in the line of general literature and philosophy. It is said that he was a voracious reader of novels and read almost every book of romance known to him. This seems to explain to some extent his great command over the English language and the refinement and elegance of his style. His connection with the *Mirror*, of which he was often the editor, was also of great use to him in forming his style.

AS A PREACHER OF RELIGION

In 1865 Mr. Mazumdar, with many others, seceded from the Adi Brahma Samaj under the leadership of Kesavchandra Sen. The secesion was due to the difference in the types of religion held on the one hand by the old leader, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, and on the other by Kesav and his followers. While the religion of the former was essentially Hindu and in favour of slow and cautious progress in social matters, that of the latter was essentially Christian with a cosmopolitan flavour, and advocated radical reform in society. The immediate cause of the schism was Devendranath's re-installation of two Brahma preachers who had been dismissed for retaining their sacrificial threads, but whom Kesav and his party could not tolerate on the Samaj pulpit. After vain efforts to retain their influence in the parent Samaj the latter came out and founded in 1865 the "Brahma Samaj of India," of which Mr. Mazumdar was appointed Assistant Secretary. He also became a minister of the Samaj and began to preach about this time. His prayers and sermons were greatly appreciated, and this appreciation grew with the growth of his influence and spiritual experience. His ministrations were at first in Bengali, and sometimes in Hindi, but from about the time he was thirty, he began to deliver public addresses in English. He gradually became one of our ablest

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and most eloquent speakers, and his influence was felt by vast audiences in this country, in England and in the United States of America. His delivery was slow, but dignified and impressive. He used the choicest words and the aptest figures and imagery, and all that he said was suffused with the glow of his deep emotions and spiritual experience.

AS A JOURNALIST

In or about 1872, Mr. Mazumdar began to edit and publish a yearly record of religious thought and missionary activity under the name of the *Theistic Annual*. This was followed by the *Theistic Quarterly Review*, and much later by the *Interpreter*, a monthly and, for sometime, a fortnightly journal. He also wrote for the *Dharmatattva*, the Bengali organ of the Brahma Samaj of India. When the *Indian Mirror* passed out of the hands of the Brahma leaders, and the *Liberal and New Dispensation* was started as the organ of Kesav's church, Mr. Mazumdar also wrote for it occasionally. He also contributed occasional articles on the principles of the Brahma Samaj to Anglo-Indian, English and American journals. Until 1882, when his first work, or at any rate his first important work, came out, his literary activity was confined to writing for the periodicals.

PART IN THE SECOND BRAHMA SCHISM

In 1878 the schism in the Brahma Samaj that followed the marriage of Kesavchandra Sen's eldest daughter with the then young Maharajah of Kuch Behar, took place, and the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, the third great section of the Brahma community, was established. Pandit Vijaykrishna Goswami, one of Kesavchandra's closest followers, with many others who had followed him more or less closely, joined the new organisation. Mr. Mazumdar might have done the same and for a time it seemed he might do so. Though deeply attached to Kesav and indebted to him for much of what was valuable in his own life, it was very widely known that he was an independent thinker and had never blindly followed his leader. He did not also quite approve of the marriage that formed the bone of contention. But nevertheless he clung to Kesav and condemned the schism.

EXPOSITION OF BRAHMAISM

In 1882 appeared the first book, at any rate the first important book, written by Mr. Mazumdar. It consisted mostly of his public addresses and contributions to periodical literature, recast and partly re-written, and was named *The Faith and Progress of the Brahma Samaj*. It was in three parts; (1) Speculative and Doctrinal; (2) Devotional and Practical; and (3) The New Dispensation. It thus professed to be a defence of the religion of the Brahma Samaj and an account of its missionary and other activities. But it was so only partly and rather imperfectly. On its speculative side it contained no reasoned and systematic exposition of Brahmaism, such as would convince, or even be fully intelligible to, a non-Brahma wishing to know what Brahmaism is. The writer simply stated, with his usual wealth and elegance of language, what he believed Brahmaism to be.

VISITS TO THE WEST

Mr. Mazumdar paid his first visit to England in 1874. In 1883 he re-visited England and extended his journey to America. "The memory of his visit," we quote from Dr. Barrows, "and the inspiration and enthusiasm it awakened, will still be fresh in the minds of many who read this book (Mr. Mazumdar's *Heart-beats*). He returned to India by way of San Francisco, stopping in Japan and lecturing in the University." The experiences of these two visits to the West are recorded in his interesting *Sketches of a Tour Round the World*. On returning from his second visit to the West, Mr. Mazumdar found that his great friend and leader, Kesavchandra Sen, had gone to a better world. The period following this event was the most troubled period of his life. But we shall speak of these troubles later on. In 1893, Mr. Mazumdar paid his third visit to the

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West. He attended the meeting of the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, where he read a paper on the "World's Religious Debt to Asia." "In Boston," we again quote from Dr. Barrows, "he was invited to deliver four lectures on India before the Lowell Institute. So great was the interest in these lectures, that he was induced to repeat them afternoons, under the same auspices, to a crowded hall. These lectures were reported and published in the *Christian Register*" (a Unitarian weekly). They have since been published in a book form under the name of the *Lowell Lectures*.

"THE ORIENTAL CHRIST."

In 1883 was published Mr. Mazumdar's *Oriental Christ*. "This remarkable volume," says Dr. Barrows, "was at once recognised as the product of a devout mind, active intellect and a glowing imagination. It was essentially a new contribution to Christology." In Mr. Mazumdar's Christology, however, there is no appeal either to the philosophic intellect or to the historical sense of the reader. The author neither draws upon Metaphysics to show that the Logas or Universal Christ incarnates himself in, and lighteth, every man coming into the world, nor upon the newly founded science of Higher Biblical Criticism to reconstruct the real historical Christ out of the semi-mythological records of the New Testament. He simply explains, in the light of his spiritual experiences, the sayings and doings of Jesus as they are narrated in the gospels. As such, it is a very valuable book and will be read with great pleasure and profit by all devout persons. As to Mr. Mazumdar's exact position in regard to Jesus Christ, it will be found expressed in a brief but very clear form in another work of his, *The Spirit of God*. Jesus, to him, is neither the Trinitarian Christian's third person in the Godhead nor the ordinary Theist's religious teacher, one among many. To him he is the embodiment of all human excellences, the human image of God's moral perfections and the very type of perfected humanity. "He is the type of humanity. Humanity broken up before and after is bound up in him, so that he is the human centre and bond of union in the religious organisations of mankind. . . . He taught us to be the sons of God. In all things did Jesus, so far as the times permitted, conform himself to the mind of God; that is to be the son of God." This is the typical Unitarian Christianity of men like Channing and Martineau, and neither ordinary Brahmaism nor ordinary Hinduism. For holding this view Mr. Mazumdar has often been accused of being a disguised Christian. But though such a view is rare among Brahmas and Hindus, we do not see that it is anyway opposed to the fundamental principles of either Brahmaism or liberal Hinduism.

DIFFERENCE WITH FELLOW-DISCIPLES

After the death of Kesavchandra Sen, serious differences about doctrinal and ecclesiastical matters broke out among his disciples and divided them into several opposed parties. The chief questions that divided them were succession to the office of the chief minister, the mode of conducting public service, the trust-deed of the Mandir, and the authority of the Apostolic Darbar or Missionary Conference. Mr. Mazumdar found himself, most unwillingly perhaps, at the head of one of these parties. As the ablest of his fellow-disciples, he might perhaps expect, and the public seemed clearly to expect, that he would be recognised as the rightful successor to the leadership of his church, but the party chiefly opposed to him, 'the Darbar party,' not only did not give him the expected recognition, but actually resolved to keep the Brahma Mandir pulpit vacant as a mark of their perpetual relation with their departed master. Mr. Mazumdar regarded and publicly represented this as the setting up of a fetish in a theistic temple, and long refused to preach there. We need not however enter into the details of these divisions, as the general public are not likely to feel any interest in them.

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Suffice it to say that Mr. Mazumdar felt himself misunderstood, unappreciated, distrusted and persecuted by his colleagues, more or less, during the whole time that intervened between Kesav's death and his own, and that his usefulness suffered much from these causes. He however had a number of faithful followers with whom he prayed while he stopped in Calcutta, and who helped him in carrying on his work according to his own ideas. It may be added that he at last felt the need of some sort of constitution for his church and tried to secure it. But he was not successful in his attempts, and up to this time the more thoughtful among his followers are trying, with very indifferent success, to bring some order out the chaos and anarchy into which the affairs of the New Dispensation body have fallen. The seeds of autocracy have been too long and too thickly sown by the leaders to allow of a constitutional and representative form of church government being established without long-continued, persevering and perhaps violent efforts on the part of those who wish it.

OTHER WRITINGS

Soon after Kesav's death, Mr. Mazumdar wrote an excellent biography of him. It did not quite please his fellow-disciples, some of whom wrote, in collaboration, a lengthy life of their leader in Bengali. But the general public will find in Mr. Mazumdar's book a faithful account of the great Brahma leader's life and teachings. One great merit of the book is its impartiality and absence of strong bias, a merit which could hardly be expected in a biography written by an ardent follower and admirer. Mr. Mazumdar also wrote in the years following *Aids to Moral Character* for young people, and *Stri-Charitra-Sangathan* in Bengali for women. While in America during his third visit to the West, Mr. Mazumdar published his *Heart-beats*, which has already been referred to, and shortly after came his *Spirit of God*. The former is a collection of short paragraphs containing reflections on religious other matters and embodying spiritual expe ces. "To me," says Dr. Barrows, "the seems the most remarkable devotional book that of Thomas a Kempis."

LAST DAYS AND LAST WORK

In the last years of his life, Mr. Mazumda his hand to a very useful work,—the found with the help of others, of an Institution fo Higher Training of young men. It is now the University Institute and is housed in building in College Square, Calcutta, which have been a great joy to him if he had liv see it. He was for several years a Presid the Institution and delivered several addres connection with its Moral Section. Durin very last days, one of his fondest cares carry through the press a volume of reflec prayers and autobiographical sketches in Be under the name of *Ashish* (blessings). It is that when this book, just out of the press brought to him only a few days before his d he silently and devoutly placed it upon his We also may place it on our heads as th legacy of our revered countryman to us. The is of great value, as embodying the last tho and experiences of the great thinker and de

Mr. Mazumdar died on the 27th May, 190 Diabetes, from which he had long been suffe His body was followed to the crematorium large number of his friends and admirers, inc ing some leaders of the Sadharan Brahma Sa The procession made a halt once before Brahma Mandir of India and again before Sadharan Brahma Samaj Mandir. At the la place several ladies came out from the adjoi Brahma houses and paid their respects to the remains of the great leader and preacher. Mazumdar was childless and has left only a reaved widow. But his admirers are many they meet every year on the anniversary of death to honour his memory.

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THE SANKHYA SYSTEM*

A REVIEW BY

PROF. T. RAJAGOPALACHARI, M.A., M.L.

THIS is a volume of the newly issued series of books, called the Heritage of India Series, under the joint Editorship of the Right Reverend V. S. Azariah, and Dr. J. N. Farquhar. "Everything must be scholarly, and everything must be sympathetic" is proclaimed in the editor's preface as the keynote of the series, and as far as the present volume is concerned, we have no hesitation in saying that this double promise is amply fulfilled. In a short compass of about a 100 pages, a mass of information is collected and arrayed from all possible source which gives a clear picture of the Sankhya philosophy and literature, and its relation to other schools of Indian thought. Dr. Keith's small volume must be welcomed as a really useful publication calculated to aid and instruct modern students in understanding the nature of the Sankhya.

Indian tradition ascribes the priority in age to the Tatwasamasa, then to the Samkhya Karikas. The Samkhya Sutras are generally accepted as the latest production. Dr. Keith however adduces reasons for the conclusion that the Tatwasamasa is a late work, probably of the 14th century, much later than the Karikas which are assigned to the fourth century A.D. Max Muller follows in his Six Systems of Indian Philosophy the Indian view that the Tatwasamasa is an early work on the Samkhya. Anyhow the Tatwasamasa is so brief and characterless that all Indian students read the Samkhya Karikas of Iswara Krishna as the principal work of authority of this School. It is this work that is quoted by Sankara, Ramanuja and other later scholars as the source of their knowledge of the Sankhya School.

The author of the Samkhya Karikas, whose style is terse but not without charm, gives no indication of his date; but it may be guessed that the school had other extensive literature of a diffuse kind, as indicated by the 'Samkhya-Smriti' refutation in the Brahma Sutras,(II. 1). We can say for certain that at the date of the Brahma Sutras, whatever that may be, the Samkhya had become crystallised as a Niresvara or God-less philosophy, postulating one active principle the Prakriti with all its modifications, and numberless Soul-entities, action-less, and pure in essence, but subject to influence by the co-ordination of the former, but no God or Supreme Soul. Liberation means the cessation of the Prakriti's action on the soul, bondage the continual play of the same entity on the soul. The Prakriti is matter, not spirit; the soul is pure spirit, liable to apparent modification by the mere presence of matter, as a sensitive and emotional individual of the world may be by the presence of an attractive female, coquettish and not too prudish. The final Liberation comes when the soul realises its independence, to the folly of its delusion, and discards the idea that the Prakriti is necessary for its existence. These fairly simple doctrines form the essence of the Samkhya and are set forth in the Karikas, and the Sutras. But the details of the system and its endless classifications of the prakriti's form and effects require careful attention, and Dr. Keith deals with them fully in his chapters on the Samkhya Karika and the Sutras.

Dr. Keith's chapter on the Shastitantra is very interesting reading. The author is said to be Vaisahaganya, and the Ahirbbdhnya Samhita, a Pancharatra work, recently published by Dr. Schrader, of the Adyar Library, Madras, is referred to as giving some indication of the

* By A. B. Keith, D. C. L., D. Litt., Heritage of India Series, Association Press, Calcutta.

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nature of the 60 principles making up the system. A question is raised whether the Shastitantra is a mere name for the Sankhya or the name of an independent work of the Sankhya school. A Chinese tradition is referred to, that sage Pancha Sikha was the author of a Shashtitantra, of 60,000 slokas. This no doubt contradicts the story of the authorship of Vaishaganya. Pancha Sikha is traditionally the 3rd of the Samkhyan founders, the prior ones being Kapila, and Asuri, and therefore there is nothing improbable in the early Shastitantra being a work of Pancha Sikha and of a voluminous kind, fit to be called a Smriti, as the Vedanta Sutras style it. Dr. Keith draws the important conclusion that the Shastitantra was not atheistic like the later Samkhya from the Karikas downwards, but was a theistic system. Though such a theistic Samkhya System is unknown to later literature, it is curious that later writers speak always of the Samkhya known to them as "Nirisvara Samkhya" or *a theistic* Samkhya, a qualification which would seem to be purposeless if there was no "Seshvara Samkhya." The analogy may be mentioned that the Mimamsa which is now practically atheistic, not recognising the existence of a supreme deity nor in fact any deities other than Mantric, had a precursor, "The Seshvara Samkhya," in which God-head was not disregarded. The references to the Sankhya in the Mahabharata and the Bhagavad-gita especially clearly assume that system to be Seshvara, as there is no refutation of their supposed god-less tendency. The attitude of the Brahma Sutras is therefore to be explained by the fact that the system having developed into an atheistic, the Vedanta retained its physics, and asserted its falsity in so far as the immanence of God was denied. This is the theme of the Vedantic references to Samkhya, by Badarayana, and his solicitude to explain away Vedic texts which seem to assert Samkhyan ideas or imply them in various places, (I. 1. 5, I. 4, 1,) as for example the ea Chandogya and Katha Valli texts, and also b elaborate refutation of the Samkhya Smriti II. 1, 1, etc. All the above may be called a s of defensive warfare of the Vedantin. Dr. Kei does not discuss the relationship to the Samkh of the Brahma Sutras. Dr. Keith howe indicates his views when he says (at p. 7 "just like the Vedanta of Sankara, or t Vedanta of Badarayana, the Samkhya is system built on the Upanishads: from bo of these it differs in that it goes radical and essentially beyond the teaching of t Upanishads." Dr. Keith also rightly criticis the Samkhyan views (at p. 87) on the grou that "no reason is given for the belief of spi that is bound" by matter. Again, "the deni of the Samkhya of any connection between spi and matter as in the Adwaita or Visishtadwai forms of the Vedanta shuts off the Samkh from any possibility of logical explanation of i main principles." These criticisms of the Sam khya, elaborated already by the Brahma Sutra and the prevalence of the theistic Vedantic do trines in India must have led to the decline o Samkhya in the country; and merely spasmod life was given to it by Iswara Krishna (thir century A.D.) and by other writers up to th fourteenth century, the date of the Samkh Sutras. If writers like Ramanuja (eleventh cen tury) elaborately refuted the Samkhya, it wa in deference to the Sutras which they were com menting upon, and not because the System had much life in it as a philosophy in their days.

Among other chapters of interest, we would draw attention to chapter VI, *Greek Philosophy and the Samkhya*, where Dr. Keith discusses the probability of Greece having borrowed from the Samkhya, and comes to the conclusion that the Samkhyan influence on Greek philosophy is practically *nil* or at best negligible.

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Cabinet or President ?

Prof. A. V. Dicey, writing in a recent number of the *Nineteenth century*, discusses whether it is desirable to introduce some of the qualities of Presidential Government into the Monarchical and Parliamentary constitution of England. The essential characteristics of the English Cabinet are (1) That it links or fuses together the English Executive and the English Legislature (2) that it can in general dissolve the Parliament by which it was created and appeal to the next. The existence of the Cabinet protects the King from responsibility for his acts, and on the other hand the vagueness of the King's powers, most of which are exercised through the Cabinet, increases the moral and the legal authority of the Cabinet. The Cabinet links the electorate and Parliament and produces harmony between the will of Parliament and the will of the people. In short, it harmonises the action of every part of the constitution.

Presidential Government means the real administration of affairs by an executive officer who may, when occasion requires, exert considerable power, but he is an official whose authority is under the constitution definitely restricted. The Presidential Government, as it exists in America contrasted with Cabinet Government as it exists in England, has the following virtues and defects. It does not appear at its best in a period of peace and it appears to good advantage in only times of war. Then the authority of the President if supported by the nation will become almost despotic. The independence of the President within the sphere of his powers not only increases the dignity of his office but limits to a considerable extent the evils of Party Government. The power and independence of the President especially in strong hands will considerably increase the sense of patriotism and of the duty owing to the country by its chief and chosen representative. On the other hand, a Cabinet Government ensures the presence in Government of men of ability; it educates the nation; it possesses a special kind of flexibility which at times may be of extreme advantage. But in times of War, its defects become very obvious. It is deficient in the energy, promptness and decisiveness of action which should mark a Government then. It is based on partisanship and it is all but impossible to transmute partisanship into patriotism.

The only matter worth consideration for English people is to see whether it would not be possible in times of warfare to create a dictatorial power such as has fallen under the constitution of the United States to Abraham Lincoln and President Wilson. In spite of a final triumph, the English Cabinet did certainly exhibit weak sides during the War. The coalition of adverse parties, the creation first of a War Council and then of a War Cabinet were in the main efforts of patriotism; the working of Parliamentary Government since the beginning of the War has exhibited the radical defect of the Cabinet, namely its constant dependence for office upon the will of the House of Commons, and Cabinet Government now-a-days even in peace does not come up to the ideal of Bagehot. The Prime minister is in reality chosen by the will of well-organised factions and the nation has come to loath party cries. The Presidential dictatorship of America has not damaged its freedom and Prof. Dicey concludes by asking the question whether it is absolutely impossible to discover some constitutional arrangement by which in times of War a real leader of the nation may be given that independence and that patriotic supremacy which was possessed by Lincoln and is possessed by Wilson.

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Oriental Religions

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society for January 1919 has an interesting article by Prof. A. G. Widgery on "The Theories of Salvation and Redemption from Sin and Suffering as found in some Oriental Religions." The writer says that the mild influence of the image of the sitting Buddha must have helped millions of suffering minds to realise a feeling of resignation and fortitude. The earliest religious attitude towards suffering was to think of it as due to disobedience or some form of wrong-doing against the Gods or as coming from deliberate malevolence of bad spirits. Sacrifices and offerings were then resorted to as means of reconciliation or propitiation. In the consciousness of some wrong committed and the desire to overcome the wrong is the beginning of a genuine feeling of repentance and it is the earliest form of the consciousness of sin. From its most primitive conception to its latest theory sin is some thought, feeling or action regarded as being disharmonious with the wishes or will of the God. Tho position of emphasis varies; at first, predominantly on the external acts and its consequences it is moved more and more on to the inner attitude of the will and the feeling of loyalty or disloyalty to God. Aristotle and the stoics go beyond the Socratic position of '*virtue is knowledge*' in their recognition and insistence that for the moral life the right use of the will is essential. The most thorough-going presentation that suffering is the result of our iniquities is to be found in Buddhism, Jainism and the various forms of Hinduism and in the Doctrine of Karma. Zoroastrianism traces all evil back to wrong thought, wrong words and wrong deeds. Buddhism originated in a measure and has always been preached essentially as a way of redemption from evil especially from suffering. Early Buddhism teaches the suppression of desire as the way of redemption from suffering but was opposed to methods of self-torture, for expiation or the acquisition of merit. All sin has been thought off as being due to ignorance, in other words 'virtue is knowledge.' In Hinduism, suffering is represented as an inevitable characteristic of the life of a finite being. The only redemption from suffering is escape from finitude and salvation is thus described as escape from rebirth, *i.e.*, freedom in fact from all thought of self. There are several ways in which this may be achieved, action—Karma Yoga; emotional devotion—Bhakti Yoga and knowledge and contemplative insight—Gnana Yoga. According to the Jains, possession of true knowledge will obtain redemption. In Zoroastrianism, we find saviours who by their good deeds help in the work of final restoration of the world and who destroy the breakers of promises and servers of false idols. Mithraism which spread over a large portion of the Roman Empire and became the most formidable opponent of Christianity also contains the conception of a mediator. The Jews see in suffering not only the punishment for sin but also a means of divine preparation for the religious mission in the world. Amongst many Sunnis and Shyyas the Prophet Mahmet has a particular function in the salvation and redemption of men.

Drink and Housing

Professor Radhakamal Mukherjee, Lecturer in Economics, Calcutta University, writing on the Housing Question in a recent issue of the *Modern Review*, testifies to the demoralising effect of the drink traffic upon the workmen in Indian cities. Grog shops are many, he says, and they are situated so near the lines where the people have to live that drunkenness and debauchery are the inevitable result. We would also draw attention in this connection to the inquiries recently set on foot by the Calcutta Temperance Federation. The moral of it all is: shut up the drink shop and open the social institute. Improve the housing conditions and remove temptations. In short, make it easy for the people to do right and hard for them to do wrong.

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Missionary Organisation and Life

A writer in *The International Review of Missions* (January, 1919) describes the character of the present-day methods of missionaries and missionary organisation and declares that "organisation which not only ignores the fundamental spiritual laws of Christian character and obligation, but substitutes for them motives and appeals drawn from business conceived in its old and gross commercial and competitive aspects, is costly to set up and operate, and no matter what its returns, is a foolish missionary expedient." The present day tendency among missions is to *sell foreign missions* to the whole Christian public by publicity and advertisement, by prudent use of the lessons of mass psychology by parish organisation and methods of benevolence and by the rational adaptations of the principles of business efficiency and organisation.

Jesus Himself rejected all forms of influence and subjected Himself to conditions which deprived Him of any method of action except simple personal influence. Money in any capacity, and least of all as a method of influence, was of no interest to Him. As for organisation, that too He treated with silent indifference. St. Paul was surely an organiser, he sought out capable young men and laid responsibility upon them, he dealt with all levels of society and used the means of access which were necessary. He worked out systems of supervision and responsibility and moved about personally and through his missionaries in a programme of comprehensive and skilful world evangelisation. But the question is not that modern methods of efficiency and publicity should be rejected; The problem for missionary organisation is, not between the employment and the refusal of all conceivable instrumentalities of efficiency and influence; but it is a problem of the spirit and the end, the proportion and the actual result.

Beware of Bolshevism

The January number of *Business* contains a very interesting and thoughtful article on "Is Bolshevism Democracy? Six Cardinal Points," by Mr. A. H. S. Hinchliffe, B. A. The writer first speaks in glowing terms of the virtues of democracy and applies its six main principles to Bolshevik ideals of Government. The first principle, he writes, is "self-preservation," and the Bolshevists who, far from ready to face public danger themselves, lay themselves out to prevent others from preserving the State and destroy discipline and efficiency, cannot have any claim to this ideal. The next three principles are from the democracy of France: Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Applying these principles to Bolshevists, he remarks:—

> In their actions they pull down everyone of those things which are accepted as the practical proof of Liberty. Trial by Jury, one of the most prized possessions of the liberty-loving English, they dispense with summarily. Freedom of the Press another sign of liberty, they obliterate. Freedom of the individual, they interpret to mean confinement within the walls of prison. Freedom of speech they agree with, so long as the speaker is a Bolshevist. Never is a Bolshevist so hypocritical as when he speaks of liberty, scheming all the while how he may pull down every edifice erected by its devotees.

The fifth and sixth principles are culled from Mr. Lloyd George and America respectively, Honesty and Unity, and Mr. Hinchliffe, after careful examination and comparison, comes to the conclusion that the Bolshevists deplorably lack these cardinal democratic ideals. This article is concluded with the following beautiful paragraph:

> "In these days, when royalties are a slump upon the market, and traditions are being overturned daily, we here much talk of Democracy and Democratic ideals. We feel that we have fought for such ideals and those of us who have been permitted to survive are expected to find consolation in the fact that our efforts have made the world 'safe for democracy'. If they have, I, for one, am more than content, but the democracy which we have fought for must be the real thing: there must be no cheap substitutes. Like men who have been tramping over a scorching desert and see water ahead, we feel that our thirst will soon be relieved, but it can only be so if the water is pure, if it is salt and we drink it, we shall only find ourselves in a worse plight than before. **Beware of Bolshevism; it is as salt as the Dead Sea itself.**"

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The Lot of the Indian Labourer

The January number of *The Social Service Quarterly* contains three very informing articles on the all important question of Indian labour, *i. e.*, one on "Factory Legislation" by Mrs. R. M. Gray, the second an editorial note on "National Minimum for Indian Labour" and the third on "Housing of Factory Workers" by A. E. Mirams, F. S. I., F. S. A. Mrs. R. M. Gray first speaks of the early stages of industrial revolution in England and thinks that the bad conditions of Indian labour in the Indian mills are nothing when compared to the low and intense economic depression of the former before the time of factory legislation. The principle underlying all factory laws, she says, has up till now been the protection of the younger and weaker workers from injury by overwork or unwholesome conditions. The conditions of men's labour remain unchanged. The Indian Factory Commissions of 1891 and 1908, she further writes, expressly repudiated the idea that they had any intention of interfering with men's work, though they acknowledged that the men's hours were far too long. The remedies suggested for improving the hard lot of the Indian labourer are the creation of sound public opinion which is invariably followed by legislation, and trade unionism following on compulsory education. Turning to the present condition of Indian workmen, she remarks :

> At the present moment all classes of operatives are equally inarticulate in India. They submit with such extraordinary patience to their hard conditions that it has been possible even for enlightened people to argue that they like the life. But after all they are human beings, and it is hard to imagine that any human being really wants to rise long before dawn, hurry half-fed and half-rested through the dark streets to his work, snatch another short spell of sleep on the stones outside the factory doors, work at a dull, mechanical task, for 12, 13, 14 hours, amid crashing machinery, stifling heat, and flying dust and then return at dark to his home so weary that he can only get sleep enough to be able to resume his Sisyphean task. Is this what any of us call Life?

The editor in a thoughtful note on "National Minimum for Indian Labour" discusses the ideal towards which efforts at social reconstruction may be directed. Commenting on the Industrial Commission Report with reference to the question of the welfare of workers in factories, he remarks :

> The effect of the halting recommendations they make in respect of hours of work, education and housing may be only to perpetuate the existing state of things and to enable employers of labour to take refuge behind the tone of hesitancy adopted by the Commission and resist all demands at enforcement of the national minimum.

Further, the Industrial Commission, he then proceeds to observe, believe in the statement that the Indian workman is such an irrational and perverse human being that once his wages are increased his output diminishes, that he only earns enough to feed him and his, and that he is "content" with a very low standard of living. This standpoint leads the Commission to support another charge put forward by employers against labour. The Indian workman does not actually work for twelve hours as permitted by Factory laws as he is naturally inclined to waste much of his time during his work. As regards the Commission's attitude towards the shortening of the working day for labourers, the writer states :

> "The Commission fail to treat the workers as human beings with social interests and with a desire for leisure and recreation like other men, and can only look upon the reduction of the working day as an act of grace on the part of the employer."

Mr. A. E. Mirams, writing on "Housing of Factory Workers", discusses in detail that part of the Commission's report which treats about housing problems, and thus summaries the main remedies suggested therein :

> They are of opinion that the ideal to be aimed at is a single or at most double storyed building with court-yards, or if possible, double-room units; and in any case ample space round the buildings; that, further inasmuch as the City of Bombay is directly interested in the question of housing its operatives, the Municipality and the Improvement Trust should bear the largest share in the cost of erecting and maintaining industrial dwellings, and that the Bombay Government should render such assistance as they may be able to spare. All that the employers are expected to do is to pay any additional taxation it may be necessary to impose upon them, contingent on the resources of the local authorities, together with Government assistance, not being sufficient for the purpose of carrying out the programme of building contemplated.

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The Future of Russia

Dr. Sudhindra Bose has contributed a very thoughtful paper to the February number of the *Modern Review*, in which he takes a bird's eye view of Russia, her stained past, her strange metamorphosis, and her future hope from the standpoint of President Wilson's ideal of the League of Nations. The old Russian Government, he says, was one of absolute bureaucracy, of base and abominable despotism, and autocracy was the hall-mark of the Romanoff family.

When Germany declared war on Russia on August I, 1914, it was greeted with enthusiasm in Russia. The reasons for such a loyal support of the war on the part of the people are not far to seek. The strong belief that Kaiser incited the Czar in his aggressive policy in the Far East which brought about the Russo-Japanese War, and the increasing German influence in Constantinople and in the internal Government of the country settled the mind of the Russian Nation, and all Russia joined, with heart and soul, in the momentous issue of the overthrow of Kaiserism. But as long as there were victories, Russia was safe. When the Russian armies met with defeat after defeat, the whole complexion of the Russian Government changed, and it was accused of corruption and incompetence. The Russian people began to talk of radical changes in the government, and a coalition in the Duma, composed of Conservatives, Radicals and Moderates, was formed to get rid of Nicholas II. Discontent became widespread in the country and riots and strikes were in evidence in the early part of 1917. The Duma was asked to be dissolved, but it refused and began to defy the Czar. A provisional Government was set up by the executive Council of the Duma, and the Czar was asked to abdicate, which he did. It initiated many excellent reforms, but soon found an enemy in the Petrograd Council, organised by the Soviets. The former was for continuing the war, while the latter was for securing peace. Among the Russian socialists there were two parties, the Bolsheviki, in favour of complete socialism and absolute political democracy, and the Minsheviki in favour of a gradual and moderate reform programme. The Bolshevik party grew stronger and stronger and the October Revolution in 1917 swept the Provisional Government out of existence. The new Bolshevik Government stopped all military operations and sued Germany for peace. The treaty was signed, and Germany obtained command over Russian economic resources.

The main reason for making such a precipitate peace seems to be that the Bolsheviks wanted to get Russia out of war. Once that was finished, they desired to overhaul the internal system of the Russian Government in the light of their social ideals and dreams and, if need be, to force their ways of thinking by violence and revolution. The army has been completely democratised. Local Government has been placed in the hands of the Soviets. Everywhere socialistic experiments are being tried on a large scale. Banking has been nationalised. It is the avowed object of the Bolsheviks to render the bourgeoisie, the exploiting class, powerless, and they have excluded them from all political power.

But the present chaotic condition of Russia, in spite of the fall of Czardom and the declarations for the rights of small nationalities and self-determination for all the peoples, calls for immediate solution at the hands of President Wilson who has promised to help her. As the great President said :—

"What we are about to do has as its single and only object the rendering of such aid as shall be acceptable to the Russian people themselves in their endeavours to regain control of their own affairs, their own territory and their own destiny."

Dr. Sudhindra Bose concludes :—

"To be sure, Russia is passing through a spell of social sickness, but unless all signs fail, Russia will recover.

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England's Mission in India

In discussing the "Goal of India" in the special Indian number of *Overseas*, published by the Overseas club and Patriotic League in London, the Rev. D. E. S. Holland, the late Principal of the St. Paul's College, Calcutta, has some illuminating points to offer for solution to the British democracy. As a preface, he expresses his political conviction that the transference of power from the British bureaucracy to the Indian people will inaugurate an era of inefficient rule, if not misrule; and as the only one alternative to it, he puts down the ideal that it is "our own continued domination, not self-determination in India but a foreign rule, beneficent no doubt, as heretofore, but that is the very claim that Germans advance as their right to dominate the world". He asks whether England which fought so nobly for the overthrow of race domination will herself follow in the path of Germany for perpetuating bureaucratic ideals in India, and asks again: "Is our championship of the right of Nations only political camouflage for war propaganda against Germany?" He himself answers this question:

> "No, as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman once so well said, good Government is no substitute for self-government. If we have to choose between the loaves and fishes of fat and soft security under domination and all the ennobling pains and risks that make us men, we will choose the arduous path to freedom every time. And because we know it is the highest good, we must choose that for others as well as for ourselves so far as they are in our hands."

The Rev. Mr. Holland concludes his interesting paper with the following appeal for the introduction of progressive ideals in the Government of this country:

> "Nor will India any longer be content with the offer of security and comfort in place of freedom. It is too late to go back upon world's pronouncement in favour of popular government; and the thought-nerves of the world that have so decided now run through India from end to end. This is the exhilirating task that now confronts British statesmanship, the training for freedom of one-fifth of the entire world's population of peoples, besides whose hoary civilisation, milleniums old, we seem to be but a mushroom growth of yesterday. And we shall not shrink it",

The Historicity of Salivahana

In the current number of *The South Ind... Research*, (a monthly Journal devoted to all ki... of research) there is an article of great histor... interest written by the Editor and entitled "S... vahana: Who is he?" The writer refers to the... gious significance of the word *Salivahana S...* which Hindus come across in the performance... religious ceremonies, and then proceeds to det... mine who that great personality is, whose fa... and good deeds deserve an era, whether he wa... God or an ordinary mortal, there are any fr... ments of his illustrious history, and so forth. ... we have no other story about Salivahana, he s... the mythical traditions that have sprung ab... this great personality might have confr... historical criticism. He also points out th... "popular traditions and recent literat... give us these stories as the history of Salivaha... but books written four or five centuries bef... our time associate these fables with a certa... King Satavahana." He then narrates two stor... that speak of Satavahana and other two th... relate to Salivahana.

After giving a short summary of these impo... tant evidences, the Editor cites epigraphical e... dences which only speak of Satavahana, not Sa... vahana. Then, what is our next goal? he as... and then proceeds to consider the evidences th... show that Salivahana is Satavahana. The chi... evidences are:

1. The Prabanda Chintamani of Merutun... Acharya (1362 Salivahana Sake).

2. Poet Srinatha's reference about Salivaha... in one of his poetical works (1334 of the sa... era).

By means of these positive historical proof... the identity of Salivahana with Satavahana a... the existence of a book called Saptasati unde... the authorship of Salivahana are proved

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Government Control in War & Peace

The vast expansion of Government control in the economic sphere which has taken place during the War is without parallel in the history of the world. In the period of transition which has followed immediately on the declaration of peace, some proportion of that control is justified. One school of thought claims that this control should be permanently retained. Professor A. C. Pigon explains and criticises in the last number of *The Economic Journal* three distinct types of Government control, *viz.*, (1) administrative intervention by Government in industry designed to increase production, (2) Government interference with the allocation of supplies between different industries, different firms and different individual consumers—which may be grouped together under the general name of rationing and (3) Governmental regulation of prices.

(1) The underlying motive of intervention in the first case has been to force capital enterprise and labour forthwith into the production of particular urgently needed things. Government has also intervened with a view to breaking down various rules and customs which have been built up by trade-unions for the protection of working people and which are believed to hamper output. There is no particular reason why government should not return, so far as administrative intervention to stimulate production is concerned, to the general attitude which it was accustomed to before the War. The quasi-public administrative control of railways during the War may be continued even after the return of normal peace conditions; whether this should be developed into definite nationalisation may be regarded as an open question.

(2) The question of rationing in the permanent peace practice of the country is permanently bound up with the question of price control. The solution will be quite different according as prices are or are not limited in such a way, that, at the legalised price, the quantity of the things demanded is greater than the quantity offered for sale. Not all price control involves this kind of limitation. The distinction is not between control and absence of control over prices, but between a kind of control that causes demand at the controlled price to exceed supply and absence of this control. In industries which obey the law of increasing returns, obstruction to purchase will actually increase the price to others and lesson the supplies available for them. In industries which obey the law of diminishing returns, rationing which limits the consumption of some, would, even as a permanent policy, benefit others. The technical difficulties of building up a permanent rationing system will be very great. The rationing of materials to various firms engaged in the same industry, and the rationing of them between different industries as a whole would present much greater difficulties.

(3) *Price Control.* The main motive of price-control is a desire to prevent profiteering. Permanent Government control over the price of things produced under competitive conditions, is not required as a preventive of profiteering, because for competitive industries as a whole, competitive conditions are themselves an adequate preventive, while Government control is objectionable, because it will hamper production. But there is a strong case for State action to regulate the charges which may be made for monopolised and partially monopolised articles, and the case for Government control over these has been strengthened to some small extent by the experience of the War.

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The History of Indian Guilds

A recent number of the *Bengal Economic Journal* has from the pen of Mr. J. C. Sinha a description of the guild-system as it existed in the industrial life of India from very ancient times. He says that the Laws of Manu (first century A.D.) and Yajnavalkya (200—300 A.D.) give us a glimpse of the laws of early Indian corporations. The earliest apparent reference to guilds is in the Brahmanas which were composed *circa* 800—500 B.C. The word Shresthin occurring in certain of the passages of the Brahmanas has been explained as meaning the headman of a guild. In the post-Vedic period, we come across distinct references to guilds which are mentioned in the Dharma Sutras and in the great epics. There are also frequent allusions to guilds in the early Buddhist literature. In the age of the *Jathakas*, the most important handicrafts were organised into guilds which had powers of arbitration even in purely social matters. Going next to the Artha Shastra, we find numerous references to guilds of artisans which were very wealthy institutions. In Manu, the laws of the guild stand on a footing of equality with the laws of castes and of families. In the Narada-Smrithi which belongs to about 500 A.D., there is an interesting description of the rules of apprenticeship. But this of course does not prove that there existed associations of craftsmen. In the Brihaspathi-Smrithi which belongs to a somewhat later period, there is an allusion to a board of advisers, the companies of artisans and other associations.

There are also numerous inscriptions giving us positive proofs of the existence of guilds during the early Hindu period. In the Nasik Cave Inscription of Ushawadatta, there is reference to guilds which received permanent deposits of money and paid interest on them for generations. As early as the tenth century and possibly in much earlier times, there were in South India professional guilds. In the Sukranithi which in its present form belongs to the tenth or eleventh century A.D., artisans were to decide their disputes according to the usages of their guilds. Alburuni writing about 1030 A.D. also speaks of eight guilds. But all these evidences do not give us detailed information about the nature and organisation of the guild. It is probable that the constitution was similar to that of a political and religious body. In the Muhammadan period, guilds continued to exist. In the Ain-i-Akbar of Abul Fasil, there is a distinct reference to guilds. Bernier, the French traveller, found during the 17th century traces of the guild system. In the British period, the history of Indian guilds is a history of their gradual decline. The chief causes of their decline are the rise of the modern class of merchants and manufacturers, improvement in communication and the rapid increase in the machine-made increase into India as well as the spread of individualism, modern ideas of personal selfishness, the gradual denationalisation of the Indians and their distaste for Indian handicrafts. There were, besides craft guilds, merchant guilds also in India and the former arose before the formation of the latter. The organisation and the function of the Indian guilds are in many respects similar to those of European guilds. The guilds now devote their attention mainly to their social and religious functions and they do not exercise any important trade functions at all.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

THE EARLY KINGS OF NEPAL. By K. G. Sankara Aiyar, B.A., B.L. [The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, January 1919.]

THE RECOVERY OF INDIAN WOMEN. By Annie Besant [East and West, January 1919.]

CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA. By Prof. H. A. Hansen, M.A., S.T.B. [The Modern Review, February 1919.]

INDIAN CASTE AND DIVINE RIGHT. By Channing Arnold, [Business, January 1919.]

PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL REFORM. By the Hon. Dewan Bahadur Justice T. Sadasivier, [The Theosophist, February 1919.]

THE SINHALESE NATIONAL MOVEMENT. By the Editor. [The Young Lanka, January 1919.]

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Moslems and Turkey

An important memorial has been sent to Mr. Balfour by H. H. Aga Khan and other Moslems regarding the future of Turkey. The document urges:—

We have read with great concern the suggestions recently put forward in the Press from various irresponsible quarters regarding the future of Constantinople to the effect that it should be taken from its present possessors, in spite of the Ottomans being the most populous single nationality in Constantinople, and be made over to some Christian people or State, or be placed under international control. We therefore feel it our duty to point out at the earliest opportunity, that such a course, if adopted, would be in direct conflict with the vital principle of Nationality placed in the fore-front of the war-aims of the Allies and would cause not only among the Moslems of India but also among Mussalmans throughout the world grave dissatisfaction.

In the course of four centuries Constantinople has undergone complete transformation and is now in all essentials a Moslem City. It is honeycombed with Moslem institutions and is covered on all sides with memorials of their Faith. Its population is predominantly Turkish by race and Moslem by faith as was recently admitted in the clearest terms in the House of Commons.

The solemn declaration of the Prime Minister made only a short time ago that the Turkish nation will retain their sovereignty unimpaired in their home-land with Constantinople as the capital of their territories, had a re-assuring effect on the Mussalman population of India and elsewhere, and we feel certain that any departure from that memorable pronouncement would create the gravest disappointment. The Mussalmans who have shed their blood or helped with their resources in the defence of the Empire are entitled to expect that the principle of national unity and freedom will be maintained in the case of Turkey as in the case of the European peoples. Any other course would give rise to a most painful impression that the high principles and lofty ideals which secured for the Allied cause the adhesion and loyal co-operation of the larger part of the Moslem world were abandoned in the case of Turkey because she is a Moslem State. We feel confident, however, that no racial or religious prejudices will be allowed to impair the trust of the Moslem nations in the good faith of the Allies and that the settlement of this momentous world-problem will be based on the principles of justice and equity, and of national unity and national rule laid down by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States.

In Asia from the Northern Borders of Syria Proper up to the Ægean and the Black Sea, along the Southern littoral as far as the frontiers of Azerbaijan, the population, numbering roughly, 19 to 20 millions, is in some districts exclusively and in others preponderantly Turkish in race and Moslem in faith. In Thrace also the conditions are the same; the population is predominantly Turkish. We respectfully submit that the whole of this territory with Constantinople as its capital should be left in the hands of the Turkish nation in accordance with the declaration of the Prime Minister. The right of nations based on nationality to remain under their own governments and to possess the power of self-determination proclaimed and insisted upon by the Allies applies equally to Christians and Moslems. We do not ask for a new status for the Turkish nation; we urge that the Turkish nation should have the same rights as Christian nationalities to hold the territories which they inhabit exclusively or where they form the preponderant portion of the population, as they have done heretofore.

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Hon. Mr. Sastry on the Rowlatt Bills

The Rowlatt Bills have been strongly condemned all over the country and as might be expected the speeches made in the Imperial Legislative Council by non-official Indian members in opposing this retrogade measure were of a high order. The Indian members strongly maintained their opposition to the introduction of any repressive legislation in addition to those already in the hands of the executive. The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry in opposing the Hon. Mr. Vincent's Bill No. 1 made a very impressive speech which was listened to with interest by officials and non-officials alike. We have no space here for the full text of the speech, at the conclusion of which, the reports say, "there was an outburst of applause in which the European members and even some officials were compelled to join." We extract a few paragraphs :—

My Lord, as I have read these things, whenever a repressive law is in exercise, every single exercise of it is at once openly challenged, a public enquiry is probably held anyhow, a committee is appointed to take evidence. What happens in India? A press law is passed. Ten years afterwards in the Supreme Legislative Council an enquiry to be conducted by a mixed commission appointed by the Council is asked for and Your Excellency's Government come forward and say, "We will not appoint a committee, we will not face an inquiry into this affair." Now that kind of thing is not a circumstance which encourages us to go forward and place summary powers in the hands of the executive, because we fear with some experience behind us that you will not submit your actions to the scrutiny of the public, as every exercise of arbitrary power should be submitted.

Then we are told with almost pathetic simplicity quite worthy of a parental Government, "why need the innocent fear"? The honest man need not walk in fear of these repressive measures. They are meant only to punish the wicked and they will be used only to punish the wicked. Let the virtuous go about as usual in the exercise of their work." I wish that this idyllic picture were true in India or anywhere. Now, My Lord, a bad law once passed is not always used against the bad, in times of panic, to which all alien Governments are unfortunately far too liable in times of panic, caused it may be by very slight incidents. I have known Governments lose their heads. I have known a reign of terror being brought about. I have known the best, the noblest Indians, the highest characters amongst us brought under suspicion, standing in hourly dread of the visitations of the C.I.D. I remember in my own time—it is not a very long experience I have of these matters, but I can remember—a very valued friend of mine now alas! no more, a saint amongst men telling me with almost tears in his eyes, "I have borne a good character all along but I have recently become a suspect of the C.I.D. and my life is passed in bitterness and sorrow. Why? Because the Government started a policy of suspicion generally in the locality and when they set their minions of the C.I.D., none, not even the most trusted friends of the Government, were safe. I can remember, My Lord, in the year 1908 when I went round organising District Congress Committees, such a blight had fallen on the political world. The C.I.D. had been so active, the repressive policy of the Government had been so manifest that it was impossible in many places to get people to come together to a public meeting. "Oh no, not now, not now," they said. A gentleman high in office at that time and about to retire from service, met me in the middle of the night on one occasion. I was quite surprised and he told me, "my dear fellow, I have been longing to see you these three or four days that you have been here, but this place swarms with spies and police informers. I am nearing my pension and have many children. I do not wish to be mixed up with a member of the Servants of India Society to their knowledge." But it is all very well to say that the innocent are safe. I tell you, My Lord, when the Government undertakes a repressive policy, the innocent are not safe. Men like me would not be considered innocent. The innocent man then is he, who forswears politics who takes no part in the public movements of the times, who retires into his house, mumbles his prayers, pays his taxes and salaams all the Government officials all round. The man who interferes in politics, the man who goes about collecting money for any public purpose, the man who addresses a public meeting then becomes a suspect..

* * *

There is one remark, Sir, which I must make and that in justice to the feeling in the country, of which for the moment I am the spokesman. I do not think the Hon'ble the Law Member could have meant all that he said when he said, that some of us were indulging in threats of agitation. I venture to think that no one here, who has spoken against the Bill indulged in anything, which might truthfully be described as a threat of agitation. None of us certainly, none of the Moderates, I take leave to say, has power to go and stir up a violent agitation in the country. It is impossible. The agitation must be there already. The heart must be throbbing, if any words that we use here can possibly have any effect on the general political atmosphere. The agitation is there. I wish to assure my official colleagues we had no share in it, but if our appeals fall flat, if the Bill goes through, I do not believe there is anyone here who would be doing his duty, if he did not join the agitation. That is not a threat. I take leave to think that is by no means a threat. Anyhow I am the best judge of my own mind and I do not indulge in any threats. I have yet borne no part in this agitation. But if everything goes wrong, if we are face to face with this legislation, how it is possible for me with the views that I hold to abstain from agitation, I for one cannot say.

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Mysore and Communal Representation

In the rules prescribing the qualifications of voters and candidates at the Municipal elections in Mysore State under new Regulations extending the scope of local Self-Government in the State, some recognition has been accorded to the principle of communal representation. At first, the Government vigorously opposed communal representation in local bodies and municipalities. The present rule states that, if in any division of the municipality divided for electoral purposes into divisions under the foregoing rule, not less than 50 percent and in a municipality not so divided not less than 25 percent of the total number of persons eligible to vote belong to any one section of the inhabitants, then such voters may apply to the Government, provided that application is made by not less than three-fourths of the then total number for permission to elect one or more members of such section, and the Government may, thereupon, pass such orders as they deem fit.

Travancore State Finances

An official memorandum on the Travancore State's transactions of the year 1093 corresponding to 1917-1918 shows that in spite of war conditions the year was a prosperous one. The revenue was Rs. 1,65,90,000 and the ordinary expenditure Rs. 1,61,56,000, resulting in a surplus of Rs. 4,34,000. If the capital expenditure on the railway extension to Trivandrum be included in the last year's disbursement, the result is a deficit of Rs. 4,36,000. The Darbar balance has thus fallen from Rs. 43,83,000 at the beginning of the year to Rs. 39,47,000.

The total assets of the Darbar amount to Rs. 1,34,36,000 and the liabilities to Rs. 94,90,000 excluding the closing balance. These figures do not include the Darbar's liability till March last of Rs. 1,18,56,000 on account of the Shencottah-Quilon Railway and also Rs. 80 lakhs invested on the Kodayayar irrigation works. Another Rs.50 lakhs incurred by the Darbar is the extension of the railway from Quilon to Trivandrum.

Last year's income exceeded that of the previous year by Rs. 246,000 and the expenditure last year was Rs. 832,000 more than the year previous.

Co-operation in Travancore

The Travancore Government have issued a review of the work done by the Department of Co-operation during the past official year. There were 44 societies of which 33 were agricultural. Owing to the rush of applicants to join the non-agricultural credit societies and also to avoid the danger of permitting such credit associations to assume an unmanageable size, action was taken to prescribe a limit to the membership of some primary societies till they were able to establish a good busines reputation. A co-operative conference was held last year with the Dewan as president. The Government observe that the Department continued to progress during the past year.

Iron Works in Mysore

Mr. Perlin, the Iron Expert, is expected next month in India when he will work out details of the Mysore Government iron scheme and carry out the installation of machinery at Bankipur where the Mysore Government iron works will be located. The scheme, it is understood, is entirely financed by the Mysore Government and its management will be under the control of a Board of three representatives of the Mysore Government and two of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. The Company will act as agents of the Mysore Government for the manufacture of pig-iron.

A Weaving School for Pulayas

His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore has sanctioned a separate weaving school for Pulayas. This school will be under the management of a European Missionary of C. M. Society working in Travancore. Two other schools also for fibre and yarn industries were opened in pursuance of a scheme by the Travancore Government for the promotion of cottage industries.

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INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Indian Merchants in S. Africa

Mr. E. J. Asvat, Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association, has sent the following cable dated February 11, to Mr. G. A. Natesan, Editor, "The Indian Review": Legal proceedings under the precious Base Metals Act of 1898 resulted against Indian merchants of long standing at Krugersdorp area. The effect of judgment is the virtual ruination of the mercantile community throughout Wit Waters Rand. The Transvaal Ordinance IX of 1912, the Relief Act and other laws affecting Indian community are being rigorously enforced, the object being the elimination of Indian trade to the benefit of European competitors. The British Indian community emphatically protest against this cruel reactionary policy. It is significant that action had been taken almost simultaneously with the armstice. The community submits such policy as a poor mark of appreciation of Indian sacrifices for the Empire during the war. The community earnestly appeals for protection, meanwhile endeavouring to get the matter ventilated before the bar of the Assembly of Capetown. Please help in every possible way.

South African Indian Congress

The South African Indian Congress representing the Transvaal, Natal, and the Cape Province, passed a resolution asking the Government to amend the laws which were operating oppressively against them, including the Act prohibiting free movement of Indians throughout the Union. The Congress decided to send at least two delegates each from the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape Province to attend a special session of the Indian National Congress in London in order to support the claims for Indian autonomy. The delegates will also be authorised to plead the cause of South African Indians. The Congress passed a further resolution to urge the Imperial Government not to cede German South-West Africa to the Union until "the obnoxious laws" in the Union were repealed.

Indian Troops in Africa

On the termination of his command of the East African Expeditionary Force, General Sir Deventer, Commander-in-Chief, sent the following message to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India :—

"On the termination of my command of the East African Force, I tender you my sincere thanks for your ungrudging assistance and constant co-operation. The troops sent from India have borne their full share of the hardships of the campaign in which the fighting has been severe and the physical difficulties enormous and have played a gallant part in the conquest of German East Africa. I am proud to have had them under my command. I beg that you will convey my warmest gratitude to those who by their generous gifts have allieviated the sufferings of the sick and wounded and contributed to the comfort of those in the field."

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied : "I thank you for your cordial message. It has always been a pleasure to us to help you whenever we could. The troops sent from India are pround to have had the opportunity of taking part in these ably conducted operations upon the successful conclusion of which the army in India tender you their heartiest congratulations."

Transvaal British Indians

At the annual general meeting of the Transvaal British Indian association, at which some 80 were present, including representatives of the various bodies in the Transvaal, N. A. Cama, who presided, gave a brief resume of the association's activities during the previous year, and dwelt upon the loss sustained by the community in the death of A. M. Cachalia, Sorabjee, Esuph Hassim and other stauch supporters of the association.

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INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

An Industrial Charter

The important features of a proposal submitted by Dr. Sidney Webb for industrial reconstruction are :—

I. The prevention of unemployment by a programme of public works undertaken in periods of slack private industry.

II. The maintenance of the standard rates of wages which shall be a minimum and not a maximum, and which shall be decided by a "joint board of employers and employees, to which all employers in the industry and all trade unions claiming to include any considerable number of workers in it should be invited to take part."

III. A constitution for factory and industry in which there shall be written guarantees of universal acceptance of trade unionism and provision for Conference with workshop committees on technical problems.

IV. No limitation of output.

V. Freedom for every worker to take or leave employment and freedom for the employer to use any and all machinery and to hire any employee, provided that the new employee will immediately join the union.

The Fibre Possibilities of India

The sowing conditions created by the war have emphasised the great importance of the investigation of fibre resources of the Empire, and India with its present monopoly of jute cultivation and its wide variety of climatic conditions offers a compromising field for investigation. It has accordingly been decided to extend the scope of Mr. Fillow's work (Fibre Expert) with a view to the thorough exploitation of the fibre possibilities of India. His investigations will extend throughout India, but his duties under the scheme will be purely advisory and his headquarters will remain at Dacca in order that his important work in connection with Bengal jute may not be interrupted.

Development of Indian Industries

The proposal put forward by the Indian Industries Commission to set up an Industrial Board to undertake the responsibility for framing and carrying out a programme of industrial development in India, will, if adopted, lay the foundation of a new scheme, in which Engineers will play a leading part. It is suggested, indeed, that the actual administrative work of the new organisation, which would be entirely decentralised, would be in the hands of officers whose qualifications would be gauged by their knowledge of mechanical engineering. The proposal has been received with much interest, and it is good news to those who have worked with the object of improving the status of the Engineer that the disadvantages of casual recruiting for these Indian appointments are to be overcome by the formation of an Imperial Industrial Service. The field to be covered is very wide, and its extent is hardly more than suggested by the summary of the Report of the Commission, which is all that is at present available; but it is clear that attention is being focussed on the development of industries, the absence of which has been shown to be a grave danger in time of War, and that industrial and technical education and training, research work, the collection and circulation of commercial intelligence, housing and welfare schemes, and the improvement of transport, are included in the other provisional plans. Other important questions which are raised are the extent to which the State should participate in manufacturing operations, under which head a policy of severe restriction is recommended, and the reform of the system on which Government stores have been purchased in the past. It is admitted that the old method of making such purchases has tended to retard industrial development in India.—*The Times.*

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AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Agricultural Education in India

Mr. H. M. Leake, M.A., F.L.S., Principal, Agricultural College, Cawnpore, contributes a very informing article of practical interest in the January quarterly number of *The Agricultural Journal of India*, wherein he collects and analyses all the materials available for a policy of agricltural education.

One of the functions of education ought to be, Mr. Leake points out, to render the individual a useful citizen. Education, considered from a national aspect, must be diverse, and, in its practical aspect, consists in placing before the youth of the country the essentials for the development of the mind in a form which will leave the individual in a condition in which he will render useful service as a citizen. After dealing in detail on various ideals that should form the main objects of educational policy, the writer takes up the subject of agricultural education and the facilities there are for its future progress. He observes that true attempts have been made to introduce agriculture in the school curriculum and have come to grief from failure to distinguish between teaching agriculture and supplying an education suiting the pupil to return to the land. The first conclusion, therefore, arrived at is that "the present educational system totally fails to satisfy the needs of the largest single element, if not the major portion of the community. It is true there is an agricultural college, but that is a coping stone without the underlying structure." After referring to the importance of agricultural education, and legitimate functions of agricultural institutions, Mr. Leake points out that "the primary object of such schools will be to raise the receptivity of the younger generation of agriculturists and the method of attainment must be through education under conditions which retain the association with the land." As regards the organisation of an agricultural school of this type, he states that "the courses of instruction are to be educational and the students are to be introduced to an appreciation of a standard of country life something superior to the ordinary village life they have known, by a process of familiarity." He then describes the main features of such an organisation by a description of such a school as he conceived it, its educational and environmental aspects and its provisions for a ladder by which those intellectually qualified can arise. He winds up his interesting article with the remark that "it is essentially a case for trial and experiment the establishment of a few schools of the type described and their gradual extension in that direction which experience shows to be most desirable. What is essential is a clear comprehension of the fundamental principles which underlie the problem—a comprehension so sharp that it can be used as a test during each stage in the experiments."

Agricultural Banks.

H. H. the Aga Khan writes in his new book on *India in Transition* :—

In the autonomous provinces of the India of to-morrow the great work of the I.C.S. ought to be not alone the carrying on of surveys for settlement of the so-called land-tax or rent, but still more, that of guiding and assisting the agricultural banks in making the necessary advances for legitimate and long-overdue improvements. And these banks must constitute, far more than at present, a vitalising agency, ready to advance money, ready to advise improvement, ready to bring the surveyor and the expert to the help of the peasant. In each district there should be a central institution with touring specialists working in hearty co-operation with the agricultural department, and ready to advance money for necessary improvements at quite moderate rates. The advances they make should have a statutory relation to the rates at which Government borrows from the public.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS

[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

Indian Women and War. By John Travers (Mrs. G. H. Bell.) Oxford University Press.

In this book John Travers treats mainly with the glorious part that Indian women took in the great War in sending their sons, brothers and husbands to the battlefields of Europe. In the chapter on "Great Women and War," there is a very good survey of the military achievements of some Indian women of old.

Cartoons from "Hindi Punch" for 1918. The *Hindi Punch* office, Bombay. (Can be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) Price Rs. 1-12.

The nineteenth annual publication of the Cartoons from "*The Hindi Punch*" contains a varied collection of humorous pictures depicting the political and social history of the country during the year. This enlivening publication always maintains its high reputation for cartoon-representation of live topics, and is certainly a storehouse of genial laughter and vivid humour.

The Silken Tassel. By Ardeshir F. Khabardar. Theosophical publishing House, Adyar.

Mr. F. K. Khabardar, reputed to be a very gifted poet in Guzerati language, has attempted in this little volume to find expression to his wealth of ideas and richness of imagination in a foreign tongue. Indian ideas dressed in delicate English verses and shaped accurately to metrical rules are specially characteristic of his songs, and we commend them heartily to the public.

The Vedic Law of Marriage by A. Mahadeva Sastri, B A. V. Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, Madras.

This is the second edition of the book published in 1908. Deeply versed in Sanskrit Smritis and other well known ancient treatises, Pandit A. Mahadeva Sastri has added to this new volume his original studies of marriage and other socio-religious institutions, and we hope the book will have a hearty welcome from all.

"From a Kindergarten Window" By Corrie Gorden. Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras. Price 1-8-0.

This small book contains a collection of essays on educational subjects for teachers and students, prepared on various occasions by Mr. Corrie Gordon, Lectuter, Teachers' College, Saidapet. The topics discussed in this book deal mainly with education for children, the Kindergarten, moral teaching, physical training and other instructive subjects.

President Wilson. (Speeches on World's Freedom). Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1.

This book which contains a valuable collection of speeches delivered on various occasions by President Wilson, has a foreword by Dr. S. Subramania Aiyar and a life sketch by Mr. K. Vyasa Rao. President Wilson has won international reputation as a preacher of political morality and liberty, and a collection of the thoughts of such a great man cannot but be a document of the highest human interest.

BOOKS RECEIVED

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS. By Sir Arunachalam Kt, M.A., The Ceylon Reform League, Colombo.

SHORT STORIES. By Mrs. Ghosal, Ganesh & Co., Madras.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIC INDIAN DIRECTORY: Delhi. Edited by Harnarayan Prasad, B.A., The Encyclopædic Indian Directory Co., Allahabad.

GUTTILA: THE DIVINE MINSTREL. By Lucy & Gordon Pearce, Ganesh & Co., Madras.

THE NEXT WAR: WILSON AND ANTI-WILSONISM. By Sir Charles Walston, University Press, Cambridge.

THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY: AN ADDRESS. By Lord Haldane, Headby Bros. Ltd., London.

ODE TO TRUTH. By James H. Cousins, Ganesh & Co., Madras.

PROGRESSIVE INDIA. By Akshaya K. Ghose, S. C. Sanial & Co., 26, Shampuker St., Calcutta.

THE GOSPEL OF GRACE VOL I. By N. Swaminadha, Post Box 28, Madras.

IF ZOROASTER WENT TO BERLIN. By Maneck Pitha-Walla, B.A., B.SC., Poona.

NATIONAL EDUCATION. By V. B. Metta, B.A., (contd.) Barrister-at-Law, Bombay.

SHRI RUPKALA. By A. B. Narayan Sinha. The Khadga Vilas Press, Bankipore.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

Jan. 23. The opening of the Sanitary. Scientific and Indigenous Drugs Exhibition in Calcutta by His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay.

Jan. 24. It is announced that the strike situation in Bombay has much improved.

The Supreme Inter allied War Council meets to-day.

Jan. 25. The public sitting of the Peace Conference begins to-day. Terms of draft resolutions of the League of Nations are also issued. President Wilson's Address to Peace Conference.

Jan. 26. Babu Surendranath Bannerjee unveils the portrait of Dadabhai Naoroji in Bombay.

Jan. 27. It is finally announced that the Bombay Labour strikes have ended.

Jan. 28. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya delivered a public lecture in Bombay on "The work before us."

Jan. 29. The All-India Ayurvedic Conference concludes its sessions to-day.

Jan. 30. Mr. Justice Seshagiri Aiyar unveils the portrait of Sir P. C. Ray in the Christian College Hall.

A public meeting is held in Madras to-day to protest against the "Black Bills."

Jan. 31. The Sheriff's public meeting is held to-day at Calcutta to congratulate Lord Sinha on his appointment.

Feb. 1. A public meeting is held at Calcutta to-day to protest against Rowlatt Bills under the Hon. Mr. Fazlul Huq's presidency.

Feb. 2. Bombay protests against Rowlatt Bills under the presidency of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Feb. 3. Calcutta Town Hall meeting is held to-day to protest against the Rowlatt Bills.

Feb. 4. The new House of Commons aesembled to-day.

Feb. 5. His Excellency the Viceroy spe... to-day at the review of of the Nepalese troo...

Feb. 6. Imperial Legislative Council meets to-d... at Delhi. The Viceroy opens the session w... a speech. Sir William Vincent introduces t... Rowlatt Bills. Hon. Mr. Patel's amendm... and non-official opposition.

Feb. 7. Discussion on the Hon. Mr. Pat... amendment in the Imperial Legislative Coun...

Feb. 8. An outburst of Mopla fanaticism i... Malabar is reported.

Feb. 9. Benares protests against the Hi... Mr. Patels' Marriage Bill to-day.

Feb. 10. The Second Session of the Veni P... gana Conference is held at Yotmal.

Feb. 11. The Parliament opens to-day with ... speech from His Majesty the King. T... Premier delivers an important address in t... House of Commons.

Lord Sinha has been sworn in as a P C.

Feb. 12. Nawab Syyed Muhammad died to-d...

Feb. 13. Protest meeting in Bombay again... the Rowlatt Bills.

Feb. 14. A public meeting is held in Mad... to-day to protest against the I. C. S. Mem... randum and H. E. the Viceroy's speech.

Feb. 15. His Excellency the Governor of Beng... opens the Bengal Provincial Co-operative Co... ference to-day.

H. E. the Viceroy speaks at the State Banq... held at Kapurthala to day.

Feb. 16. H. E. the Viceroy opens the "Jubil... Hall" to day at Kapurthala.

Feb. 17. A debate on Indian affairs in th... Parliament takes place to-day.

Feb. 18. Sensational Meeting of the Cape Tow... Assembly.

Feb. 19. M. Clemenceau, the French Premie... is shot at five times to-day, though the wound... are not dangerous.

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Literary

A Visit to John Morley

Mr. James Milne has been to see Lord Morley (John Morley), and tells us about it in a very interesting number of his *Book Monthly*.

"'We shall get no more books from our most illustrious man of English letters, our greatest book-man,'" says Mr. Milne. "'Not a word,' says Lord Morley, 'not a word; I have finished.'

"His unwritten books are recited to him, that 'Chatham,' that 'Cavour,' perhaps others of an empty, bewitching shelf. He only shakes his head, a little sadly, because with a die cast.

"Quite recently somebody wrote from as far away as Kansas to the effect, 'Your chapter so-and so in "Rousseau"'—was it the "Rousseau"?—'"made life a different thing for me—thank you!' Possibly that might encourage even an author who has put off his armour to sit down and cut slices out of his books for a volume of 'Selections.'

"Saving that, and may be a word on the time of day, such as no eminent man can be sure of refusing, we had better assume that Lord Morley's 'So to my home in the falling daylight' is his word of literary farewell.

"Who has not read that lovely passage in the 'Recollections;' who, though it is only a year old in print, has not put it in the archives of affection as one of the noblest passages in English literature? It is the deliverance of a pilgrim, rich in mind and heart, a pilgrim who has set his feet in precipitious places, and has stoutly come through them. It is the farewell of a pilgrim scholar who has had entrance to the 'ancient courts of the men of old,' to the council chambers of modern statesmen, and in both spheres has left a name that will live in honour.

"As commoner or peer he has hitched his wagon to a star, and by that comradeship he abides in the Indian summer of his life—a spirit whose lamp age does not dim, only refines. His speech, measured in note and word, is a melodious token of this, and who would not be a listener? There is the stateliness of the sonnet in his talk, as, again, that is present in his writings.

"He may write little more and speak only in whispers, for he has earned rest, but the charm of his personality and the radiance of his pen are ours to have and to hold. Merely to be in his presence for an hour is to come away saying of him, as he says of Edmund Burke, that he had 'the sacred gift of inspiring men to use a grave diligence in caring for high things and in making their lives at once rich and austere.'"

Mysticism in Modern Art

Under the above title, Mr. W. P. Price-Heywood has contributed a very instructive article to the current number of *The Theosophist*, in which he discusses mysticism as one of the subtlest and most unique forces behind Art. The task of the mystic, he points out, is to pierce through outer appearances to the very soul of things, while that of the artist is to bring back and reproduce on canvas, with messy oil-paints, some glimpses of the spiritual vision and do so with such skill and feeling that the ordinary picture-goer will understand his meaning. The essential difference is shown between the great masters of the East and the West.

The East is idealistic and mystical, the West realistic and practical. The Westerner demands that the paintings he sees shall be as "true to life" as possible; to him every picture must tell a story. The Western painter, over-engrossed in his technique, is apt to forget that the aim of art is not slavishly to duplicate the actual (photography does that quite well enough), but to give a hint and promise of that ideal life of which the actual is but a shadow. The great masters of the East, on the other hand, never forgot the value of suggestion. How shall the soul of the artist communicate his ideas, his emotions, his aspirations, to the mind and the soul of the onlooker?—that is the problem they had ever before them. At the same time they knew that the understanding of art had to be based on mutual concession. The Eastern approaches a great work of art with a reverence which in the west is seldom paid. Our habit of lounging and yawning through art galleries would be sacrilege to him. "Approach a great painting," said an Eastern Master, "as thou would'st approach a great prince.

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Educational

Poetry-Teaching in Schools

In the January number of *Indian Education*, Mr. V. H. Mehta writes a very thoughtful and informing article on the right and intelligent methods of teaching poetry in Indian Schools. While admitting that English is a language foreign to teachers, he laments over the general apathy of teachers who either have no true ear for good poetry or have become time-honoured victims to pedagogic theory of teaching —parsing, analysing and paraphrasing for the purpose of examination. Those who have got true educational interests at heart must try to remove the defects they invariably find in such methods of teaching. Mr. V. H. Mehta puts in a very strong plea for the better teaching of poetry in schools and finally for the strengthening and enriching of the child's imagination which plays so important a part in the battle of life. To stimulate imagination is to set free in the child the perennial springs of poetic beauty. The first point the writer emphasises on the true teaching of poetry is about the proper appeal that should be made to the imagination and to the emotions of the child. The next point is that "the ideas need to be understood and so understood that the pupil is able to visualise it. To help such an understanding the teacher should first fix the attention of the learners upon the idea not upon mere words." Then follows a practical advice as to how poetry should be taught by teachers, and the writer strongly deprecates the ideas of memorising and such other tame methods that stunt the imagination. He, in fine, speaks of the value of poetry in the following pretty words:

> One of the values of poetry is that it furnishes the reader with a choice vocabulary and a delicacy of expression which unconciously become a part of the language of the reader. If we examine the language of good writers, what do we find? How much of the masters enters into their vocabulary? In our own limited spheres what do we do? We quote and quo unconsciously. The language of the authors we m ter becomes part of ourselves and without knowing we reproduce him after. This is an ideal worth achie ing and the ideal which the teacher of poetry ought keep before himself. No amount of unintelligent m morising will help the attainment of this ideal. little more intelligent appreciation of poetry than ordinarily made possible in the class rooms of c schools will insure its attainment.

Mr. Fisher's Witty Advice to Teacher

Mr. Fisher, the Education Minister, put Fou teen Points on holidays before a meeting teachers:

1. Plan your holidays carefully, but be rea to abandon your plans on the slightest prov cation.

2 Never go north when you can go south.

3. A change of work is in itself a holiday.

4. Never drive when you can walk, and nev walk when you can ride.

5. Take short cuts if you will, but remembe that there is seldom time for them.

6. A good holiday is like eternity; there no reckoning of time.

7. One of the best fruits of a holiday is a ne friendship.

8. Stay where you are happy.

9. Soak yourself in the atmosphere of a ne place before you study the details.

10. The best holiday is that which contain the largest amount of new experience.

11. Holidays come up for judgment befor the next term's work.

12. In the choice of holiday books act on th principle that one of the main uses of leisure i to feed the imagination.

13. The principal experts in the art of takin holidays are painters, naturalists, travellers, an historians; the worst person to consult is a golfe

14. On occasions a very good holiday can be taken at home—if you change the hour o breakfast.

Wide vivacious, desultory reading of all kinds of books, continued Mr. Fisher, was the finest way of quickening the imagination. Quantity was almost as valuable as quality.

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Legal

Legal Education in England

The Incorporated Law Society in England is pressing for the creation of a Minister of Justice whose duty it will be, amongst other things, to reform the procedure of the Law Courts with a view to make it more popular, take to the reconstruction of the administrative work connected with Law Courts, as also the reconstitution of the legal profession by means of a more efficient system of legal education and training and to remove the present distinctions existing between the different classes of the legal profession. Opinion rgarding the creation of a Ministry of Justice may differ but there seems to be little difference of opinion as to the need for a more thorough and rational system of legal education than at present prevails in England. Mr. Arthur Sharpe, Vice-President and Chairman of the Examination Committee of the Law Society, who is in favour of the establishment of a Ministry of Justice, says that a law student's education should be both scientific and technical in order to entitle him to practise. He says: "Once admitted as a student of the law, the question of legal education proper becomes all-important. And here I may observe that it must open the division of the subject which, to adopt the terminology of other subjects, I may call preliminary or scientific and applied or technical. It is open to discussion whether these two branches should be studied simultaneously or in sequence, but for my part I have no doubt that the preliminary law should precede and be studied apart from the technical, which is best acquired in practice. It should certainly be the duty of the new Ministry of Justice to see that they are both properly taught and studied and that a fair knowledge of both has been acquired before a student undertakes to practise on his own account."—*Calcutta Weekly Notes.*

Inquiry into German Culpability

Since its appointment two months ago, the British Committee of Enquiry, of which Sir John MacDonnell is Chairman, into the breaches of the laws of war has done a great deal of work through sub-committees appointed to deal with these breaches under various heads. Thus, the sub-committee on Law has already submitted an interim report on the jurisdiction of the tribunal to be established and kindred matters. It has also submitted a special report conveying the unanimous conclusion that it is desirable to take proceedings against the ex-Kaiser. Mr. Justice Petersen, the well-known criminal barrister and Mr. C. F. Gill have also been consulted.

The work of a second committee has been very heavy as it has had to deal with the ill-treatment of prisoners, their employment behind the enemy firing-line, the employment of illegal methods of warfare, the abuse of the Red Cross flag, the bombardment of hospitals and the execution of Edith Cavell and Captain Fryatt. A hundred thousand cases of ill-treatment of prisoners have already been investigated, but at least 150,000 more remain.

A third sub-committee has had to deal with offences at sea and in the air, including the destruction of merchantmen, the firing on ships' crews after the destruction of their vessels and the sinking of hospital-ships.

A fourth sub-committee examined the indiscriminate bombardment of towns and wilful and reckless destruction of hospitals.

All the committees have still a large mass of evidence to examine before issuing final reports dealing with the charges to be preferred and the degree of responsibility attaching *prima facie* to individuals. Although the final conclusions may not therefore be reached for some months, the present interim report says it must not be assumed that practical steps have not been taken to secure the arrest of the offenders.

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Medical

All-India Ayurvedic Conference

The All-India Ayurvedic Conference under the presidentship of Pandit Umacharan Kaviratna of Benares held its sitting at Delhi on the last week of January. Nearly 200 Vaidyas from all parts of India attended. Hazi-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in a speech in Urdu and dwelt upon the superiority of Ayurveda and Tabbi. Pandit Gopiraman of Delhi proposed and Vaidyaratna Pandit Jogendranath Sen and Vidyaratna Pandit Gopalacharlu of Madras seconded and supported the election of the President who began his address in Sanskrit, but being asked by the delegates, continued in Hindi. The President expressed condolence at the untimely death of Prince John and expressed joy at the Allied victory. He discoursed on the superiority of Ayurveda and urged the audience for preparing educated Vaidyas. The Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya delivered a speech on the necessity of establishing Ayurvedic colleges all over India saying that Ayurveda is scientific and the best suited to the people of India. He announced that he contemplated to utilize the one lakh of rupees he received from a Marwari friend in Calcutta for the establishment of an Ayurvedic college and an Ayurvedic botanical garden under the auspices of the Hindu University. Resolutions were passed condoling the death of Prince John, Maharajas Rewa, Dongarpur, Khairagarh etc., praying for separate representation of Ayurveda in Councils and equal treatment with allopathy, thanking the Excise Commissioner, Bengal, for exempting Ayurvedic Asavas and Aviashtas and asking for complete exemption of all bona fide Ayurvedic preparations from the operations of the Excise Acts all over India.

Sub-Asst. Surgeons' Conference

The Annual Conference of Sub-Assistant Surgeons met at Calcutta on 23rd Dec. H. E. Lord Ronaldshay opened the Sanitary, Scientific and Indigenous Exhibition which formed part of the Sub-Assistant Surgeons' Association held at the Campbell Medical School. Dr. J. N. Maitra, Secretary of the Sanitary and Scientific Branch of the Association, read an address, in the course of which he pointed out the need for such Exhibitions. H. E. Lord Ronaldshay said in reply:

I too am glad that you have been given the chance of playing a useful part amid the stern and terrible realities of the past few years; and I congratulate you upon the manner in which you have risen to the occasion. I can speak for Bengal only; and so far as Bengal is concerned, out of a total cadre of 302 Sub-Assistant Surgeons, 83 have volunteered for military service, 51 for service in India and 32 for service overseas. It is, perhaps, unnecessary for me to remind you that your opportunities of rendering valuable service overseas have not come to an end with the cessation of hostilities.

He then spoke of the gigantic task of reconstruction and the wide field for medical and sanitary work. Knowledge and wealth are needed to solve the problems of medical relief. The third weapon with which to combat the forces of disease is an army of trained men. Steps have been taken to create an adequate supply of Sub-Assistant Surgeons, while a substantial increase of pay has been sanctioned them.

There are other respects in which I personally should like to see alterations made in the conditions of your service. For example, I shall like to see a course of post-graduate teaching take the place of the periodic grade examinations which you have to submit to under your present conditions of service. A small and very tentative beginning has been made in the right direction by the institution of a small class of post-graduate teaching in this school. I hope that this may prove to be the beginning of greater things.

The proceedings of the Conference were not open to the press. The Hon. Major-General W. H. B. Robinson, Surgeon General with the Government of Bengal and the patron of the Calcutta Branch Association, presided and there was a large attendance of members.

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Science

Science and the Future

The main capital of the modern world consists of scientific knowledge. When we compile our War losses, let us not forget that our greatest asset, the store of knowledge science has collected is still intact. Without the aid science gives to agriculture the earth even now could not support its population. Lecturing on "Science and the Future," Mr. A. A. Campbell Swinton made these and the following statements: "It had been estimated that the total population the earth could maintain would be reached about 2100 A.D. If once the stage were reached in which population increased more rapidly than means of sustenance, then neither Leagues of Nations nor anything else would prevent conflicts between peoples struggling in dire necessity. The main resource when coal was exhausted would have to be the enormous flood of solar radiant energy that was falling on the earth. The problem was, how could this be utilised? The direct transformation of radiant energy into chemical or even into electrical energy was by no means impossible. The former transformation was already effected, inefficiently, by plants, and on a small scale in photographic processes, where light caused chemical reduction; Becquerel and Minchin had shown how radiant energy could be transformed into electrical. Perhaps in photo-electric chemistry we had the most important problem the science of the future had got to solve."

Physiological Effects of Cheerfulness

The good physiological effects of cheerfulness and confidence are ascribed to the fact that emotional conditions, such as fear, worry, etc., excite internal bodily reactions and accelerate the secretion of harmful products, which inflame already pathological conditions of the vital organs.

The "Schematograph"

The Popular Science Siftings publishes the following description of a machine designed to reveal the defects of the body:

"The schematograph is merely a means of registering in outline form the natural figure in various poses, all calculated to show the ordinary defects coming from faulty posture. The whole idea of the machine is to show the subject, graphically, the physical defects as indicated by his or her posture."

The device is as follows: An oblong box, about the size of a large camera, the bottom sides and ends made of wood, but the top with a sliding cover made of ground glass, a triple lens mounted in the front is an important feature of this machine. Inside this box, at the end opposite the lens, a reflecting mirror is mounted at an angle of forty-five degrees. The purpose of this mirror is to catch the rays from the image on the lens and reflect them to the ground glass cover above, where they can be observed by the operator. The "operating room" is long and narrow. A black screen about seven feet high stands against the wall at one end. Some twelve feet from the screen hangs a thick black curtain. Behind this the operator is posted, only the lens of the camera protruding through the curtain. This arrangement serves the double purpose of shutting off all rays of light and in securing complete privacy to the subject. To make a schematogram, as the tracing is called, the subject undresses and mounts a miniature model's throne in front of the screen. The operator focuses the machine, with the lens directed about at the subject's waistline. Just above and in front of the subject, two powerful electric lights are switched on to make the outline as clear as possible. On the ground glass at the top of the machine is clearly visible the image of the white figure, standing out against the dark screen. If the image is satisfactory, the operator lays a thin sheet of paper over the glass and traces the outline; and if it is not, images are taken from various poses to locate the defects.

The Use of Sea-Weed

During the last few years Swedish sea-weed has been coveted by the Germans who make it into fodder and also use it as a source of valuable chemical products. From a series of careful experiments carried out in Stockholm the dry distillation of 1 kilo. of dried sea-weed has produced the following:—illuminating gas 30—32 litres; carbon 43 per cent.; distillates (acetic acid, methylated spirit, formic acid, acetone, etc.,) 35 per cent.; salts (sodium sulphate, pottassium sulphate, potassium chloride) 14 per cent.; and in addition iodine, homene, a very aromatic tar product, and carbolic tar, an excellent preservative of timber.

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Personal

Lord Sinha's Appointment

I

Mr. P. C. Lyon writes to the "Times":—

The appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha to be Under Secretary of State for India will be welcomed by all who are looking for a genuine advance towards Self-Government in India. It will be in the memory of your readers that it was Sir Satyendra who, as president of the Indian National Congress in 1915, pressed for a declaration of the policy and ultimate aims of England's Rule in India on the lines of the one actually made in Parliament some 18 months later. He has always been a sturdy advocate of progress in our administration, and his appointment will be of welcome assistance to the Moderate Party, who are putting up a plucky fight at this moment against the extreme Home Rule faction. Signs have not been wanting that the Moderates had some fear lest the attacks made in reactionary quarters upon the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme might result in a whittling away of the reforms contained in it; but they will realize now that, whatever modifications may be found necessary in the details of the Scheme to facilitate its working and secure its main objects, the required changes will not be allowed to impair the responsibility and power which are to be entrusted by the Scheme to Indian hands.

II

Mr. J. D. Anderson writes in the "Times":—

As an old Bengal civilan, Mr. P. C. Lyon might have noted the remarkable part that is being played in recent Indian developments by Bengalis. The first two Indian members of His Majesty's Privy Council, Mr. Ameer Ali and Sir S. P. Sinha, are both Bengalis. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu is another. The one Indian who has a worldwide literary reputation is Sir Rabindranath Tagore, another Native of Calcutta. And now, to the gratification of all who know and love Bengal, Sir S. P. Sinha is promoted to the Upper House of the Empire. It was a Bengali, Sir Rabindranath's elder brother, who was the first Indians to enter the I.C.S. Another, the late Romesh Chandra Dutta, was the first to administer an Indian Division. Such successes mark more than intellectual distinction, and imply qualities of courageous industry and integrity not common anywhere. Surely our comment on Sir S. P. Sinha's elevation should be, "Well done, Bengal!"

III

The Parliamentary correspondent of the "Times" writes:—

Sir S. P. Sinha, the new Under-Secretary for India, who is to be made a peer will be the first Indian to become a Member of the House of Lords. Two Indians—the late Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji and Sir M. M. Bhownaggree—have sat in the House of Commons; but nothing has come of suggestions put forward from time to time for Indian princes and nobles to be made peers of the realm. While Lord (then Mr.) Morley was in the House of Commons and Secretary of State for India his successive lieutenants were in the same Chamber; but there are obvious advantages in the more usual practice of the Under-Secretary being in "another place." These are especially strong at a time when a measure for Indian constitutional reform is in preparation and will run the gauntlet of criticism in the Lords from peers who have held high administrative office in India. Indian gratification at the appointment has been voiced by Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Member of the Indian Council, in a telegram sent to the Prime Minister.

All India rejoices and thanks you for Sinha's appointment. You have appealed to the imagination of India and done what the greatest Moghul Emperor Akbar did in the 16th century. I join my personal thanks.

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Political

India Office Reform

In accordance with the proposal made in paragraph 293 of the Report of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy on Indian Constitutional Reforms, the following committee has been appointed to enquire into the organisation of the India Office and the relations between the Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India: The Marquis of Crewe, Chairman; H.H. the Aga Khan, the Viscount Esher, the Lord Inchape, Mr. B. N. Basu, Sir J. R. Brunyate, Lt.-Col. Godfrey Collins, Mr. Harry Gosling, Professor A. B. Keith, Edinburgh University, Mr. Evelyn Murray, Secretary to the Post Office.

The terms of reference to the Committee are as follows: To advise what changes should be made in (A) the existing system of Home Administration of Indian affairs and (B) the existing relations between the Secretary of State or the Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India both generally and with reference to the relaxation of the Secretary of State's powers of superintendence, direction and control.

2. To examine in particular (A) the Constitutional powers of the Council of India, its relations to the Secretary of State as affecting his responsibility to Parliament and otherwise, and the financial and administrative control exercised by the Council. (B) The composition of the Council, the qualifications, method of appointment and term of office of its members and the number of Indian members. (C) The working of the Council in relation to office procedure. (D) The general departmental procedure of the India Office. (E) The organisation of the India Office establishment and question of modifying the system of its recruitment so as to provide for (1) the interchange of appointments with Indian services and (2) the throwing open of a proportion of the appointments to Indians.

3. To advise whether any of the charges on account of the India Office and if so what charges should be placed along with the Secretary of State's salary upon the estimates.

4. To advise how effect should be given by legislation or otherwise to the committee's recommendations.

5. To enquire into and report upon any other matters cognate or relevant to the above which it may consider expedient to take into consideration. The committee will have regard generally to the proposals made in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms for the Reform of the Government of India and Provincial Governments and in particular to the recommendations contained in the paragraphs 290 to 295 of the Report.

London Chamber on Indian Reform

The Council of the London Chamber of Commerce after discussion, declined to express any opinion on the questions referred to in the resolution of the East India Section last month, that the report on Indian Reforms did not sufficiently recognise the social, religious and ethical obstacles to the growth of purely Indian enterprise, the achievements of British merchants in building up India's prosperity, excellent relations between British merchants and the hereditary trading classes of India, and that it did not safeguard important commercial interests against the theories of doctrinaire economists, and the attacks of irresponsible antagonists of British enterprise.

The Future of Luxemburg

The question of Luxemburg is attracting considerable attention. The Grand Duchess is undesirable, and will probably leave the country soon. A considerable section of the population desires association with France, while others again incline to Belgium. The general opinion prevails that autonomy will be preserved after the Government has been changed.

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General

The Ahmadiyya Congress

At the anniversary of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishat Islam on the 26th December in Lahore, Shaikh Mahomed Ismail Sahib, Proprietor of the Flour Mills, Lyallpur, presided. After the recitation of the holy Kuran to the men, Mudassar Shah made an interesting speech. He was followed by Moulvi Ghulam Rasul, of Kabul, who spoke in Persian. He narrated the history of the development of the Ahmadiyya movement in Afghanistan, after the death of Sahibzada Abdul Latifs. He also pointed out that the people of the country never heard of the novel doctrines invented by Mirza Mahmood Ahmad, the present head of the Gadian section from the Sahibzada Sahib, and that these were denounced by the Ahmadees of Afghanistan.

Moulvi Muhamadazi then delivered a learned lecture on "Islam and the Causes of its Rise and Fall."

He was then followed by Moulvi Sadruddin who spoke on the way of success and explained how it was achieved in the times of the Holy Prophet.

Lord Haldane and the Future

Viscount Haldane, presiding at a lecture on 'The Possible Industrial Development of India,' at the National Liberal Club by Mr. Dickinson, said: Before the war we were taking things easily. There were those who dreaded Germany in peace more than Germany in conflict, because with their industry, with their science, and with their practical methods, there was at least a very serious risk of penetrating the whole word in a peaceful fashion, as to which we should have taken no exception, and Germany, without firing a bullet, would have attained her object. Then it was that she committed the most tremendous moral and intellectual blunder that a nation could ever be guilty of. She threw away her chance, she had resorted to us our opportunity. (Cheers.) We had got to take that opportunity, and we should not take it if we remained sleepily, in the old tracks. We had got to adopt new methods. Labour was setting up a new claim—that it was not capital that made wealth, but labour. As a matter of fact, it was neither the one nor the other. It was direction which guided both capital and labour, and we wanted to substitute for the present aristocracy of wealth an aristocracy of talent—the talent which arose out of the educated hand and brain. If they could only make use of that vast untapped reservoir of the children of the working classes, insufficiently educated to-day and to whom opportunities of advancement were denied, what an opening, what a prospect it gave them for the future. They must show Labour that they cared not only for the body, but also for the soul, by giving them equality in a spiritual as well as in a material sense. Until Liberals learnt that lesson, they would never get back their position as the leaders of the progressive movement in the country.

Newspaper Men and the War

A striking fact in connection with recruiting was mentioned in a speech by Sir Auckland Geddes. Of ten thousand men and boys employed in London newspaper offices, five thousand joined the Army and at the moment when the Armistice was signed there were not thirty men fit for general service in all the London newspaper offices. That was a record, said Sir Auckland Geddes, which placed the Press at the head of every trade group in the matter of recruiting.

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THE INDIAN REVIEW
A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.
EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

Vol. XX. MARCH, 1919 No. 3.

ARYAN RULE IN INDIA

BY

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE KUMARASWAMY SASTRI.

LORD Acton in one of his delightful letters to Mary Gladstone observes: "The great object in trying to understand history political, religious, literary or scientific is to get behind men and grasp ideas. Ideas have a radiation and development, an ancestry and posterity of their own, in which men play the part of God-fathers and God-mothers rather than of legitimate parents." To those who have studied the various books on Indian history that have appeared from time to time these remarks would appeal with great force. Events have been chronicled with painstaking fidelity and each period of the Nation's history has been dealt with as if it had very little relation to the past and a very problematical influence on the future. The rise and fall of great dynasties and the ebb and flow of the great waves of religious and political thought, the greatness of certain epochs and the stagnation and retrogression of others, have been treated as if capable of explanation without much reference to the laws of evolution, of thought and action which play so important a part in the shaping of the destinies of nations. Kings and Emperors, saints and sages, poets and warriors float before our vision not as links of a great chain but as isolated phenomena floating in an unending procession out of gloom, like travellers pressed by a breath of destiny.

It is therefore refreshing to turn to the *History of Aryan Rule in India*,* by Mr. Havell, where the learned author has tried to "get behind men and grasp ideas," and to show how and by what means Aryan leaven fermented and Aryan culture renewed itself at certain epochs.

To trace the history of the Aryans from the time of their first migration into India to the period when the hoary structure of Aryan State craft and culture was shaken to its foundation by the children of an alien faith, and to pick up the threads of the various under-currents that during a long and chequered history have mainly contributed to the building up of a civilisation and the formation of ideals, so characteristic of the Aryan dominion in India is no easy task requiring as it does not only great learning, industry and research but rare insight and sympathy. To this has to be added the difficulties of compressing the vast material and the divergent views on it into a handy and readable volume. If these difficulties are borne in mind, there can be little doubt that the work before us is one which reflects great credit on the author and lays a deep debt of gratitude on the student of Indian History.

The opening chapters take us to the dim antiquity of centuries when a young and gifted nation

* *The History of Aryan Rule in India.* By Mr. E. B. Havell, George G. Harrap & Co., London.

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poured through the passes of the Himalayas and began to colonise the fertile places watered by the Indus and the Ganges. Ancient History as the term is understood in dealing with Europe appears very modern when dealing with the rise of Aryan civilisation and the progress of Aryan conquest. Vista after vista opens before us in unending panorama of thought and action, and while time has efaced detail and distance lends enchantment, the student of History has always the bed rock of the Vedas, the Brahmanas and the Upanishads to fall back upon both to build the structure and correct its proportions. The estimate of the worth of ancient Aryan culture and its influence on the Non-Aryan tribes must necessarily vary with the degree of knowledge one has of this ancient and vast literature and his sympathy with those ideas which the ancient thought were of enduring strength and greatness. Their idea of "Dharma," a word which, while it conveys a world of meaning to the Hindu, is often vague when tried to be translated as "Duty," no doubt varied from time to time, but throughout all their history it has certain fixed values which remained unalterable and which for good or evil shaped the destinies of the Aryan world. Under these circumstances, it cannot be wondered that divergent estimates have been formed of the nature and character of the ancient Aryan civilisation and the influence it had on the destinies of India. The views of Professor Max Muller, Vincent Smith, Weber and several other well-known writers are sometimes not supported by the evidence afforded by the study of Vedic literature and are not easily reconcilable, and several generalisations are only true if applied to certain epochs of their development. For example, the view of Professor Max Muller in his history of ancient Sanskrit literature that Greece and India represent two opposite poles in the historical development of the Aryan man, that, while to the Greek existence is full of life and reality, to the Hindu it is a dream and an illusion and [illegible] while the Greek is ready to sacrifice even his [illegible] to the glory and independence of Hellas, [illegible] Hindu enters the world as a stranger his thoug[illegible] being all directed to another world, can hardly [illegible] justified except when we consider the period w[illegible] after long ages of war, conquest and civiliza[illegible] the Aryan mind was directed to introspec[illegible] The satiety of conquest and the attainme[illegible] what one considers desirable to have in nation[illegible] individuals often resulted in the questio[illegible] eloquently put by the psalmist: "What sh[illegible] profit and what shall a man or a nation giv[illegible] exchange for his soul?" That this question [illegible] put by Aryans long before Greece was born is [illegible] not so much to a difference in temperament [illegible] to the fact that Aryan civilization was [illegible] when Greece was only beginning to awake [illegible] sense of national consciousness. The same exp[illegible] ences are undergone by different individuals [illegible] if one gives expression to them earlier, [illegible] because time has dispelled illusions and cha[illegible] the estimate of the relative power of each of [illegible] influences that moulded the past as he [illegible] through successive stages in life's experience. [illegible] fact, the progress and evolution of the Greek [illegible] tellect and philosophy present some remark[illegible] parallels to Indian thought. It is no d[illegible] true that to the Greek in the Golden Age of [illegible] history existence was full of life and reality [illegible] that he was prepared to sacrifice everything [illegible] his passion for liberty. But can it be said [illegible] the same is not true of the Aryan settler[illegible] India during several centuries? The hymns of [illegible] Rig Veda which present a faithful picture of [illegible] lives and aspirations of the Aryan conquerors [illegible] India abound in expressions of the joy of [illegible] and devotion to the sacred land of India, [illegible] consciousness of intellectual and moral superio[illegible] and the lust for conquest in a great many pra[illegible] in the Riks are hardly those of persons who [illegible] upon existence as an evil, the present world a[illegible]

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illusion and whose entire aspirations point heavenward. I shall quote a few Riks from 12 various mandalas. "Let those enemies be asleep and oh hero let the friend be awake, oh Indra of extensive bounty and quickly make us worthy of esteem in point of cows and horses, bright riches and thousandfold wealth." "Destroy all misery and slay him who does us harm." "Ushas conduct better all the gods for drinking Soma. Set on us strength which would lead to good exploits and which would evoke admiration and was for us kine and steeds." "Be thou oh Indra, the dispeller of our poverty with kine and gifts of steeds. Procuring the annihilation of Dasyas at the hands of Indra through the glistening draughts of Soma we liberated from our enemies shall be amply supplied with sustenance. With wealth and sustenance we shall be filled, aye, with powers bright and extremely delightful, we shall be blessed with that favour of those whereby the power of our heroes will obtain scope wherever the gift of kine is prominent and which also bestows horses." "Set on us, oh Maruts, a highly commendable power, brilliant, unsurpassed in battles bringing wealth worthy of praise and encompassing the world may bring up progeny of a hundred winter's life. Set on us, Maruts, fortune which is stable, which abounds in heroes, which tires the enemies out, which is to be measured by hundreds and thousands and which is ever increasing. Only a hundred years are with us, Oh Gods, within which time you bring old age to our bodies and during which short space those who today are sons have to become fathers to-morrow. Do not therefore cut short our life in the middle of its course." "Perform, oh hero, with our warlike soldiers whatever heroic deeds thou hast to achieve. Long have the godless enemies been puffed up with arrogance. Slay them and bring to us the wealth they have usurped." "May we be masters of all sorts of wealth and endowed with manly spirit and impatient for glorious deeds. May we vanquish the unbelievers who may attack us with armed force." "Oh Indra, make us a gift of immense riches coveted by all. Grant a life of one hundred years and give us ever abiding good warriors."

Such prayers run through several of the mandalas of the Rig Veda and may be taken to represent the hopes and aspirations of generations of Aryan settlers.

Running through hymns like these there run like golden threads prayers to deliver men from evil and which recognise the existence of a Supreme Being to whose eternal laws it is the duty of man to conform. "Deliver me from sin as from a rope and let us obtain thy path of righteousness" cries the sage and there is many a prayer to keep the Aryan on the straight path. This world was to the ancient Aryans the best of worlds and there is little to support the view that it is the duty of man to renounce the good that the Gods in their bounty give. Death is not considered as a deliverance from evil but as an event which the Gods ought to avert before the "hundred winters" allotted to man. "May the thread not be torn while I am weaving my prayer, may the form of my pious work not decay before its season" is not the prayer of one weary of life.

It is when we come to the Upanishadic period (between which and the Riks several centuries must have elapsed) that Vedic outlook on life begins to undergo a change. Conquest of the fairest part of India and subjugation of foes internal and external gave the Aryan intellect free scope for speculation which seems to have been ingrained in its nature. The eternal questions "whence wherefore and whither" were asked and were attempted to be answered with the result that standing between two immensities the mind thought very little of the brief space allotted to man wherein to work out his destiny. "Look back how it was with those who came before, look forward how it will be with those who came

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hereafter. A mortal ripens like corn, like corn he springs up again" says the Kathopanishad. "Regret and desire were as it were found equally vain in this world of impermanency for all joy was but the beginning of an experience that must have its end in pain." The result was that the *summum bonum* was considered to be a state of mind which was unaffected by "the pairs of opposites." It is a fascinating study—the philosophy of the Upanishads and the causes which led to so great a change in the outlook on life—but one which is hardly possible to treat with any adequacy in the pages of a magazine. But it is well to recognise the fallacy of thinkers that Aryans were, from the beginning of time, dreamers and pessimists.

The study of Greek thought and philosophy affords some very striking points of similarity. To the Homeric heroes, life was a very enjoyable thing and death had no compensations. The bravest of the warriors looked upon the life beyond with a shudder and prayed for long life and material prosperity in this world. The optimism of the Platonic School with its central thought of the *realization* of a divine purpose gave little scope for pessimism. As has been well observed, the philosophy of Plato centres round "the Supreme Goodness by the light of which all the processes of the natural world, all the functions of man on the State are to be interpreted." It is to the speculation of later philosophers that we have to attribute the tendency to glory in the insignificance of man and to view with rapture the prospect of self loss in the bosom of universal nature. Plato's confident and trustful idealism gradually gave place to speculation where the evil in life was recognised and the Gods were represented as sipping their nectar careless of mankind or who when they deigned to interest themselves in mundane affairs thought of men less for their welfare than for their chastisement.

I am afraid I have digressed considerably but the digression is necessary to show the soundness of the view which Mr. Havell has taken in his estimate of early Aryan culture and civilization which is more sympathetic and which accounts for a great deal of what would be otherwise inexplicable in early Indian history. The author is perfectly right when he rejects the theory that "the Aryans when first known to history were simple barbaric tribes who borrowed their civilization from the more cultured races they conquered both in India and Europe." That they had attained to a fairly high degree of civilization when they entered India is fairly evident from a perusal of the Vedas. Full of life and action, with a mind eager and responsive with just that amount of introspection that was necessary to keep them in the right path, they began their wonderful career in India and as the centuries unfolded themselves they built up a great civilization. It would be idle to deny that close association with the people they conquered did exercise a certain amount of influence on Aryan thought and ideals but as the author rightly points out, "it was their own creative genius which gave the material new higher forms and inspired it with deeper thoughts." In the long course of history, it is wonderful how little Aryan theories of life and conduct were affected or changed by the conditions of the people they found themselves amongst and how on the contrary the handful of conquerors gradually imposed their culture on the subject races.

The evolution of caste was the means of the race preservation and culture which we find characteristic of Aryan civilization in India. Whether the ideas of caste were founded on the colour bar or the differences in occupation of the various Aryan conquerers there can be little doubt that it came into prominence very early in the development of the race. The famous hymn in the Purusha Sukta shows not only that there was a sharp distinction between the various castes but

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also a clear superiority of one caste over another symbolised with reference to the various portions of the body of the Creator from which they are said to have sprung. Two central ideas run through the history of the development of the caste system. One is the sharp line drawn between the Aryans and the aboriginies and the other is the importance given to the main occupations which demanded the energies of the handful of people whose destiny it was to subjugate a vast country. As rightly observed by the author, "the instinct of race preservation together with a profound conviction of divine guidance formed the basic principles of the code of laws and social customs which became part of the sacred literature of Hinduism. The distinction between Aryan and Non-Aryans was never lost sight of and was the pivot on which the whole social system turned. Within the Aryan fold however, there existed at first a great deal of elasticity and "the rigidity and exclusiveness of the caste system as we knew it was largely the product of medieval conditions." It is doubtful however if the author is right in his conclusion that the rigidity did not "exsist in the time of Buddha and for many centuries afterwards." The solution of the problem will depend upon the antiquity to be ascribed to the Smritis and earlier Grehya Sutras and it would be dangerous to speculate till we have some reliable dates to fix their date. Between the Brahmana and the Kshatriya castes the struggle for supremacy was long and bitter but the controversy seems to have ended in favour of the Brahmana before Buddha began to preach.

The first eight chapters of the book carry us from the dim antiquity of the past to about the second or third century of the Christian era. The survey of so vast a field within so short a compass must necessarily be confined to the more important landmarks in the history of thought and action, and it is not possible that there can be complete agreement on matters relating to which the data are so meagre. So far as the material progress of the Aryans is concerned, the various stages by which they conquered the continent and imposed their civilization on it are fairly clear. The struggle for supremacy was long and not often easy, but there can be little doubt that India was 'Aryanized' centuries before the Christian era. The struggle while it lasted and the peace which came after conquest had however a profound effect on the polity, the religion and the arts, and no history of ancient India can be adequate or correct which does not appreciate in its true bearings the change in the values.

As regards Aryan ideals of Government and the State, Aryan ideals hardened almost as soon as the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges were conquered. Conquest led to "the gradual consolidation of the small tribal confederations which characterised the Vedic period into considerable states ruled by hereditary dynasties." The divine right of Kings was tempered by the obligation of the King to govern with the advice of his ministers learned in the Dharma and the checks were more moral than by any counterbalancing machinery in the State. It is difficult to agree with the author when he states that "in the Aryan polity the divine right of Kings was never recognised as a personal attribute of the Monarch belonging to himself and his family" and that "he had no right except that which was conferred on him by Aryan law and he could be fined or be deposed by the General Assembly of the freemen or by the Council of ministers if he neglected his duties as King or offended against that law." The Puranas and Epics instance very many bad Kings but there is hardly a case where he was fined, much less deposed by the General Assembly and the theory that the King was an *amsa* of Vishnu is hardly reconcilable with the theory that the divine right was not a personal attribute. Nor is it clear whether confederacies of tribes governed not

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by a single ruler but by a council of noble families were contemplated in the scheme of Government evolved by the Aryan settlers. If the Dharma Sutras, Epics and the Puranas afford any guide to the theory of the State as understood by the Aryans, the normal condition contemplated was Kingship associated with advisers whose advice at least in theory was binding on the King. The origin of Kingship as given in the Mata Bharata and the woeful picture given in the Ramayana of a country without a King do not support the ideas of republics being contemplated by the Aryan law-givers. In the Ramayana it is stated : " No country can be wealthy without a King nor can the people of a kingless country be virtuous. Money lenders do not lend money in a state of anarchy. Wealth is not protected nor do traders sleep fearlessly with open doors. Brave men do not learn the use of arms nor do traders go to trade in foreign places through fear of robbers. The conduct of people cannot be good without a King. In a kingless country learned men do not go about without fear discussing various subjects. A kingless country is like a waterless river, a waterless lake, a forest without verdure as a herd of cows without a cow herd. The King looks after the people as the eye looks after the body. The darkness of ignorance spreads over the people if there is no king." In social and domestic affairs, we find an immense gulf between the early Aryan settlers and the Aryans about the time when Buddha began his mission. Luxury had given peace and the simplicity of the early conquerors and trade and arts had reached a stage of high development. We find in the epics descriptions of large towns and glowing accounts of the luxury of the citizens, and there can be little doubt that, so far as material progress was concerned, India in the second century B.C was far ahead of any other country in the world.

It is however in religion and in the outlook on life that we find that there has been the most wonderful development. What the outlook of the early Aryans was I have attempted to show by extracts from the Rig Veda. It was a simple and joyous faith in the protective power of the Gods whose rewards and punishment were supposed to follow the prayers and sacrifice and gifts of persons who have not strayed from the path of rectitude. " The creator having in older times created men together with the sacrifice said, ' Propogate with this may it be the giver to you of the things you desire. ' Please the Gods with this and may the God please you. Pleasing each other you will attain the highest good. For pleased with the sacrifice the Gods will give you the enjoyments you desire " says the Geeta and this affords the keynote to the elaborate system of sacrifices so minutely outlined in the Brahmanas. Success and happiness in this life were to be got only by propitiating the Gods and by doing nothing which would be "Un-Aryan." Thus there arose two main ideas, ritual and adherence to what was considered as one's Dharma and this runs like a thread throughout all subsequent developments up to a certain stage when success was necessary to enable the Aryans to conquer the Dasyas : all thought was concentrated on how to please the Gods to obtain their help and vanquish the enemies of the Aryans. Elaborate ritual was thought the only efficient way, the greater the gift the greater being the reward. " Therefore the all comprehending Vedas are always concerned with sacrifies" (Geeta.) Right conduct was not lost sight of but the strenuous life of the early Aryans gave little room for serious lapses from virtue.

Gradually a change came over the relative values attached to sacrifice and conduct. The pantheism of the Vedas gave place early to the idea of one Supreme Being, the creater of the world through whose might and wisdom it was created was being protected and would ultimately be

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destroyed. "Some men under a delusion speak of nature, others speak of time as the cause of everything but it is the greatness of God by which this world is made to turn. It is at the command of Him who always covers this world, the knower, the time of time, who assumes qualities and all knowledge. It is at His command that this creation unfolds itself which is called earth, water, fire, air and ether" says the Swetasvataropanishad and instances may be multiplied from the Upanishads. Instead of sacrifices, knowledge of the supreme Isvara is represented as the only path to salvation. "A man who knows Him truly passes over death. There is no other path to attain Salvation," says the same Upanishad.

Speaking of the Upanishads, Professor Max Muller, in his Hibbert Lectures, observes: "Lastly came the Upanishads and what is their object? To show the utter uselessness, nay, the mischievousness of all ritual performances, to condemn every sacrificed act which has for its motive a desire, a hope of reward, to deny if not the existence at least the exceptional and exalted character of the Devas, and to teach that there is no hope of salvation and deliverance except by the individual self recognising the true and universal self and finding rest there where alone rest can be found". This seems also to be the teaching of the Bhagavat Gita in many places.

Small wonder it is that in this reaction against the efficacy of sacrifices there arose thinkers who went to the extreme length of denying an even an intelligent first cause. The Lokayaikes and the Charvakas presented to the world a purely materialistic theory. They accepted no other evidence than perception and recognised only four elements—fire, air, earth and water and considered sensation and perception as the result of the union of the elements existing only so long as the union lasts. To them the soul does not exist as a separate entity being so to say only a function of matter, and as a necessary consequence there is no heaven or hell and no use of any sacrifices to unseen powers. Mr. C. R. Sreenivasa Iyengar in his notes to the Ramayana well summarises these teachings: "Heaven and Hell, Bondage and Liberation in this world and the next, Body and Soul, caste and orders, these are not and exist only in the imagination of fools. The Agnihotra, the study of the Vedas, the bamboo staff and orange robes of the Sanyasis, the sacred ashes and other stock in trade of the sanctimonious hypocrites are but means of livelihood for helpless fools. If the animal sacrificed in the Jyotistoma goes to heaven, the sacrificer can very easily secure the worlds of bliss for his father and mother, wife, child and kinsmen and friend by making them take the place of the sheep, goat and cow or the horse slain in the Yagas. If the food given to the Brahmanas in the Sradha goes to satisfy the hunger and wants of his ancestors in the far-off worlds, travellers to distant countries need not trouble themselves about their meals, dress or other comforts for these are ever at their disposal if some one takes care to provide a Brahmana at home with these things."

In the Ramayana, we find the sage Jabali consoling Rama with these theories and Rama gravely refuting them. It does not appear that these theories of life and matter ever made any great headway amongst the masses, but there can be little doubt that a deep wave of scepticism as to the efficacy of sacrifices was early influencing speculations as to the future. Between these extreme views there were the agnostics who refused to dogmatise about the existence of a Supreme Being and the Sankhya System of Philosophy passes by the question of the existence and attributes of a Supreme Being. In the well-known Sutra 92 "Eswarasiddtreh," it is not proved that there is a Lord (Esvara) of the Sankhya aphorisms of Kapila and the reasons given in the subsequent

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Sutras explain the position taken up by the Sankhya System.

It is necessary to bear in mind these influences and speculations to appreciate the role that Buddha played in the history of thought and to appreciate his influence on the history of Hinduism. It is no doubt true that he represented the extreme part of the reaction against the ritualism of the Vedas and the Purva Mimamsa, but that was only one phase of his teachings. With a great deal of Hinduism as current in his time, Buddha did not concern himself and to him they were unessential to the attainment of Nirvana. When pressed by his favourite disciple Ananda as to the existence of the Supreme Being he evaded giving any definite answer. To him each man was the master of his own destiny and rituals were useless if freedom from the cycle of births and death was the *summum bonum*. There was no panacea of human ills of external application, no efficacy in what may be called the homeopathic treatment of Sin. "No use in making happiness and agreeable feeling the formal constituent of virtue or in seeking to deduce the laws of conduct from the laws of comfort." The aim of all the teachers of Indian philosophy is to save mankind from pain and so each system propounded its own cure. The aim of Buddha was the same as that of the other sages but his means differed in this—that he resolutely set his face against any means except through the eradication of desire which, according to him, was the cause of all evil.

The teaching of Buddha exercised a profound influence on the tribes of India and in so many directions was its potency manifested that the history of the country for the next thousand years is closely bound up with the rise, progress and decline of Buddhism. The growth of Buddhism marks the close of an age and it will be convenient to stop at this point with the following eloquent tribute to the memory of Buddha by Heine:

"Twenty four hundred years ago out of solitary meditation upon the pain and the mystery of being the mind of an Indian pilgrim brought forth the highest truth ever taught to man, and in an era barren of service anticipated the utmost knowledge of our present evolutional philosophy regarding the secret unity of life, the endless illusion of matter and of mind and the birth and death of the universe. He spoke and returned to his dust and the people worshipped the prints of his dead feet because of the love he had taught them. Thereafter waxed and waved the name of Alexander, the power of Rome and the might of Islam—Nations rose and vanished, cities grew and were not. The children of another civilization vaster than Rome begirdled the earth with conquest and founded far off empires and came at last to rule on the land of that pilgrim's birth. And those rich in the wisdom of four and twenty centuries wondered at the beauty of his message and caused all that he had said and done to be written down anew in language unborn at the time when he lived and taught. Still burn his footprints in the East and still the great west marvelling follows their gleam to seek supreme enlightment. Even thus of old Milinda followed the way to the house of Nagasena at first only to question after the subtle manner of the Greeks yet later to accept with noble reverence the nobler method of the master".

THE LIFE & TEACHINGS OF BUDDHA

BY

ANAGARIKA DHARMAPALA.

Price As. 12.

To Subscribers of the "Indian Review." As. 8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

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INDIA AND IMPERIAL PREFERENCE

BY

PROF. BRIJ NARAIN, M.A.

IN this article the probable effects of a preferential tariff upon India's export trade and Indian currency and finance are chiefly considered.

India has a very large export trade with foreign countries. The table given below shows the exports of Indian merchandise in 1913-14.

Exports.		Amount. £
To the United Kingdom	...	38,236,780
To other British Possessions	...	23,072,192
To Foreign Countries	...	101,492,027
Total	...	162,800,999

But of exports to other British possessions over 4 millions sterling worth were to the Straits Settlements and over 5 millions sterling worth were to Hong-Kong. A considerable proportion of the exports to the Straits Settlements and almost the whole of the exports to Hong-Kong are really destined for China and Japan. We may therefore add 6 millions sterling to the exports to the foreign countries and deduct this amount from the exports to other British possessions. The figures thus adjusted are :—

Exports.		Amount. £
To the United Kingdom	...	38,236,780
To other British possessions	...	17,072,192
To Foreign countries	...	107,492,027
Total	...	162,800,999

United kingdom thus took 23.5 per cent of our exports, other British possessions 10·5 per cent and foreign countries 66 per cent. Foreign countries are our largest and most important customers.

One of the principal objects of a preferential tariff is to deprive foreign countries of a great part of their share in India's import trade. A preferential tariff would fail to achieve its purpose if it did not bring about this result. Will foreign countries retaliate and have they the power to retaliate ?

They have no such power, says the advocate of preferential tariffs. Our exports to foreign countries consist of raw materials which are essential to their industries. They will cripple their own industries, if they tax imports from India. Much as they may like to retaliate, "in many important branches of commerce, outside nations will be forced to come to India whether (for political reasons) they wish to or not in order to obtain the raw materials and other products necessary to keep their own peoples occupied and their own industries prosperous," says Mr. M. D. P. Webb who is so willing to offer India as a sacrifice at the altar of Imperialism. Sir Ropar Lethbridge is equally positive. It is not easy for any country to tax imports from India. It is an "impossible task". Among all our customers, he says "there is not one that could by any possibility attempt to retaliate on India except at the gravest peril to its own industries, and there is not a single one that is in the least likely to attempt the impossible task." (The Indian Offer of Imperial Preference).

The question may be considered from another point of view. Under Imperial Preference, the Indian peoples will grow prosperous, with the result that "so far from selling less to the foreigner in these prosperous circumstances, they are certain to sell much more".

That is all very well, but the question is not whether we shall be able and willing to sell much more to the foreigner, but whether the foreigner will be willing to buy much more from us.

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Optimists like Mr. Webb and Sir Roper Lethbridge may be referred to the study of the question of preferential tariffs by Lord Curzon's Government in 1903. According to Sir E. F. G. Law, India's position as an exporter of raw materials is one of considerable defensive strength, "but this is not the case with every country nor by any means with regard to all classes of produce exported." On the whole, therefore, "it is more in the interest of India to leave matters as they are than to embark on a new fiscal policy," unless it can be shown that a preferential tariff will secure "very great advantages" for our exports to the British Empire. Sir E. F. G. Law had stated the chief objection to a preferential tariff fairly clearly, but the Government of India thought that he had possibly "underrated both the powers of retaliation which foreign countries possess and also their readiness to use it." India has a monopoly of Jute, *till*, lac, teak wood, myrobolams and *Mohwa* and a less complete monopoly of some other articles. "With regard however to the greater portion of our exports," they said "they compete successfully in foreign markets by reason of their cheapness rather than of their quality or kind. We cannot feel confident that the conditions and requirements of foreign industries have yet been ascertained with the precision and fullness necessary to make them a sufficiently broad and stable basis on which to rest a fiscal policy of very problematical value to India, whilst the consequences of failure might result in irreparable disaster.

The views of the Government of India on the question of preferential tariffs were published in 1904. Sir Roper Lethbridge's "India and Imperial Preference" appeared in 1907; Mr. Webb's "India and the Empire" in 1908; and Sir Roper Lethbridge's "The Indian Offer of Imperial Preference" in 1913. As both these writers confidently assert that foreign nations have not the power of taxing imports from India, it may be supposed that they have investigated the conditions and requirements of foreign industries with respect to the supply of raw materials from India more fully than the Government of India could do in 1904. But not the slightest evidence of an investigation of this nature is found in their books.

Foreign nations would be unable to retaliate on India if she was the only country in the world which supplied them with raw materials for their industries. It is certainly true that we have a monopoly of certain articles. But the total value of the exports of these articles in 1913-14 was only £ 17,150,394 or 17 per cent of the total exports of Indian merchandise to foreign countries.

Exports		Amount. £
Opium	...	931,772
Lac	...	897,636
Til	...	1,762,031
Mowa	...	363,617
Myrobolams	...	231,948
Indigo	...	98,875
Jute Raw	...	12,709,748
Teak Wood	...	154,767
	Total	17,150,394

In the case of rice, hides and skins, oil seeds, spices and chemicals and drugs, our monopoly is less complete, while in the case of other articles of export we have no monopoly at all.

At the most, foreign nations are forced to buy from us less than 20 per cent of our total export of all articles to them. That is about the extent of their dependence upon us.

(If we include the exports of jute manufactures the percentage increases to 31, but we should not forget that before the War Germany was levying heavy duties on imports of jute manufacture

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which shows that our jute manufactures were not indispensible to her).

It thus appears that foreign countries possess the power of retaliation.

Without crippling their own industries or ruining themselves, they may limit their purchases of those raw materials from India of which she has a monopoly and impose heavy duties on other goods for which India is not the only source of supply. They may thus do our export trade much harm. The onus of proving that they will not in any circumstances do so, rests on the advocates of Imperial Preference.

Lastly in 1913-14, we exported to foreign countries articles wholly or mainly manufactured of the value of about £ 21,051,000. The chief articles of export were chemicals, drugs and medicines worth £ 1,000,000; dyes and colours, excluding indigo, worth £ 319,000, hides and skins, tanned and dressed, and leather worth £351,000; metals, iron and steel, and manufactures thereof, worth £ 246,000; yarn and textile fabrics, including jute manufactures, worth £17,880,000. The total value of the export of manufactured articles from India is not negligible. We take pride in this fact and consider it to be a sign of the economic transition in India. The further development of our manufacturing industries will give our people increased employment; it will give them higher wages and it will be a means of diminishing the numbers dependent upon agriculture. But if a preferential tariff is adopted, the export of manufactured articles to foreign countries will be seriously affected. We have a monopoly of certain classes of raw produce and the foreigner may not be able to tax their imports. But he can easily retaliate on India by taxing imports of manufactured articles.

Connected with the question of retaliation is that of the indebtedness of India to the British Empire. The imports from the British Empire annually exceed the exports to the British Empire and the export to foreign countries annually exceed the imports from foreign countries. This is shown by the following table:

—	1909—10	1910—11	1911—12	1912—13	1913—14
	£	£	£	£	£
Imports from the British Empire.	55,000,000	59,000,000	63,000,000	74,000,000	85,000,000
Exports to the British Empire.	52,000,000	57,000,000	61,000,000	65,000,000	61,000,000
Excess of imports over exports.	3,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	9,000,000	24,000,000

—	1909—10	1910—11	1911—12	1912—13	1913—14
	£	£	£	£	£
Export to foreign countries	70,000,000	79,000,000	86,000,000	95,000,000	101,000,000
Imports from foreign countries.	23,000,000	26,000,000	28,000,000	32,000,000	36,000,000
Excess of exports over Imports.	47,000,000	53,000,000	58,000,000	63,000,000	65,000,000

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In 1913-14, our trade with the British Empire gave us an adverse balance of 24 millions sterling, which sum does not include the Home charges which in that year amounted to £ 20 millions. As far as our commercial and financial relations with the British Empire are concerned, we are always a debtor country and our indebtedness has increased in recent years. Even the dullest intellect will perceive that it is upon exports to foreign countries that we depend for discharging our obligations to the British Empire and that, if owing to a change in our fiscal policy our exports to foreign countries should dwindle, we shall cease to be a solvent country. It is therefore absolutely necessary for India, under the circumstances, to develop her export trade with foreign countries as much as possible.

From the subject of India's indebtedness to the British Empire, we pass by a natural transition to that of currency and exchange. Our currency system is the gold exchange system in which the internal currency consists of token coins convertible into gold at a more or less constant rate for purposes of international payments. The maintenance of the gold exchange system depends upon stability in the value of the rupee, which in its turn depends upon a favourable balance of trade. It has been shown above that foreign countries possess the power to retaliate. If, as the result of the tariff wars in which India would most certainly become involved as soon as she adopted a preferential tariff, the balance of trade turned against India, her currency system would be thrown into confusion. The Government of India realised the danger which the proposed change in her fiscal policy would involve. "The national solvency of India," they wrote in 1903, "depends upon the preservation of an excess of exports over imports equal to the amount of the Home charges, that is, upon maintaining a favourable balance of trade." It is therefore a vital object with us to stimulate our exports by every means in our power, to seek new market and develop old ones and to remove all obstacles which stand in the way of growing external demand. If, then, notwithstanding the safeguards which we possess, we should unhappily be drawn into tariff wars with powerful countries, it can not be doubted that, whichever way the ultimate victory might incline, our export trade would, for the time being, be injuriously affected. Such a result would be fraught with the gravest consequences. Imperial Preference would involve India in tariff wars with foreign nations, and the set-back to our trade, our revenues and our credit would immensely outweigh any benefit that we might reasonably expect from the most unconditional surrender of our opponents in the war of tariffs. We cannot sufficiently impress this danger on your attention. Even if the chances of success were greater than we conceive them to be, we hold that the certain cost of the war and the severe penalties of defeat would be too heavy a price to pay." (Letter from the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India dated the 22nd of October 1903.)

Sir Roper Lethbridge, on the other hand, maintains that Imperial Preference, so far from endangering the financial stability of India, would increase it. It may be interesting to learn how Sir Roper proves his extraordinary thesis. The financial stability of India depends upon the maintenance of a favourable balance of trade. This Sir Roper recognises. But one of the causes of a favourable balance of trade in the case of India at the present time is a very large export trade with foreign nations. Every year we sell more raw materials to foreign nations than to the British Empire, which is positively wicked. The export of raw produce to foreign countries should cease, for it is a source of weakness to our financial system. We cannot depend upon the foreigner who in making his fiscal arrangements keeps

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his own interests in view and not those of India. Suppose the foreigner restricted his demand for our commodities. What will be the result? The balance of trade will turn against India, the exchange value of the rupee will fall and India will be plunged into financial chaos. Let us therefore be wise before it is too late and develop our export trade with the British Empire. But the British Empire takes from us goods, raw and manufactured, worth only £ 55,000,000 while the export to foreign countries amounts to £ 107,000,000 (1913-14). One would think that the fact that our exports to the British Empire were only 34 per cent of total exports in 1913-14 showed that foreign nations wanted our produce more and paid us a better price for it, whether they were interested in the financial stability of India or not. One would also like to ask whether the countries which constitute the British Empire would be willing to buy Indian produce in excess of their requirements just to make our finances stable or to please us.

One wonders if Sir Roper is aware that, by declaring that our export trade to foreign protected countries is "obviously and undeniably at the mercy of their protectionist tariffs," he convicts himself of self-contradiction or something very like it. The fear that these protectionist countries will retaliate on India, says Sir Roper, is groundless, "for the protectionist foreigner must have Indian raw materials or cripple his own industry." This means that the protectionist foreigner cannot do without our raw materials and there is no immediate danger of India losing her profitable trade with him. If that is so, then the financial system of India is stable enough so far as its stability depends upon the preservation of a substantial excess of exports to foreign countries over imports. But, 'No' says Sir Roper; we cannot depend upon the foreigner which means that the foreigner can restrict his demand for our raw materials.

And thus you may kill two birds with one stone. Is it required to prove that our export trade with foreign countries will not suffer under Imperial Preference? Then say that the foreigner is no more able to tax our imports than Great Britain is able to tax the raw cotton for her cotton industry or the raw wool for her woollen manufacture. Is it required to prove that the export of the bulk of our produce to foreign countries endangers the financial stability of India? Then say that our exports are "obviously and undeniably at the mercy of their protectionist tariffs."

In the end, a few words may be said about India's trade with the self-governing colonies of Great-Britain.

"The recognition of India as a sovereign State" is the title of an interesting chapter in Sir Roper Lethbridge's book, 'India and Imperial Preference.' India, he says, cannot be asked to become a member of the proposed Imperial federation except as a sovereign State ruled by the King-Emperor. This would involve a recognition of the rights of Indians as citizens of the Empire. Possessing those rights, an Indian would claim in all parts of the Empire the same privileges as any other member of the Empire. Indians do not at present enjoy these privileges in the self-governing colonies of Great Britain.

The anti-Indian attitude of these colonies is to be regretted, but race prejudices, we are told, die hard in a democracy and, further, the British colonist cannot be dragooned into goodness. In order to raise our political status, let us appeal to his self-interest. The Colonies might be pleased to reconsider our case if we offered them a valuable and tangible concession in the form of a trade preference in our markets. What we have been unable to get by political agitation and representations through the Imperial Government, we may easily secure by means of Imperial Preference. "If I were an Indian delegate and entered the Imperial Conference with a mandate to

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offer Indian trade preference in return for British and Colonial trade preference plus equal treatment for British Indian subjects in all parts of the Empire," says Sir Roper Lethbridge, "I should do so with the fullest confidence of success."

One almost wishes that it were possible for India to make a tempting offer to the colonies. But the share of Great Britain's self-governing colonies in India's import trade is so small as to be negligible. The total value of the imports from Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, Canada, Australia and New Zealand is less than one million pounds. In 1913-14, the total value of imports from Cape Colony was £ 222, New Zealand £ 198, Canada about £ 6000, Transvaal £ 7000, Natal £ 148,000, Australia £ 611,000. The imports from Australia are not negligible but about 39 per cent of the imports consist of horses of which Australia is already the largest exporter to India. She has little to gain by preference in this respect; the imports from other self-governing colonies are so small that preference is out of the question. If the recognition of India as a "Sovereign State" depends upon her ability to offer to the colonies material and valuable trade concession, India will have to wait long for that recognition.

THE INDIAN RAIYAT*

BY

SIR DANIEL HAMILTON

IN his remarkable victory speech to the Houses of Parliament and the Empire, the King spoke thus:—"Now that the clouds of war are being swept from the sky, new tasks arise before us. We see more clearly some duties that have been neglected, some weaknesses that may retard our onward march."

These words of the King apply more appropriately to India than to any other part of the Empire, for here, the neglected duty, the failure to provide a banking system for the people, more than any other cause, has brought their onward march to a standstill.

Progress of a kind there has been, but how have the people progressed? Railways have stretched out in all directions; have the lives of the people stretched out? Jute mill dividends have expanded; have the lives of the workers kept pace? Bombay is a thriving city; do the people thrive in the chawls?

And what of the rural population? Does it march onward, or stagnate? The Maclagan Committee answer the question in these words: "The chief object of co-operation in India was to deal with the stagnation of the lower classes, more especially of the agriculturists who constitute the bulk of the population. It was found in many parts of India, as in most European countries, that in spite of the rapid growth of commerce and improvements in communications, the economic condition of the peasants had not been progressing as it should have done, that indebtedness instead of decreasing had tended to increase, that usury was still rampant, that agricultural methods had not improved, and, that the old unsatisfactory features of a backward rural economy seemed destined persistently to remain."

Gentlemen, this is a serious indictment of a

*A Paper read at the Bengal Co-operative Conference on 15th February, 1919.

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hundred years of British rule, but unfortunately it is true, and my own personal knowledge and observation confirm it. Six or seven months ago, a missionary friend in the Deccan wrote to me to say that there influenza was a greater scourge than the plague, and that of ten couples married by him earlier in the year, only two remained complete. He was doing what he could with his small staff, to help the people, but what can one man do among a million? Two months later he wrote to say that the cotton crop had been almost destroyed by untimely rains. Another two months passed and he wrote to say that the jowari crop, the food crop of man and beast, have failed for want of rain, and the people were selling their cattle from Rs. 3 to Rs. 6 per head. There was no fodder to buy and no money to buy it. The people's harvest this year consists of the skins of their cattle. The cattle go, the people remain—to stagnate?

Another friend in the United Provinces wrote me the other day to say that "the people around here are dying like flies, and nobody cares" and it would matter little if they did, for no money means no doctors, no help of any kind.

India, with her huge population, may be described, aptly, as the minus quantity of the Empire—minus education, minus doctors and medicine, minus sanitation; and in this year of scarcity, minus food, minus water, minus clothes, minus oil, and all else that make the wheel of life turn smoothly.

Now all these minus quantities, the water, the food, the cloth, the oil, sanitation, doctors, medicine, education, are traceable chiefly to that other great minus, money—that vacuum in the body politic—the banking system which is not. In my school days I learnt that nature abhors a vacuum; so does Satan, and he fills it with the Mahajani.

Whose duty is it to provide a banking system for the people? It is the duty of the Government of India. Why?

1. Because it is the duty of Government to protect the people from oppression.

2. Because it is the duty of Government to destroy a system of finance—the 'mahajani'—which brings discredit on British rule, and dishonour to the British flag; and which sterilises the beneficent work of the Government.

3. Because no one else can provide the credit money required by 315 millions of people.

4. Because the Government currency note is the only possible form of credit money, and the only one which the people know and trust.

5. Because the trade balance on which the currency system turns, centres in the hands of Government, and will provide the capital required.

6. Because, if it is the duty of Government to provide a railway system which removes the surplus crops of the people, it is equally the duty of Government to provide a banking system which will bring back the price.

7. Because, without a banking system which will develop the money power of the country, the Montagu Chelmsford Reform Scheme, or any other, becomes a dead letter, and the new Legislative Council a farce.

These seven are only half of my fourteen points: the others ought not to be wanted.

A banking system to finance 300 millions of people implies two things; on the one hand, ample resources to lend, and on the other, ample credit on which to borrow. Let me say a word or two regarding the resources available. In Europe the banks depend on deposits for their resources, but in India the resources of the masses being nil, their deposits are nil. I might also point out that deposit banking never develops properly until metallic money has been replaced by paper: therefore, if India is ever to develop a large system of deposit banking, the one-rupee note must oust

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the silver rupee. Why deposit banking follows the development of the paper currency is easily explained. Silver money keeps, if hoarded, paper money perishes. To save its life the owner of the currency note is forced to bank it, and, if the Government has the courage of its convictions, it will push the one-rupee note all it can. If it does, I have little doubt that ere long, the damp and the middew and the white ant, to say nothing of the dacoit, will do more to develop deposit banking in India, than the Government has done in the last hundred years.

If, however, India is soon to begin her onward march, it would be well not to wait for deposits. Where then shall we find the resources to finance 300 millions of people? We shall find them in the trade balance and the paper currency and gold standard reserves of the Government. These reserves could be made to yield another three hundred crores of good credit money which only awaits the creation of a banking channel through which it can flow out to fertilise the country, and set India agoing on her onward march. At the Co-operative Conference in Simla, I drew attention to the unfairness, to put it mildly, of investing India's money reserves in England and elsewhere, while India is starving for money; and I was glad to see that the Indian merchants of Bombay drew Sir James Meston's attention to the same matter the other day. I hope India's publicists will keep an eye on these reserves, and see that India's money is used for India's good; for the loss to India by the present system of investing the money outside of the country, runs to hundreds of crores in the course of a few years.

So much for the resources available. What about the credit of the three hundred millions who are eager to borrow? What is it worth? An acre or two of impoverished land, a pair of lean cattle, an eight-anna plough, a drycow, a two-rupee goat, represent the assets of the borrower; who will trust him? The function of a bank is to monetise trust or credit, but if the credit is not there, the bank is powerless to monetise it. The development of trust or credit is, therefore, one of the chief tasks awaiting the attention of Government. Credit or trust is the key to industry as to all others, but trust does not grow afoot in a night like the bamboo in June. It is a delicate plant of slow growth. It requires for its cultivation carefully trained gardeners, thousands of them, and the sooner they set to work the better, if the three hundred millions are to begin their onward march within a reasonable time.

The Raiyat is a small man, but multiply him by 300 millions, organise his credit and his energy, and he becomes a giant, able to move the world. Finance the raiyat and he will finance the Government and the new industrial development, the Municipalities, the City Improvement Schemes, the District Boards, and everything else requiring money. Leave him as he is and India will remain what she is, a land of waste and want. The politician clamours for the power of the purse, but there is no power in it; it is as flat as the floor on which I stand, and only the raiyat can fill it. Finance the raiyat, take up the neglected duty, and India will march onwards at the head of the Empire, instead of hanging back in the rear where she now is.

The Improvement of Indian Agriculture: Some Lessons from America. By Catherlyne Singh. 2nd Edition. Price Re. 1. To Subscribers of *I.R.*. As. 12.

Industrial India. By Glyn Barlow, M. A. Second Edition. Re. 1. To Subscribers of *I. R.* As. 12.

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SEDITION AND ANARCHISM IN INDIA

BY

PROF. S. C. RAY, M.A.

ALL the great political writers of the world, although they may differ in many important points of political theory, are, nevertheless, agreed in this fundamental principle of human psychology, *viz.*, that individuals have always tried to live peacefully in society in response to their natural desire to maintain what they consider to be their natural rights. The state is, accordingly, the ultimate form of evolution of the primitive society of "political animals" bound together by social necessities and interdependence and desirous of living in friendship and association and in the freedom of realising their highest ideals. Social order or peace is seldom disturbed unless either the economic interests of one class come into conflict with those of others living in the same or different states, or their rights are encroached upon by the executive in the exercise of their legal and discretionary powers. Commerce and Industry which was, at one time, believed to be the bond of peace and brotherhood among nations, have now become the fruitful cause of political and economic unrest throughout the civilised world, because civilisation has now come to be identified with head-long industrial and commercial progress and has ceased to be associated with the moral, intellectual, spiritual and artistic development of man. It has assumed, for good or ill, an extremely aggressive attitude, because all political power is associated with it, and it has as its aider and abettor an equally aggressive partner, *viz.*, a sense of social supremacy. The causes of disturbance of the social order are, therefore, in the ultimate analysis, threefold: (1) economic conflict (2) social or racial diversity, and (3) abuse of executive power.

The remedy for the third cause is provided in every state by the establishment of constitutions limiting the executive powers, and regulating the relation between the people and Government, and the legal relation between man and man. I am not concerned with this. My object in this article is to analyse how far economic and racial causes are responsible for the social disorder which every sober and right-thinking man deplores, specially because no remedy has yet been devised for these causes.

Human beings in India, as elsewhere, do not differ fundamentally in their desire to live amicably in society and to live in a way which conduces best to their happiness and well-being. What this happiness or well-being implies, depends upon the conception of it entertained by particular groups of human beings. This conception may be shaken or modified by external influences in certain respects, but in its essentials it remains unshaken and resists all outside attempts at encroachment or violation. It is in this way that conflict and discord arise. It is difficult to conceive that men having created society by their social instincts should themselves attempt to disturb its tranquillity unless they are compelled to do so by pressure of circumstances. There is, however, a limitation placed upon these circumstances by the nature of man.

We, in this country, have been accustomed to a paternal government which has given us, while we were ignorant of anything else but our elementary necessities, certain opportunities and blessings which were greatly appreciated. I need not stop to describe them. In certain matters of detail or minor importance, where we came into contact with foreigners, we have had no causes of grievance or conflict. But after the elementary necessities had been satisfied, relations between the two communities began to be deep and complex, and interests developed which threatened to be clashing or antagonistic. And it is in such matters that our nature began to revolt in certain fundamental points.

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Fifty or sixty years ago when education had not been so widely diffused as now, when world intercourse had not influenced the lives of Indians, widened their horizon, and broadened their outlook, when the educated community had not come into touch with the realities of public life, and the aims, aspirations and ideals of the great society outside——the people depended more on public power for the realisation of their political life than now. Indeed, political consciousness had not then been aroused ; and self-reliance and self-respect which are the twin brothers in political evolution had not then been born. Government, on its side was accustomed to paternalism ; the people, on their side, were habituated to a mode of political obedience quite out of harmony with a period of political adolescence. The people began to realise that the system of irresponsible government established in the country was not favourable to the development of self-respect and self-reliance and it was coming into conflict with its new and advanced conception of social well-being. If India had remained isolated from the rest of the world, it is quite possible she would have remained contented with her own lot. But coming into close association with a nation whose mission was to uplift her people and to assimilate her civilisation to that of the West, she began to think herself whether she would allow this assimilation to be effected to the complete effacement of her nationality. Herein arose a conflict between the two nations, of which we are now reaping the fruits.

This conflict, as I have indicated above, had its origin in either economic or racial causes. The economic causes are identified with the interests of trade and commerce, which are given undue prominence owing to the fact that the traders have been the founders of the Indian Empire. But it is forgotten that other men are necessary to preserve an Empire than those who founded it. The interests, rights and immemorial sanctities of the Indian people have, as I showed in a previous article, been subordinated to the interests of trade and commerce. In the social sphere, considerations of racial superiority and British supremacy are the predominant elements. The Government refused to concede to popular demands either by changing the system of government or by allowing the conduct of the executive to be changed in their relations with the people, lest such a change might be interpreted as weakness in maintaining British prestige ; they began by differentiating between Europeans and Indians in all transactions where they feared that equal treatment would shake the foundations of that prestige. The Government was naturally supported by the whole European community, who became nervous over any attempt at government to give equality to all, irrespective of race or colour. Thus political cleavage reacted on social cleavage and *vice versa*. The situation may be illustrated by a few specific and glaring instances in which the differentiation was accentuated. It will not be difficult for the reader to judge in each case whether the cause is social (or racial) or economic :

(1) In the carrying of arms, Eurasians are classed with Europeans. In many other respects, they are classed as Indians.

(2) In cases of assault or murder of Indians by Europeans, the latter do not, in the opinion of right-thinking Indians, receive just punishment.

(3) The European and Indian services are graded on different principles. In the former, the number of posts in each grade diminishes as the salaries diminish ; in the latter, the case is quite the reverse, affording less opportunities of quick promotion.

(4) Appointments to the high offices have not always been made on the ground of fitness, but on political considerations. And attempts have been made by high officials to explain away the statutory abolition of racial disabilities.

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(5) Honours and distinctions have been bestowed on the undeserving and the obsequious *i.e.*, on persons who have distinguished themselves not in the service of the public but in what is narrowly called "public service."

(6) Greater respect and consideration are shown in private and public places to the meanest European and Eurasian than to respectable Indians. Indians have complained that the criterion of respectability is a particular form of dress, and neither birth nor social position. This is foreign to the Indian idea of respectability.

(7) In public offices, the well-paid posts have been given to Europeans and Eurasians, many of whom are inferior in ability and education to their Indian subordinates. This feeling of bitterness has been aggravated by the distribution of offices in proportion to the population of the different communities irrespective of merit.

(8) Indian public opinion is usually subordinated to European public opinion; and even where there is no conflict between these two opinions, the former is treated with contempt. The statements of Europeans are more trusted than those of Indians and the result is that honest and truthful Indians have recourse to tricks, meanness and lies. This moral differentiation has wrought a revolution in the character of Indians; for "political despotism yields a harvest of deceit, evasions and trickery."

(9) In the case of wrongs done by Europeans to Indians, they mostly remain unredressed (1) because petty wrongs are never brought before Courts of Law and (2) serious wrongs are not adequately compensated. In hospitals, in railway trains and platforms, on public roads, in places of public recreation, events happen which lend colour to the dangerous doctrine that "Europeans can do no wrong."

(10) Criticism of government measures is misunderstood as contempt of government. As this is one of the few constitutional means left to the people to ventilate their grievances, the suppression of this means is naturally taken, rightly or wrongly, to be the grossest abuse of executive power.

(11) Government officials have frequently preached co-operation with Indian non-officials in administration. But this "co-operation," in actual practice, has been one-sided, and the opinions of responsible Indians have been swamped by the opinion of an isolated officer.

(12) In every country, with a semblance of constitutional government, the opinion of the numerical majority is respected and followed. But in India the "ruling majority" has taken the place of the numerical majority and the result is that the opinion of the real majority is disregarded.

(13) Our sentiments have been cut to the quick by the European community without the government raising its little finger to repair the injury. Witness the sewage, dirt, refuse and other impurities which are daily discharged by the jute mills into the sacred river Hooghly which has thereby been converted into a huge sewer for the benefit of commerce. This injury is submitted to by the people with a galling sense of restraint and patience. How many thousands of people thus feel their insignificance before a few magnates of commerce and industry!

(14) The notorious corruption and oppression of the Police has not yet been eradicated. And the people may be excused if they believe that the government is at the mercy of the Police.

(15) Whenever measures have been introduced in India in the interest of Europeans, they have been defended on the ground of western precedents. But when Indians have demanded certain reforms on western models, they have been told that whatever is good or suitable for one country is not good or suitable for another.

(16) It is now generally admitted that the average European in this country is not superior to the best type of Indian. The difference bet-

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ween the two is gradually vanishing. But this fact has not removed the prejudice of government against Indians.

(17) Europeans (mostly belonging to the commercial community) are greater breakers of law than Indians of similar position. If confronted by the guardians of law, they get off with impunity by bullying them.

(18) The bye-laws of railways, tramways and other private undertakings are framed with an eye to the greater comfort and convenience of the European than the Indian. This is possible because the management of such undertakings is in the hands of Europeans.

(19) The Anglo-Indian press has been loud and strong in their vilification and abuse of Indians and in exciting racial feeling. But the government has made no attempt to stop this.

(20) The unrestricted practice of cow-killing in India has wounded the feelings of the majority of Indians. I have been assured on high authority that cow-killing is not sanctioned by Mahomedan law and it is quite possible to prohibit the practice without shocking the religious susceptibilities of our brother community. But the Europeans themselves are sinners in this respect. They are unable, for the sake of appeasing the Hindu sentiment, to set an example of self-sacrifice to the Mahomedan subjects by foregoing beef-diet and resorting to mutton or goat meat. "I cannot," wrote Zeller to Goethe, "conceive how any right deed can be performed without sacrifice". If the Europeans had considered this "right", I am sure they would have made this sacrifice.

It is these and such-like grievances, having their root in racial or economic causes, which lie at the bottom of the present discontents and which are responsible for the "sedition and anarchy" that are alleged to be rampant in the whole country. If the causes are carefully analysed, it will be found that the responsibility must be fixed, in the last resort, (1) on government, (2) on the European community. And yet, by a curious irony of fate, it is these two bodies that are emphatic in their denunciation of these two crimes, and emphatic in their determination to enforce the most drastic measures for their repression. The Report of the Rowlatt Sedition Committee is replete with passages * which prove *prima facie* that repression has preceded and is the cause of anarchism.

These passages in the Report convincingly prove that the young men were goaded to desperation by certain measures which were disliked by the people. Except in the case of their association with the German plot, which may now be said to be finally crushed, there was no idea to overthrow government, but there was undoubtedly a firm resolve to make the administration impossible as a protest against its methods. The suggestion that their aim was to overthrow the "established government" of this country appears to me to be a pure fiction. Their efforts were directed not against "established government" but against its methods, and against individual agents of government. Overthrowing the *methods* of government is not synonymous with overthrowing the government itself. In any other State where foreign rule does not prevail, the methods adopted by these youths would not, in theory, be interpreted as *seditious*.

(*) (i) Mr. Rand, who had become *unpopular* owing to his being the officer charged with the enforcement &c (p. 3)

(ii) Among those who united to excuse the murder and to praise the bomb as a weapon of offence against *unpopular officials* was Tilak (p 6.)

(iii) In the year 1897 the Poona-ites were subjected to *oppression* at the time of the plague (p 7.)

(iv) The disorder which prevails owing to the pride of military strength (p 7.)

(v) Destroy the government because it is foreign and *oppressive* (p 8.)

(vi) Protest against the *inhuman* transportations and hangings of Indian youths (p 9.)

(vii) The collapse of the whole machinery of oppression is not far off (p 11.)

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although they were certainly *violent*; for the right of resisting the government in extreme cases of political discontent is recognised in abstract political theory, and in no country except in India would such a right be construed as an attempt against the *State*, although it is undoubtedly an attempt against the *constitution*. The young men were, rightly or wrongly, smarting under the impression that the people were not treated with justice and consideration either by the rulers or by the members of the ruling race. Impulsive or impressionable nature is quick to take revenge. The form which this revenge took, in the absence of a constitutional remedy, was *Swaraj i.e.*, government by themselves without the association of alien rulers. This was not a goal but an ideal—impracticable and imaginary. But like all ideals it sprang from the perception of an actual evil. An English political writer says: "Representative institutions, petitions, public meetings, a free press are various means through which the people can assert itself. When refused these means, and when yet sufficiently vigorous to use them, it will assert itself by armed rebellion or, if that is not possible, by secret conspiracies and assassinations. . . Political assassination is a clumsy and ineffective method of moving a vote of censure on the government in countries where the opposition has no constitutional means of expression. . . . Statesmanship has been defined as the art of avoiding revolutions; and this is so far true that the wise statesman will make revolution impossible by making it unnecessary, or certain of failure because not supported by the General Will."

A revolution, of course, is impossible in India, but the 'anarchism' is its substitute. If we survey the whole situation impartially, we have no difficulty in discovering that even "anarchism" has been magnified into something which it is not. Anarchism is the extreme form of individualism, and means the abolition of all government, the suspension of all sovereign power and the establishment of a form of individual rule. The more rigid and mechanical the autocratic power of government, the closer does this individualism resemble anarchism, because autocracy resents every form of resistance or restraint, however legitimate and constitutional. What is called "anarchism" in India would never be called "anarchism" in England; indeed, anarchism cannot exist in the latter country. Anarchism is incompatible with the social nature of man which implies mutual dependence and mutual service. If this inter-dependence is assumed, anarchism, which implies absolute individual freedom, cannot exist in a well-ordered society. Anarchism is the product of those countries where the "government" is divorced from the "*State*". It is pre-eminently a protest against autocratic rule; and in a democracy, it would be an anomaly, an exotic. 'Anarchy' has become a by-word in this country, because the political status of India is singularly anomalous; it is not a "State" in the strict political sense of the term; it is, however, theoretically a democracy because the executive are responsible to a remote and indifferent democratic Parliament; but it is practically an irresponsible autocracy. The political principles applicable to a "State" have been tried and applied in this country by administrators accustomed to the institutions of a free country. But India was unprepared for their reception and culture; and it happened that while the Englishmen were enjoying the fullest amount of freedom which they had carried with them from home, India suffered from the most flagrant inconsistency, namely the incongruous combination of the theoretical principles of liberty with the actual subjection of the people. The solution of this acute political problem has baffled some of the greatest of Indian statesmen imbued with the highest political sagacity and sympathy for the people. Such failures may in part be attri-

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buted to the opposition of the European community, whose vested interests in the country were too strong to give way to Indian interests. The European community in the preservation of these vested interests—which I repeat are economic and racial—have not felt the slightest compunction in rousing the bitter feelings of the Indians. By their insults and rudeness, by their imperious and over-bearing attitude, by their assertion of racial superiority and reminder of Indian inferiority in all their relations with Indians, by their encroachment upon the civilisation and traditions of India, and lastly by the desecration of our sacred rights and sentiments—they have goaded a few people—happily not all—to desperate remedies because all other remedies had failed. The situation has been accentuated by government sitting with folded hands and looking listlessly upon the situation, unwilling or unable to repair the wrong which the people suffered at the hands of their European fellow-subjects. The Anglo-Indian Press fanned the flame by their cowardly, mean and scurrilous attacks upon Indians for their "aspirations" to a position of equality in an Empire of justice. This equality of course did not mean equality in political privileges—but ordinary equality in the eyes of law and equal opportunities to develop their capacity. The government which now accuses Indians of sedition and of exciting ill-feeling between one race and another looked with perfect unconcern upon a similar action on the part of the Europeans. It is not now fair to the Indian community to say that they are the authors of the sedition, whereas the real authors are the Europeans, who, having done the mischief, now try to shield themselves under the protection of government. What has the government done to stop the wrongs committed by Europeans against Indians? What has it done by way of warning them to restrain from indulging in speeches, writings and action which, every statesman could see, were pregnant with seeds of discontent and disaffection? What law did the government enact to remedy a state of lawlessness which, as it was unchecked, was to lead to worse and more serious lawlessness in the future? Did the government in the early stage of this ferment realise that there really existed a state of lawlessness in the country which should have been nipped in the bud? Did not the government display a lamentable lack of statesmanship and knowledge of national psychology in not appreciating the critical nature of the situation which events were slowly evolving? If anarchy is identified with lawlessness, the European community in this country are guilty of sowing the seeds of anarchism of which the whole country is now reaping the fruits. Those who have broken the 'law' of the country (I do not mean statutory law alone) by injuring the feelings of the people, their deep seated prejudices, their dearest and most cherished institutions by means of physical and moral coercion are anarchists of a worse and more cowardly type than the men, who, because they have had no constitutional remedy available to them, were forced, by pressure of circumstances, to have recourse to unconstitutional and violent methods.

A jealous and nervous desire to preserve the economic interests of the European community and to maintain the racial (as distinct from British) supremacy are the insecure pillars on which the government is supported. This fact has shaken the confidence of the Indians in its foundation on justice. They are under the impression, right or wrong, that the obstacle to the highest life of man here is the distribution of "partial justice" in cases of conflict between an Indian and a European in the law courts, in public offices, in the field of commerce and industry, in social functions and generally in their daily intercourse in life. "The essence of justice," says a great political thinker, "is that different individuals

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are not to be treated differently except on grounds of universal application, and that the most prominent element in justice, as ordinarily conceived, is a kind of equality *i.e.*, impartiality in the observance or enforcement of certain general rules allotting *good* or *evil* to individuals." This "universal justice" has been replaced by "partial justice"; and the change has been brought about by racial and economic causes.

The remedy for this state of things is "Self-Government." The Government of India has hitherto been a personal government, fluctuating in policy, fluctuating in political wisdom, fluctuating in methods, fluctuating in the appreciation of national psychology and fluctuating in its analysis of the lessons of experience. These fluctuations have been attributable to the personal factor in government. There has therefore been an antithesis between a varying and unstable element represented in the chief Magistrate and a stable though slowly evolving element represented in the nation. The psychology of the former has been changing and fickle; that of the latter, though changing, was a change of organic and steady growth from its primitive to its fully developed state, which, according to Aristotle, is called its "nature." It is difficult to reconcile these two elements politically:—one personal and the other organic in Indian society. An unstable element is unfitted, by the inconstancy of its nature, to govern a slowly evolving society containing in itself the elements of organic growth and stability. The combination is a psychological incongruity, but it has been maintained and preserved by artificial means which have proved disagreeable to both. The remedy therefore lies in placing the government, as far as the traditions, habits and sentiments of the people are concerned, in the hands of the stable element in society, *viz.*, the people. Self-Government, though it may not please and appease the Europeans, will certainly please and appease the Indians. It is not to be taken narrowly as a concession to political agitation, but as a concession to popular sentiments or general will, an affront to which leads to disaffection. It will facilitate and smooth the way to the steady evolution of the vital and stable element in society, unobstructed by the jarring elements that oppose it. It may not create a system of government that is efficient from the point of view of expert or the British administrator; but it will, if the European element is adaptable and flexible, bring about an adjustment between the conflicting sentiments and antithetic geniuses of the two nations. No government measures, no criticism or abuse by the Anglo-Indian Press, no vilification and insult by the European community, no threats nor acts of repression by government abuse of power can remove or cure the natural "defects of virtue" of a nation. Our nature hankers after ideals which we cannot realise; our nature repels certain foreign ideals which are forced upon us against our will. The European makes certain demands upon our nature which it is impossible for us to satisfy; we make certain demands upon the Europeans which they feel unable to satisfy. The former, on our part, is not an evidence of inefficiency. There can be no question of inefficiency in the management of affairs which are our own, or in the mismanagement, in the opinion of others, of affairs which are against our genius: there is no justification for abuse if we manage our own matters badly; there is no object in criticism if we understand a question in a different light from others. Such questions arise when there is a conflict of interests, or conflict of spirit, or conflict of views or conflict of power between us and the Europeans. In such cases, we are not competent to pass a free verdict. We are forbidden from saying that a certain thing is good or bad for us. We accept the verdict of another because we are under the incubus of moral or intellectual serfdom engendered by poli-

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tical subjection. We say in cowardice of conscience what we ought not to say otherwise.

The remedy proposed by government for the suppression of sedition and anarchism may be materially effective; but it lacks moral force or sanction. And "the less the moral strength of any law, the greater the physical strength which government must exercise to enforce it." The analogy between anarchic India and the sick man demanding treatment by a specialist is amusing though not instructive. I wonder if it was meant seriously. It is specious reasoning to argue that *the remedy* for a sick man is the *medical* treatment, however drastic, prescribed by the *specialist*. But medical treatment alone is not effective. A man suffering from cholera stands little chance of being cured by external or internal application of "specialist" medicines if at the same time he is fed on ground-nuts, gram or Indian corn. He must be fed on barley water before the medicines can be expected to take effect.

The whole substance of my argument is that a repressive bill alone is not adequate; and that simultaneously with measures for effectually dealing with sedition, measures should be taken for rooting out its ultimate causes. *Cessante causa cessant effectus.*

We do not want responsible government of the Australian or South-African type where the basest commercial instincts of the British race find free play; where the native and oriental immigrant population are exploited to a merciless extent in the interest of commerce and industry; where God's great gift to man, *viz.*, freedom, is relentlessly used for the restriction of freedom, and abused in the persecution, exclusion and even extinction of the natives; where the government may be identified with a vast industrial and commercial organisation tending to "substitute interests for principles as the guiding star of political life"; and where the population is subjected to the most degrading disabilities in order that the white population may thrive and prosper —a population which cares a two-pence for the reputation and fair name of the mother country. We hate such a system of responsible government: we hate it as an ideal; we hate it as a reality. We want a government which shall be responsible not to the interests of race or commerce but to righteousness and humanity, to justice and brotherhood—not partial or imperfect justice, but impartial and universal justice to black and white, to the Hindu or the Mussalman, to the Jew or the Christian, to the high and the low, to the rich and the poor.

I may possibly be accused, in writing this article, of ridiculing and contemning the Government of India and the European community. I emphatically, and without any tinge of hypocrisy, deny this charge. My chief object has been to diagnose the political situation of India from a psychological point of view; and if, in discussing the situation, I have made certain reflections, they are not meant in any way to wound the feelings of the European community, but to emphasise and give point to my theory. It is my desire, and it should be the desire of all who take an interest in the well-being of India, that all communities should live in a spirit of cosmopolitan brotherhood and not as distinct and isolated entities. The State may be composed of diverse elements: but organically it is one whole. It should be the aim of all citizens, Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Parsees etc., to live a life of universal brotherhood in the service of the State; and not of one community or class to dominate over all the rest; to make the task of administration smooth, and pleasant; to point out, in a friendly spirit, its defects and dangers; to advise how they can be removed. In the attainment of this aim, the psychological factor is often ignored; and the personal factor is idolised. My purpose throughout has been to enforce recognition of national psychology in framing measures intended for the promotion of social order and well-being.

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The Extinction of the Liquor Traffic in America

BY

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

To India, as to the rest of the world, the American decision to abolish the liquor traffic from every square inch of American soil is a startling politico-social development. No other nation has had the courage to take such drastic action. Even under the stress of war, European peoples contented themselves with stopping the consumption of certain forms of liquor, such as vodka in Russia and absinthe in France, lowering the percentage of alcohol in intoxicating beverages, and curtailing the hours during which liquor could be bought. The American refusal to compromise with liquor in any way, therefore, is an epoch-making event in the world's history.

The legislative decree by which the American will to suppress the liquor traffic will be enforced has taken the shape of an amendment to the United States Constitution. The Congress passed it on December 17, 1917, and specified that it must be ratified by the legislatures of the requisite two-thirds of the States composing the Union within a period of seven years.

Within 13 months the amendment, which prohibits the manufacture, importation, exportation and sale of alcoholic liquors of all kinds anywhere in the United States except for purely medicinal and industrial purposes had been ratified by 36 of the 48 States comprising the American Union. On January 16, 1919, the House of Representatives and Senate formally announced the ratification of the amendment.

It matters comparatively little whether traffic in liquor ceases within a few weeks or within a few months. The main thing is that the victory has been won—won by constitutional agitation. People in America, and outsiders who closely follow American events are greatly surprised at the rapidity with which the prohibition movement gained support during the last few years.

Agitation for the suppression of the liquor traffic began in America 80 years ago. As long ago as 1846, a law to prohibit liquor was passed in the State of Maine. Five years later, a much more drastic Act was passed providing for the confiscation and destruction of intoxicating liquor, and has been in force ever since, with the exception of the years 1856 and 1857. The States of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut followed the example of Maine.

Similar attempts were made in the States of New York and Indiana, but failed. Prohibitory laws were passed in both States, but were declared unconstitutional.

In 1869, the prohibition party was formed to carry on organized agitation for prohibition, as it was felt that the liquor interests constituted a tremendous disrupting force in American politics, and unorganized opposition had little chance against such a wealthy and resourceful combine. Though the leaders of the party had right on their side, and though they were zealous and determined men, they appeared to accomplish but little for many years. They did, indeed, convert many individuals to their cause, and here and there a State went "dry" (prohibitionist.) But until quite recently the movement did not capture the American imagination, and remained more or less inert.

When I first went to the United States about fifteen years ago, all sorts of jokes were cracked at the expense of prohibitionists. Talk of fifteen years! Less than half a dozen years ago, when Mr. William Jennings Bryan gave his first official dinner as Secretary of State in Dr. Wilson's first Cabinet and astounded the Washington world by substituting unfermented grape juice

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and other "soft" drinks for the usual wines and spirits, he was lampooned by caricaturists and writers in newspapers, large and small all over the United States.

In the early days of my sojourn in the United States, I used to hear all sorts of stories about the irregularities that occurred in prohibition States. I was told, for instance, of a "dry" town in Louisiana where one of the doctors has his consulting room in a chemist's shop. Day-long men streamed into his office and described their imaginary symptoms, and he solemnly provided them with prescriptions for liquor which the chemist immediately filled. They drank a "dose" on the spot, and carried the rest away for consumption outside. I was also told of "dry" towns where railway trains came in loaded with jugs, bottles, cases and barrels, shipped by express companies from "wet" areas to private individuals who waited on the station platform to claim them.

I saw, with my own eyes, enough to confirm my suspicion that all was not right in prohibition districts. For instance, in a "dry" town in the State of Iowa where I lived for several months, I used to see many evidences of the surreptitious consumption of liquor. Empty whiskey and beer bottles lay hidden in bushes, hedges and alleys, where they had been thrown after their contents had been stealthily imbibed.

When I asked prohibition leaders for an explanation, they told me that, though irregularities were grossly exaggerated by the partisans of the liquor interests, yet it was quite true that some did occur. They ascribed them partly to the laxity of officials charged by the State or County with enforcing the prohibitory laws, who winked at such practices and often enriched themselves by helping topers to evade the law. But much of the mischief, they averred, was caused by the peculiar conditions regarding inter-State commerce prevailing in the United States. So long as there was not a specific law prohibiting the shipment of liquor into "dry" States, irregularities would continue, and they therefore were bending all their efforts to secure such an enactment. As I shall show later, they succeeded in that object in 1913.

I had not been in the United States long when I began to notice that the attitude of the American people towards drink was changing. Some of the young men who, not so very long before, had indulged in jokes about people who were "on the water wagon" and drinking "buttermilk," I found, were not so facetious on the subject as they used to be. Upon probing the matter, I discovered that these young men had learned that they could not afford to crack jokes, because their bosses had made up their minds that they would have no employees who drink liquor, no matter how moderately, and since they valued their positions, abstinence from liquor had ceased to be a joke so far as they were concerned.

At first I was inclined to believe that the employers who thus frowned upon liquor were exceptional, but I soon changed my mind. I heard again and again, of instances of employees being sacked because they would not or could not give up drink, and of others who failed to get into large works and offices because they were suspected of drinking. I noticed that Americans who controlled railway employees, electricians and other workmen who used delicate tools, and bank clerks, were particularly relentless in closing the doors of their works and offices to persons who drank, no matter how moderately.

A man who might, by any chance, have been drinking, the railway companies declared, ought not to be trusted with the lives of hundreds of men, women, and children. The bank directorates felt that they could not depend upon the honesty of a drinking man, who might at any time be led into temptation that would make him an enemy to society. Managers of workshops knew, from actual experience, that it was a physical

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impossibility for a man who drank to have a steady hand, and his fumbling with tools would result in actual monetary loss to them.

The women members of workers' families, I found again and again, appreciated the teetotal policy even more than the men did. This is not to be wondered at, for the men who worked under abstinence from liquor enforced by their employers returned to their homes as soon as they finished work, bringing their money with them intact, instead of hurrying off to a liquor shop to have a drink or drinks and coming home with lightened purse, and, more often than not, drunk.

The southern States of the American Union which have a large negro population, the coloured people, in some districts, outnumbering the whites by four to one, adopted prohibition because liquor led to inter-racial fights and to murders, rapes, and other crimes. The leaders of the negro community were even more anxious than the white man to protect their people from the ravages of alcohol. Thus it came to pass that far-sighted persons of both races espoused the cause of prohibition. Indeed, until quite recently most of the prohibition territory was in the south.

The prohibitionists found that they were able to gather under their banner many diverse interests, all enthusiastically contributing towards the success of the cause, as soon as they began to ask for the suppression of alcohol, because it lowered efficiency, bred crime and destroyed homes and wealth instead of continuing to carry on merely a moral crusade. Industrialists and commercialists, theologians, ethicists, moralists, men of science, and sociologists worked side by side, each giving his best to bring about the desired end.

The momentum gained from this conjoint effort galvanized the movement. By the exercise of local option and the passage of special State laws, county after county and State after State banned liquor.

Persons who painted a black picture of financial ruin resulting from the closing down of brewing and distilling establishments have been proved to be scare-mongers. In "dry" States, breweries and distilleries have, with little confusion or loss of time, been transformed into factories for the production of malted milk, vinegar, unfermented grape juice, and similar harmless articles, and, under the new regime, continue to pay large dividends. Drink shops (saloons) were rapidly turned into shops for selling harmless goods and proved successful.

One of the strongest arguments employed by the anti-prohibitionists was that the State would suffer seriously by losing the excise revenue that the liquor traffic had brought in. But these critics forgot—perhaps conveniently—that, freed from the curse of drink, the capacity of the people to bear taxation would increase, as would also their purchasing power, so that revenue from other departments would expand, and more than offset the loss of excise.

Wherever alcohol has been banished in America, poverty and dependence upon charity have been reduced, homes show signs of affluance, the deposits in banks, especially savings banks, have risen and facilities for education have increased. In every such place crime shows remarkable dimunition. Convictions for disorderly conduct, vagrancy, assault and battery, and even more serious crimes such as rape and murder, have greatly decreased. For instance, I was told sometime ago that for two weeks after Helena, Arkansas, went "dry" there was not a single arrest. The business men of Little Rock, another Arkanas city, declare that their business has benefited from prohibition, and they would not change back to the old order of things if permitted to do so.

In 1913, the prohibitionists won a tremendous victory when the Webb-Kenyon law was passed prohibiting the importation from one State into another of liquor "intended to be received, possessed, or in any manner used" in violation of any

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law of the State into which it was imported. That measure gave the individual States a powerful instrument to make prohibition effective within their confines. But the United States Supreme Court is the final arbiter in America, and the law remained practically inoperative until three years later when that body decided that it was constitutional.

By that time (the end of 1916) 25 States had gone "dry." Putting such portions of "wet" States as had gone "dry" under local option, together with the "dry" states more than 85 per-cent of the total area of the country, containing more than 60 per cent of the people of the United States has subscribed to the principle of prohibition.

The war gave the movement an added impetus. American captains of industry saw how the consumption of liquor had been cut down in various European countries in order to increase the output of war-materials, and many of those who had refused to take any interest in the prohibition movement became its active supporters. But for such conversions to the cause it would have been difficult to secure the passage of the amendment for nation-wide prohibition passed by the United States Congress of December 17, 1917.

During the later stages of the struggle, and after the signing of the armistice, another factor came into operation that greatly helped the cause. Everyone interested in the preservation of peace and order realised that the liquor shop was the place where not only crime was born, and political corruption bred, but also that it was the hatching ground of revolutionary plots. Many powerful persons who had, in the past, sneered at prohibitionists as "cranks" but who were afraid of "Bolshevism, forgot their prejudices as soon as they realized this danger.

If the American earnestness in regard to ridding the nation of the evils of drink continues as it gives promise of doing, there is every reason to hope that the passage of the prohibition amendment to the Constitution has really sounded the death knell of the liquor traffic in the United States.

FROM VIENNA TO PARIS—1815 TO 1919

BY

MR. G. SRINIVASA AIYAR.

HISTORIANS of the Nineteenth Century preferred to date its birth at the fall of Napoleon in 1815. For about quarter of a century Europe had been shaken to the very foundations of its polity; and on the fall of Napoleon, the political architects planned the reconstruction of Europe in the Congress of Vienna. In their anxiety to repress revolutionary and republican movements, the despotic monarchs and reactionary politicians of the Vienna Congress sought to restore the old European polity of Empire and absolutism. The political history of the nineteenth century Europe has been a story of repeated efforts to remodel the political design of Vienna to satisfy the demands of democracy and nationality, and has culminated in the collapse of the continental empires and the triumph of the democracies of the West. The Peace Conference has met in Paris to record the progress and achievement of democracy during a century and to plan the political reconstruction of the world on the basis of self-determination. From the Congress of Vienna to the Paris Conference—has been the progress of the century. 'From Vienna to Paris' sums up the progress of the world from

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despotism to democracy; from absolute empire to popular republic; from the repression of nationality to the triumph of nationality, leading to the peace of the world. The Congress of Vienna restored and perpetuated old despotic systems of Government on the continent; strengthened the empires and tightened their hold on subject peoples; and suppressed the forces of nationality which had done their work with the fall of Napoleon. The Paris Conference seals the doom of despotism and empire, stimulates and fosters democratic forces and guarantees the rights and liberties of nations. The very change in the venue of the Congress indicates the difference in character between the settlement of 1815 and that of 1919. The Capital of the oldest Imperial Dynasty in Europe, the stronghold of reactionary despotism and the seat of the Government of an empire over oppressed nationalities, Vienna was the select sacred spot dedicated to the old order; nor can a more congenial birthplace be chosen for the new order of popular liberty, national rights, and international peace, than Paris—the heart of the Republic, the capital of France and the mothercity of Western arts and civilisation.

It is interesting to note a similarity of aims in the two settlements separated by a century—correction of the offender against peace and establishment of universal peace. In 1885 France was reduced to her pre-war size; and to cure her of her violent distempers, her political regimen was prescribed by the allied powers; in 1919 the Central powers are to be reduced in size and in strength, and they are ordering their constitution at the bidding of the Associated Powers. As in 1815, the losses, the miseries and the sufferings of the war have led men to devise means and machinery to maintain permanent peace.

More striking than the similarity of arms is the difference in methods and machinery between the settlements of Vienna and of Paris. The political regimen prescribed for France in 1815 was reversion to Bourbon monarchy; and Europe was to be made safe for absolutism and empire by crushing the liberal and national movements in Italy Hungary and Poland. In 1919 the Germans are gathering materials for the construction of a socialist republic from the debris of a fallen empire; independent national states with popular governments born of self-determination rise up in Central Europe; France and Italy come by their own and get back the severed parts of their mutilated body; and the heroic soul of Belgium shines in the red glory of war to illustrate the triumph of justice, liberty and right: the world is to be made safe for peace and democracy. The international machinery devised by the political architects of a century ago for the establishment of European peace and order was the Holy Alliance—an unholy combine of the despots of the continent to kill liberty and progress; the peace of Europe was to be vested in the custody of the despots. The international machinery sought to be set up in 1919 for the preservation of the peace of the world is a League of Nations, a body of representatives of the nations; the peace of the world is to be the business of the peoples. 'From the Holy Alliance to the League of Nations' sums up the onward march of the world in the century.

DEATH IS EVERYWHERE

BY CLOUDESLEY BRERETON.

Death, death is everywhere. Where'er we tread,
We stir the dust of myriads long since dead.
Our food and drink, of life the staff and stay
Are but the finished products of decay.
Our marble halls, with all their quarried stones—
What are they but the bleached and whitened bones
Of countless generations, piled on high,
Hecatomb upon hecatomb to the sky.
Barrows the dead have built themselves?—The Earth
Is one o'erflowing cemetery,—its girth
One seamless zone of graves. There's not a rod
Upon its surface that cries not to God
For some life sacrificed. We mortals are
But mites and midges on a moss-grown star,
Frail ephemerides that breed and craw
Among the middens of this festering ball.

Science Progress.

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INTERNATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

BY

MR. S. JACKSON COLEMAN.

THE world is ripe for a new social programme. The War, with its unparalleled carnage and bloodshed, has materially altered the map of Europe, and it has similarly altered the map of men's minds. The great world-war has swept away old crusted conventions which cobwebbed the mind, and false foundations of social science upon which men laboured vainly to build Utopia. Now that a new mentality has been created, all these things must be reassessed at new values. All the great problems call for a broader view, a larger concept, and a more general action with the dawn of this newer social consciousness. We are coming to realise, indeed, that we cannot severally play our part as citizens of our respective countries if we forget that we are also citizens of the world. This new spirit is arising everywhere, founding a New Era of international relationship, and the thrills of international goodwill are even now stealing across a war-weary world.

Never before, however, has there been such hopefulness. The world may seem in disruption, and be hungry and sick, burdened with debt, and afflicted by the weight of its new problems. Nevertheless, the power of organised human resources has been amazingly shown, both for the arts of war and peace. The uprisings of the European peoples, and the political advances of organised democracy, open up an entirely new prospect for the employment of these illimitable resources. The cynic, of course, will say that the better world to come lacks nothing for its construction except the better men. The spirit of the masses, with all its faults, however, is a more fraternal spirit than any previously abroad on the earth, and undoubtedly this spirit is almost daily making history for itself.

For four years the evil shadow of War has spoiled our outlook. Now that peace has dawned, we look with faith to the future, trusting that the terrible lessons of the catastrophe will not have been learned in vain. If the result of the terrible carnage and desolation is the birth of a real League of Nations—not one built on words, but on the desire to do what is right and just to all, irrespective of race or creed—then the War will not have proved ineffectual. For helpful co-operation in the task of making this world safe for the common people by whom it is inhabited is, after all, the all-important duty.

This great crisis, therefore, seems to be the great opportunity for which we have prayed. The old world is a ruin; a new world must be built. In former days, our home was indeed our world; in these days the world must be our home. Co-operation alone offers to the world a complete philosophy of life and a working model of a noble and enduring civilisation. The peace of the world entirely depends upon the universal application of these principles. For there is no choice except that which lies between co-operation and chaos, between associated freedom and Imperial despotism.

If Wordsworth could write one hundred years ago, as he saw the beginning of a new day of hope and liberty

> "Bliss were it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young, 'twere very heaven"

with what added meaning may we quote these words as we herald the New Age! Let us not forget, however, that the foundations of the New World have been well and truly laid by myriads of heroic men and women, and that this task must be approached with the spirit of sincerity. Peace has her tasks not less arduous than those of War, and this present occasion is a time for the casting away of all those sordid desires which

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are incompatible with the grand purpose of rebuilding human society on a stable foundation of mutual aid and wholesome rivalry.

Let us welcome the disappearance of racial, class and sex distinctions. For there are battles other than inter-racial. There are wars in social, mental and religious realms. In the religious world, few things have been more pitiful, more humiliating than sectarian squabbles and differences over long-drawn-out controversies. Men will become more and more impatient in the future over the relatively frivolous issues which have distressed and divided the religious world; the core of the world's new creed will be:

"For the love of God is broader
Than the measure of man's mind."

The work of reconstruction calls for a continuance of the spirit of self-sacrifice, self-restraint, and a realisation of a great end, which have tilled the cries of faction during the war and inspired all with a common aim. We shall certainly miss the central spiritual lesson of Germany's downfall if in our schemes of reconstruction we fail to realise that religion and morality, faith and idealism, are the only foundations on which national stability and progress can endure.

The fortunes of mankind, as never before, are now in the hands of the democracy. The select classes of mankind, in fact, are no longer its governors. For the real strain of four year's unparalleled slaughter and bloodshed, as President Wilson has so ably reminded us, has come where the eye of Government could not reach, but where nevertheless the heart of humanity beats. We are bidden by these people to see that this strain does not come again.

BISMARK

BY MR. K M. PANIKKAR

MR. GRANT ROBERTSON has produced a timely book.* The present is a time when as a result of the prejudices generated by the War, the world in general has lost the right perspective concerning the German Empire. The utter disgust and repugnance with which civilized humanity has viewed the barbarous conduct of the German War-Lords has had the effect of war retrospectively distorting historic judgments. The opinion has often been expressed of late, even in quarters which ought to have known better, that the real source of the European conflagration was the refoundation of the German Empire in 1871. It has been widely held that the real originator of the war is not really the autocracy of the present day Germany but the man of blood and iron who founded the German Empire under the hegemony of Prussia and on the ruins of Napoleonic France. Mr. Robertson, though he claims that his is by no means a war-production, is a firm believer in this theory and has in the book under review produced a historical justification for it.

There are very few among English historians who could claim the same intimate knowledge of German character and psychology as Mr. Robertson. He shares with Sir A. Ward the honour of being the most profound student of German institution in England. The reading public in general and historical scholarship in particular should be thankful to Mr. Robertson in having so utilised his knowledge of the German people and their history in the 19th century as to produce this handy but authoritative volume on Bismark.

"The life and times of Bismark" is one of the most complicated studies in historical biographies. To a great extent from 1866 and wholly from

*Bismark: By Grant Robertson, M.A., C.U.O. Fellow of all Souls. Constable & Co., London.

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1871, the history of secular Europe is dominated by the personality of this single individual. To write the life of Bismark from the time of the Schelswig Holstein question to his dismissal in 1890 is to write the history of European Diplomacy in the latter half of the 19th century. The proper grouping of historical facts, the correct analysis of the interplay of complicated factors, the close study of the sensitiveness of national opinion in every country, during a period of 30 years, cannot be lightly undertaken or easily realised. This difficult task Mr. Grant Robertson has successfully fulfilled.

It is impossible to go into detail, but Mr. Robertson comes to a conclusion different from that held by most historians on one of the most critical events in the German history of the 19th century. The Frankfurt Parliament of 1848—the great convention on which the hopes of the liberals in Germany rested—ended in an absolute failure. The opinion generally held which seems to us to be entirely wrong, is that the Frankfurt Parliament failed because of the academic amateurism of its authors who wasted their time in threshing out fundamental rights. Mr. Robertson holds the view that such criticism is really amateur and ignorant of what revolution by liberal methods from an old to a new system implies. 'The scheme of 1848' was, as Mr. Robertson remarks, 'a noble and imaginative effort in constructive statesmanship which bore the stamp of an inspiring belief in the capacity of the race for achieving salvation when men build upon the uplands and not the lowlands of human endeavour. Had the unification of 1848 been given a fair trial, it would have moulded the German mind and directed German destinies and ambition into paths of self-development of incalculable benefits to Germany and the world. Its failure was a tragedy for German and European civilisation.'

The remarkable feature of the solution of 1848 was, he says, 'the rapidity with which in the smoke and dust of bewildering revolution, the liberal majority hammered out by argument and under conditions of Government by public meeting a scheme of unification that probed deeper and was more complete than the constitution of 1867.' Historical hypothetics is perhaps the most useless form of speculation, and it may be permitted for us to doubt if the historical evolution of Europe in general and Germany in particular would have followed any very different course had the scheme of 1848 been worked out and a unification of Germany based on it achieved.

Mr. Robertson's object in this book has been to study the effect of Bismark's achievement on the history of the 19th century rather than to write a biography of the great chancellor. Therefore, naturally enough, the picture of Bismark is very incomplete, and we see very little of that disease peculiar to biographers which Macaulay has called *Lexus Boswilliana*. All the same, Mr. Robertson is one who appreciates the great merits of the Iron-Chancellor. Indeed, it is impossible for any one to withhold a great amount of genuine appreciation for this Brandenbrug junker. For after all, from the historical point of view, a man can be judged only from his achievement and the amount of dynamic force that his personality generates in its relation to the general current of events. In this sense, post-Napoleonic 19th century cannot boast of a greater man than Otto Von Bismark who raised Prussia from the humiliation of Olmutz to the hegemony of the continent, upset the time-honoured balance of power which lay in an *entente* between England and Austria against France, humbled the pride of Napoleon and was the virtual dictator of European affairs for nigh 20 years. The age of which he was the founder has closed with the collapse of Imperial Germany; but his historical greatness remains embodied in the policy of Europe during the last 50 years.

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THE ROWLATT BILLS AND SATYAGRAHA

The passing of the Rowlatt Bills in the teeth of the opposition of an overwhelming public opinion is yet another proof of the persistent obstinacy of the bureaucracy. Never was public opinion in India more unanimous and pronounced than in the unequivocal denunciation of what is popularly known as the "Black Bills." Men of all shades of political opinion all over the country have protested against the measure with a warmth of feeling that is not likely to subside till it is rescinded. The indecent haste in which it was rushed through the House at a midnight sitting should have almost exasperated the non-official members who have with one voice condemned the obstinacy of the Government in terms as eloquent as convincing. While sympathising with the Government in their anxiety to give no quarter to anarchists and to nip revolutionary plots in the bud, the wisdom of enacting such a drastic measure especially at a time when public opinion in India is focussed on the best means of successfully working out the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms is questionable in the extreme. In this matter the non-official members of the Viceregal Council have left no stone unturned. They have with remarkable ability and conscientiousness voiced the just resentment and indignation of the people at the way their will has been flouted by the bureaucracy. This only strengthens the need for a reform of the constitution in such a way that the will of the people may prevail. But that is another story. After all the 150 amendments with which non-official members tried to improve the Bill and the ultimate modifications it has undergone it still remains as vicious and objectionable as ever. No wonder that finding all manner of opposition fruitless, Mr. Gandhi has as a last recourse resorted to Satyagraha as the only remedy for such bureaucratic obstinacy. We have too bitter memories of the way in which the Press Act and the Seditious Meetings Act have been put into force to believe that the new legislation will not be taken advantage of by the Executive to give vent to petty acts of despotism. And a man of Mr. Gandhi's judgment and experience will not lightly undertake this extreme measure unless he has been convinced of its compelling need. With the greatest respect for his sincerity, his saintly disposition and his lofty sense of public duty we still believe that all means of remedy are not exhausted and that there are yet other courses open which should be tried before resorting to Satyagraha. It is unfortunate that the grace associated with the reform proposals should thus be nullified by the deepening shadows of the Rowlatt Acts. We still hope that wiser counsels will prevail and that something will yet be done to avert an unnecessary exasperation of public feeling at a time when more than ever there is an urgent need for co-operation and harmony between the people and the Government.—*Ed. I. R.*

i. Mr. Gandhi's Manifesto.

In commending the Satyagraha pledge Mr. Gandhi wrote to the press:—The step taken is probably the most momentous in the history of India. I give my assurance that it has not been hastily taken. Personally I have passed many sleepless nights over it. I have endeavoured duly to appreciate Government's position, but I have been unable to find any justification for the extraordinary Bills. I have read the Rowlatt Committee's report. I have gone through the narrative with admiration. Its reading has driven me to conclusions just the opposite of the Committee's. I should conclude from the report that secret violence is confined to isolated and very small parts of India, and to a microscopic body of people. The existence of such men is truly a danger to society. But the passing of the Bills, designed to affect the whole of India and its people and arming the Government with powers out of all proportion to the situation sought to be dealt with, is a greater danger. The Committee utterly ignore the historical fact that the millions in India are by nature the gentlest on earth.

Now look at the setting of the Bills. Their introduction is accompanied by certain assurances given by the Viceroy regarding the Civil Service and the British commercial interests. Many of us are filled with the greatest misgivings about the Viceregal utterance. I frankly confess I do not understand its full scope and intention. If it means that the Civil Service and the British commercial interests are to be held superior to those of India and its political and commercial requirements, no Indian can accept the doctrine. It can but end in a fratricidal struggle within the Empire. Reforms may or may not come. The need of the moment is a proper and just understanding upon this vital issue. No tinkering with it will produce real satisfaction. Let the great Civil Service corporation understand that it can remain in India only as its trustee and servant, not in name, but in deed, and let the British commercial houses understand that they can remain in India only to supplement her requirements, and not to destroy indigenous art, trade and manufacture, and you have two measures to replace the Rowlatt Bills.

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It will be now easy to see why I consider the Bills to be an unmistakable symptom of a deep-seated disease in the governing body. It needs, therefore, to be drastically treated. Subterranean violence will be the remedy applied by impetuous, hot-headed youths who will have grown impatient of the spirit underlying the Bills and the circumstances attending their introduction. The Bills must intensify the hatred and ill-will against the State of which the deeds of violence are undoubtedly an evidence. The Indian covenanters, by their determination to undergo every form of suffering make an irresistible appeal to the Government, towards which they bear no ill-will, and provide to the believers in the efficacy of violence, as a means of securing redress of grievances with an infallible remedy, and withal a remedy that blesses those that use it and also those against whom it is used. If the covenanters know the use of this remedy, I fear no ill from it, I have no business to doubt their ability. They must ascertain whether the disease is sufficiently great to justify the strong remedy and whether all milder ones have been tried. They have convinced themselves that the disease is serious enough, and that milder measures have utterly failed. The rest lies in the lap of the gods.

The Pledge.

Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. I of 1919, *and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. II of* 1919, *are unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property.*

ii. Mr. Gandhi's Message at Allahabad.

There is no conception of defeat in Satyagraha. A Satyagrahi fights even unto death. It is thus not an easy thing for everybody to enter upon it. It therefore behoves a Satyagrahi to be tolerant of those who do not join him. In reading reports of Satyagraha meetings I often notice that ridicule is poured upon those who do not join our movement. This is entirely against the spirit of the pledge. In Satyagraha we expect to win over our opponents by self-suffering *i. e.*, by love. The process whereby we hope to reach our goal is by so conducting ourselves as gradually and in an unperceived manner to disarm all opposition. Opponents as a rule expect irritation even violence from one another when both parties are equally matched. But when Satyagraha comes into play the expectation is transformed into agreeable surprise in the mind of the party towards whom Satyagraha is addressed till at last he relents and recalls the act which necessitated Satyagraha. I venture to promise that if we act up to our pledge day after day, the atmosphere around us will be purified and those who differ from us from honest motives, as I verily believe they do, will perceive that their alarm was unjustified. The violationists wherever they may be, will realize that they have in Satyagraha a far more potent instrument for achieving reform than violence whether secret or open, and that it gives them enough work for their inexhaustible energy. And the Government will have no case left in defence of their measures if as a result of our activity the cult of violence is notably on the wane if it has not entirely died out. I hope therefore that at Satyagraha meetings we shall have no cries of shame, and no language betraying irritation or impatience either against the Government or our countrymen who differ from us and some of whom have for years been devoting themselves to the country's cause according to the best of their ability.

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iii. The Moderartes' Manifesto.

The Hon. Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the Hon. Babu Surendranath Banerjea, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and other prominent Moderate leaders have issued the following Manifesto:

"While strongly condemning the Rowlatt Bills as drastic and unnecessary, and while we think we must oppose them to the end, we disapprove of the passive resistance movement started as a protest against them and dissociate ourselves from it in the best interests of the country, especially in view of the Reforms Proposals which are about to be laid before Parliament in the form of a bill.'

iv. A Madras Manifesto.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar and twenty seven leading men of Madras issued the following manifesto on the 18th March :—

The only course immediately open to us to get rid of the legislation is to secure, if possible, its disallowance by the Crown. In this view we are sending to the Secretary of State the following cable, praying the Crown to disallow the legislation.

"Rowlatt legislation hurried through Council without adequate opportunity for public criticism against unanimous opposition Indian Members. Country absolutely peaceful. No need for legislation. Present powers ample for all unexpected emergencies. Country greatly agitated. Atmosphere crated prejudicial to successful working reforms and to effective co-operation between people and Government."

Whilst, however, strongly disapproving of the Rowlatt legislation and the manner of its passage through the Imperial Legislative Council, and whilst recognising the need for continuous agitation to secure its repeal, we consider the movement in favour of Passive Resistance highly inexpedient and injurious to the best interests of the country.

LORD WILLINGDON ON BRITAIN & INDIA

The following is a summary of Lord Willingdon's recent speech in London :—

Debates in Parliament in past years had been marked by sparse attendance and apathetic interest. This had a very bad effect on public opinion in India. It was extremely difficult for those who were administering or endeavouring to administer that country to assure Indians that the Mother of Parliaments was alive to its responsibilities in regard to the affairs of the Indian Empire. He expressed the earnest hope that in the new Parliament this sense of responsibility towards India would develop, and that honourable Members would appreciate to the full the fact that political reform of a very serious kind was absolutely necessary in India at the present time. He thought that those of them who had administered India had in the past made too much of "efficiency"; they had been too keen about keeping the administration efficient and had not sufficiently realised that they must give Indians some responsibility in their local affairs. He hoped very much that before many weeks were over his right hon'ble friend would be in a position to introduce a Bill in conformity with the 1917 declaration of policy and which would utterly overthrow all refuge for the extreme politicians who were always affirming that the brutal bureaucrat was keeping all good things to himself and not giving anything to the aspiring Indian.

For many years a great many people in this country were anxious in respect to Indian unrest. The Germans thought, five years ago, that India would be an extremely fruitful field for their nefarious operations. He was thankful and delighted to say that they were extremely disappointed at the result. It should never be forgotten that India had stood staunch and steadfast to the British Empire for long years, and never so staunch and steadfast as during more than four years of grave peril (Cheers). They might fairly say that India had done her part right well throughout the war and had assisted in winning the great victory of the Allies, "I

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would trust India," he went on to say, "I would treat her generously, I would show her that we believe in her high destiny and look upon her as a sister nation amongst the great dominions under the Crown, I would take risks in legislation for India—a progressive policy must mean taking some risks—and above all things I would give up what has seemed like our policy in the past—the policy of doing as little as we possibly could, except as a concession to agitation."

By way of explaining this point, Lord Willingdon said in 1915 some of the authorities in India were very strongly of opinion that some declaration of the goal of our policy in India as that of responsible government, should be made, partly that they might be in a position to deal adequately with, and answer, any political agitation that might arise. They were informed, however, that any proclamation of that sort was impossible and undesirable in the circumstances. What happened? The Home Rule League started, very well organised, very well run and very active. So strenuous were its labours that it gained many adherents. At last, on the 20th August, 1917, the declaration of policy came, and, subsequently his Right Hon'ble friend went out to India and took the most tremendous trouble to find out the true facts of the political situation. But the Extremists argued that these concessions had been dragged out of an unwilling Government by their political agitation. We needed to show, and he felt sure we should show in the future that we were really willing and anxious to help forward India for India's good, and to get out of the minds of Indians once for all that the country was being regulated for the benefit and advantage of these islands. (Cheers.)

"There is one reform about which I feel very strongly indeed which, I think, would make an enormous difference in the general position between Briton and Indian in India. I refer to the social relations between the two races in that country. I know that this is a very difficult subject to talk about—a thorny, prickly subject not very suitable for an after-dinner speech. But after nearly six years in India, I feel so strongly that 50 per cent. of the bitterness and ill-feeling would disappear altogether if we could improve our social relations with Indians, that I am bound to say one or two words on the topic. In my experience (and I think gentlemen who have lived in India will agree with me) the Indian is the quickest person in realising the English gentlemen when he meets him that I know of. I would like to urge in the strongest possible fashion on any young Englishman proceeding to India, whether for the civilian services, the army, or business, that he should always deal with the same courtesy and the same good feeling with the Indian as I am glad to know he treats the Indian when he comes on a visit to our country." (Cheers).

After remarking that though Governor-designate of Madras, he was prepared to take the risk of speaking frankly on the reform question, Lord Willingdon laid down the proposition that no attention should be paid to the noisy clamour of agitators and extremists. He thought there had been too great a tendency to try to make terms with the extremist in the past. (Hear, hear.) They, who lived in the centres of political thought, knew very well that the Extremist agitator wished to get rid of British control. He might, he often did, by specious camouflage begin his speech by saying "God Save the King" and end it in the same way, but there was generally some very undesirable stuff in the middle. (Laughter.) What he wanted was democracy of his particular pattern without any control which was quite impossible if India was to make real progress. It was our duty in India to give every encouragement to reasonable men and also to those ruling Princes who had shown such splendid loyalty for many long years past (cheers) and

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their subjects; but we should have nothing to do with the extremist agitation going on India at the present time. *We should give the warmest encouragement and support to the Moderate Indian.* Many of these, he knew, were very anxious to get responsible government as soon as they could, and in that sense most of them were Home Rulers—as he himself would be if he were in India—but they wished to remain in the British Empire and under the guidance of that Empire. They realised to the full that they needed a considerable amount of training before they achieved the great end in view. He had been captain of good many cricket elevens in his day; and he had always found that in order to win a match it was best to have a team which was absolutely united and playing entirely together in order to achieve the end that they wished for. It was his earnest hope that, when this Reform Bill was passed, he would find a team in Madras that was united and not divided.

THE URGENCY OF DECENTRALISATION

Coming to another point, Lord Willingdon declared that a bed rock principle of the reforms must be decentralisation (Hear, hear). They must have provincial autonomy, as far as it could be, extended both in their administration and in finance. He did not think it was sufficiently understood in England that there was scarcely a province of India proper under a local Government that did not contain a population of some 20,000,000 persons, and that some provinces had populations equal to that of the United Kingdom; and yet they lived under an extremely centralised administration. The Local Governments had to make references to Simla or Delhi on most trivial matters. This was a fruitful cause of friction, and handicapped to a very considerable degree the development of the provinces. He felt that a Governor should run his province in his own way in regard to local affairs, subject only to an annual audit by the Government of India and the Secretary of State. His own ultimate outlook, though he perhaps cast his vision too far ahead, would be a federation of States in the Indian Empire that were self-governed in local affairs, and responsible in Imperial matters through the agency of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, and, above them all, an Imperial Council dealing with Imperial matters.

Finally, Lord Willingdon spoke of the relation of the great services to reform. He had had peculiar opportunities of learning to appreciate most warmly the zeal and devotion of the services in Bombay. But he wanted to be perfectly honest in his views with regard to the future. There were many, too many people, who were inclined to look upon the question of reform from the point of view of how it was going to affect the great services. After all they were part of the machine and the real question was that of securing the greatest benefit for the great country of India. If they found that certain alterations had to be made in the machine, alterations affecting the services, they must not allow this to prevent the onward march. It was a fact recognised by the great service in very large degree that India had arrived at such a stage of development that she was ready for a considerable grant of responsible government at the present time. When she arrived finally at her goal of responsible government, this would be the consummation of the work of one of the most magnificent services by which any country had been administered, or which had ever been conceived. That was the way he would look at the question. He was perfectly certain that no Government would allow any member of any of those great services to be a loser if by any chance his services were curtailed owing to India having arrived at responsible government.

The views I give are those of one who takes the deepest possible interest in India and has a real affection for her people. I would deal generously with India; and I believe from the bottom of my heart that, if we do this, India will repay the British Empire a hundred fold.

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SIR JAMES MESTON'S TASK

BY

MR. R. W. BROCK

(*Editor, Madras Times.*)

A financial statement occupying thirty pages of the Gazette of India, representing many months' work and study, and forming the combined effort of the entire staff of the Finance Department of the Government of India, with its specially trained personnel and unique sources of information, is not easy to criticise. That is, perhaps, a singular admission; it, nevertheless, is the plain fact. And experience indicates that, in practice, outside criticism exerts very little effect on official financial policy. Whether that be due to mere bureaucratic obstinacy; whether Press criticisms are usually ill-informed; whether the non-official criticisms in the Viceroy's Council are as futile, is little to the point. In his first financial statement, Sir James Meston has challenged non-official opinion at every turn. He certainly flouted commercial opinion, British and Indian, in taxing excess profits, for a more thoroughly unanimous and whole-hearted condemnation of any measure of taxation has not been known in this country in recent years. But Sir James Meston has gone his own road, ignoring opposition almost completely. He has made minor concessions, but his main proposals remain intact. I am bound to admit, too, that he has flouted popular opinion in minimising outlay on education and sanitation, etc. He has done so, no doubt, to permit of the more urgent outlay on railway improvement, but undoubtedly on this side he has disappointed public expectations. Similarly, regarding irrigation. And by so acting, the finance member has unfortunately made railway improvement politically unpopular. It is regrettable that so many Indian politicians and publicists decry outlay on railways. They possibly realise its necessity, but deem other outlay more urgent. That is an understandable position, and, when normal conditions return, will probably find expression, quite rightly, in demands that revenue allotments for railway purposes should cease; in other words, railway outlay should rely wholly on loan income, preferably on rupee loans raised either direct by the State, or by the Railway Co.'s or by utilising both methods of finance concurrently. Adoption of this plan would incidentally lead to considerable increases in 'social reform' outlay, and for political reasons, as well as on the merits of the issue, it is the right policy for the commercial community to support such outlay, and, even to take the lead in urging its necessity. On the other hand, it is but fair that Indian politicians and publicists should be ready to recognise frankly these two important points: (a) railways, while needing considerable outlay, are yielding constantly higher revenues thus helping to keep down taxation (*b*) no real economic development can occur, unless railway improvement is liberally financed. These two facts are irrefutable, yet a denial of them runs through, and invalidates, a very large portion, especially of newspaper criticism of railway outlay.

After all, what are we aiming at? Primarily, at increased revenues. These larger revenues, however, cannot come to any extent from existing wealth; they must therefore be levied from new wealth; in other words, they can come only as the sequel to a vigorous policy of economic development. And what, in practice, does economic development mean? It means, as regards agriculture, heavier and more profitable crops, causing increased outward traffic, and swelling exports; it means, again, larger imports, in response to the increased purchasing power to which agricultural

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improvement must give rise. Or again, it means movement of the heavy new traffic associated with industries, such as those now arising at Sakchi. It means, once again, new ports. It means, perhaps, sooner or later, the growth of an Indian mercantile marine. In any event, you get increased railway traffic. Surely this is incontestable. And then as regards the heavy grant this year, let us not overlook its origin. For my sins, I spent 5½ years as assistant editor of "Capital", admittedly a business journal in close contact with commercial interests. The point I wish to make is, that in all those years, I do not recollect a single month, I do not recollect a single industry, without its complaint of inadequate transport. With that fact constantly forced on my attention, it is inevitable I should deem Sir James Meston's financial arrangement not merely unavoidable but intensely desirable. Many Indian critics, I am aware, take a different view, but they are rarely business men. So, with Mr. Sarma's resolution. It was condemned most vehemently, not by the officials, but by Indian commercial representatives, such as Sir D. E. Wacha, (Bombay) and Mr. Sita Nath Roy (Calcutta). It is idle to assert that these two astute politicians were merely "playing up" to official prejudices or to British commercial interests. They see, on the contrary, that to overtake the enormous arrears of railway outlay is, in Indian commercial interests, essential, a plain business need, in short, a sound and necessary investment. Not only is it necessary to overtake arrears, prices have risen, and this is a source of large outlay in itself.

It is not a wholly happy arrangement, perhaps, that railway directorates are situated out of the country. The objection to this arrangement is not wholly sentimental, and there are tentative indications of a gradual change of policy. I put it thus guardedly, because it would be unwise to hold out expectations unlikely of early fulfilment. The procedure, I think, will probably be:—issue of railway loans in rupee form; gradual increase in local shareholders in the main railway lines; their rise to predominance; finally, their insistence on local directorates. But this will take time. Meanwhile, no advantage is lost and many advantages are gained, by sinking further sums in an extraordinarily profitable property.

Sir James Meston is too keenly conscious of the imperative need of educational advancement, and of bold measures of health conservation, of industrial development, and of banking extension, to permit of the belief that he is indifferent to or unconcious of the need for long steps forward in these directions, and I take it, he is "keeping something in hand" for next year. His first budget is, indeed quite evidently a transitional measure, and hardly a fair test. As he points out, he could not avoid large grants to railways; military outlay, at this stage, inevitably remains abnormal and uncertain; the currency situation offers points for anxiety; much temporary debt is maturing for discharge, and until the decks are cleared of these impediment a peace programme offers difficulties so great as to be temporarily insuperable. That, I take to be the real essence of his message. It is a position, necessarily conducive to impatience. There is so much scope for beneficial outlay; so little money to allot. But first things first. The paraphernalia of war cannot be cast aside in a day; Sir James Meston has consequently only been able to present a Demobilisation Budget. His personal outlook is indicated in the sentences:—"We shall, during the years ahead, have irresistable claims upon us to raise capital for internal development, railways, industries, forests and the like. And again, during the same period we shall have to launch into very heavy expenditure for the education and well-being of the people, without which our political progress would be largely

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negatory." This is a situation offering scope for all the constructive criticism available in the country, and let it be forthcoming in full measure, but idle carping at outlay on railway improvement will serve no useful purpose, and, in any event, will not divert the course of official policy, now directed at last on the economic side, to the programme "Full steam ahead."

It is wise, as the finance member observes, to face the facts. "We have heavy liabilities hanging over us in several directions; debt of an unproductive character which we ought to dispose of in order to facilitate a remunerative borrowing programme in the near future; a currency position which requires careful handling and at least some withdrawal of our recent emergency issues of paper; and a general consolidation of our position with a view to the development of our national intelligence and earning power. If this teaches us anything, it is that our watchword must be rigid economy, both in the Government and in the lives of individual citizens". Economy, I admit, is a sound principle, rightly interpreted, but in some directions there can be too much economy. Recent financial operations, so out of proportion to previous figures, have somewhat scared the Finance Department, but a return to the old pettifogging ways would be fatal. We do not want economy concerning railways, or education or public health, or economic development, because such parsimony would be not economy, except, of efficiency and intelligence. In most directions the country needs not economy, but lavish outlay which will repay itself tenfold in the higher standard of individual well-being, of economic prosperity, and of political contentment, which such a policy would bring about. It is wise counsel, if you want to get at the root of half India's troubles, to study finance—especially as interpreted at Simla. Unfortunately very few Indian politicians study finance. An exception was Gokhale.

I am loth to add to the immense volume of criticism put forward concerning the Government of India's decision to tax excess profits. It is, to-day, a *fait accompli*, incapable of reversal. It is a pity it did not come sooner, and on a graduated scale, say 20 % in 1916, 30 % in 1917, and 50 % last year. This would have kept share values at moderate levels, whereas by the sudden change of policy—this is the real grievance—share values suffered disastrous collapse after soaring to heights never previously paralleled. The jute mills are well able to pay, their profits were enormous, while their relative competitive position, *Vis a Vis* foreign jute mills, has been strengthened beyond all comparison. I believe they will all "pay up" cheerfully despite a vigorous effort to cajole or bully Sir James Meston into abandoning his scheme. The Finance Member, be it remembered, is an Aberdonian, and looks on his Calcutta-cum-Dundee compatriots as fair game. And as it was largely or at least partly from low prices for raw jute that mill profits were derived, it is not unfair that a percentage of these accumulations should be retained in the country. Calcutta need not complain, nor need Bombay. Madras is paying excess land revenue tax, and will go on doing so, I fear, to avert higher taxation in the two wealthier provinces named. There was an interesting debate on the *pros* and *cons* of this subject the other day, in the local Legislative Council, the upshot of which was that Madras continues to pay.

"All About the War—The Indian Review War Book." A comprehensive and authentic account of the War with numerous portraits and illustrations. Edited by G. A. Natesan with an introduction by Lord Pentland and an appreciation by Lord Hardinge. Price Rs. 4. To Subscribers of the *I.R.* Rs. 3.

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THE INDIANS' BURDEN

TAX-PAYER—It is quite impossible for me to bear this any longer, sir.

FINANCE MEMBER—Never mind, you can break down.

[In the Indian Budget for 1919-20, Sir James Meston, the Finance Member, has made provision of £411,955,000 (Rs. 61,79,25,000) for Military Expenditure during the year.]

THE RAILWAY GOURMAND

GOURMAND—Ha! ha! What a haul for me, when there is starvation all round!

[When Sir James Meston has not made any liberal provision for education, sanitation and industrial progress in the new Budget, he has budgetted for a railway expenditure of £24,300,000, equal to Rs. 36,30,00,000.]

Hindi Punch.

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P. 1931

HIS LATE MAJESTY THE AMIR
Of Afghanistan.

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THE LATE AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN

THE news of the death of H. M. the Amir of Afghanistan has been received in India with feelings of profound regret. For the Amir's unswerving loyalty to the British Raj was an asset of considerable value during the four years' crisis that closed only the other day with the conclusion of the armistice with the Central Powers. The circumstances of his death, however, gave occasion to anxious thought. A Delhi communique issued on the 24th of February announced that he was killed by shots and stabbed in his tent at Jullunder near Kabul on the morning of the 20th by an "unknown assassin." "The body," said Lord Curzon in reply to a question in the House of Lords, "was taken to Kabul by members of his family. It was not known whether the assassination was due to religious or fanatical reasons, or reasons of politics or domestic intrigue." The Delhi communique also announced that Naib-us-Sultannah Nasrullah Khan, brother of the late Amir, has been acknowledged by the Amir's sons and representatives of the people as the Amir of Afghanistan and that he has written to H. E. the Viceroy "expressing his hope for the continuance and strengthening of friendly relations between the Afghan and British Governments." But mid-Asian politics is a vague, uncertain and dangerous thing and no one can say exactly if there is anything behind the latest news that Sirdar Nasrulla Khan Naib-us-Sultannah has renounced his claims to the throne of Afghanistan and has sworn allegiance, with all the civil, military and religious representatives, to Sirdar Amanulla Khan Ain-ud-Daula, who has been proclaimed Amir. Sirdar Amanulla Khan is the third son of His late Majesty Habibulla Khan.

Still amidst all the change of rulers or domestic intrigues, there is no reason to suppose, said Lord Curzon reminded the Lords, that there would be any interruption of the friendly relations between Great Britain and Afghanistan whose independence the British Government have always desired to maintain.

It is notorious how the Central Powers were making continued endeavours to wean the Amir to their side so as to provoke a disturbance on the Indian frontiers. In this, the Germans counted without their host. For the Amir was a staunch ally of the British and would not be persuaded into a false step. H. E. the viceroy made a happy reference to His Majesty's fidelity to the British cause, in the course of his opening address to the Delhi Conference in April last: —

'In the north there is a bulwark against German intrigue and German machinations. I refer to our staunch friend and ally, his Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan. As you are aware, at the outbreak of the war, his Majesty gave his royal word that, so long as the independence and integrity of his kingdom were not threatened, he would maintain neutrality. He has kept his royal word unswervingly in spite of every attempt of our enemies to seduce him from his purpose and to embarrass his position, and I do not believe that in the history of this country the relations between any Amir of Afghanistan and any Viceroy of India have been more cordial or mutually confident than they are to-day. But in Afghanistan as in India there are many ignorant people, credulous people, fanatical people, such as at a time of world excitement may be coerced away by any wind of vain doctrine. Such persons may at any moment become a serious enbarrassment to wise and level-headed statesmanship.' A German official mission having visited Kabul in furtherance of the nefarious designs on India, the Amir disposed of them thus shrewdly: 'I don't propose to speak to you (his Majesty is reported to have said) 'until I have a Turkish and a German army on my western frontier. You cannot expect me to begin talking about an alliance with you while I have the Russian army in the north and the British army in the south and you are still many hundreds of miles away.'

In rejecting the German offer in this fashion, the late Amir strictly followed the lead of his father, Abdur Rahman, who throughout his strenuous career continued to act up to the terms of the Anglo-Afghan agreement. But then little was known in those days either of the personal character of the Amir or of his government beyond the fact that Abdur Rahman was a masterful ruler and that the Indian representative at his court, a Mahomedan official, had hardly anything to complain of his intentions towards the British Govern-

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ment. Everything was vague and mysterious. And when, on the death of Amir Abdur Rahman, Habibullah ascended the throne, little was known of the new ruler and his sympathies while much anxiety was felt if he should prove a weak tool at the hands of the unscrupulous elements in the Afghan court. But Habibullah was no such weakling, and we have the testimony of his father that he showed marked aptitude for political authority even so early as 1881 when the Amir had to march against Ayub Khan, his dangerous rival, and to quell the rebellion in Herat. Habibullah was scarcely eleven years old at the time. Later on, the heir-apparent acted as regent in Kabul during the campaign of his father against his rebellious cousin, Ishak Khan. Abdur Rahman records in his autobiography:

> On my return to Kabul on July 24, I found that during my two years' absence my son, Habibullah Khan, had governed the country so wisely, cleverly, and so entirely in accordance with my wishes, that I conferred two orders upon him, one for his distinguished services in the administration of the Kingdom; the second for having very bravely put a stop to a mutiny which was caused by my own soldiers of the Kandahar Hazara-battalion. He acted most bravely on this occasion riding alone in the midst of the rebellious soldiers without showing any fear of their injuring him.

In fact, for over eight years, the prince was practically associated with the Amir in the task of Government. A Mussalman scholar in close touch with Afghan affairs wrote in 1904 that, on his death-bed, Abdur Rahman had nominated Habibullah Khan as his successor, and this nomination was accepted by all the members of the family, the nobles, the functionaries, and the "mullahs" present. On the day following his death the ceremony of "baist" was performed and the oath of allegiance was formally taken by the people.

We have said that "mid-Asian politics" was a sealed book and the British Government was naturally anxious to come to some definite understanding with the new Amir whose intentions towards his neighbours it was the pith of British policy to decipher. Lord Curzon throughout his regime constantly endeavoured to bring about the adjustment of many minor points of dispute between "Calcutta and Kabul," which threatened sometimes to aggravate the issues of more important questions. But no good followed till in the autumn of 1904 the Imperial Government decided to despatch a mission headed by Sir Louis Dane. The negotiation lasted over four months and the upshot of it was that the Amir outmatched the mission in diplomacy. The treaty finally settled in March 1905 confirmed the old agreement regarding the Amir's subsidy and powers in respect of the importation of arms while the Amir obtained a distinct advantage by securing an agreement that he should be styled "His Majesty"—a mark of distinction affirming his independence. A further step to facilitate and strengthen the amity between the Amir and the British Government was sought after by an invitation to the Amir to visit the Viceroy in India in January 1907. The Amir was prepared to accept the invitation of the Government of India provided that no discussion of political matters was entered into and that, after the Viceregal Durbar at Agra from January 9 to 16, the Amir should be free to adopt to his own wishes the programme arranged for his entertainment. The stipulation was agreed to. The story of the historic visit of the Amir is well within the recollection of our readers. The Amir reached Landi-Kotal on January 2, and Calcutta on January 23, after witnessing a grand review of some 30,000 troops at Agra, with which he is said to have been much impressed. From Calcutta he proceeded to Bombay, where he arrived on February 12. He left by sea on February 25 for Karachi, landing on the 27th, and left Peshawar on his return home on March 7.

The *Indian Review* published at the time a narrative of the tour together with a record of his more important utterances.* It is impossible to

* See Vol. VIII page 198 *Indian Review*, 1907.

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quote at length, but we should draw attention to His Majesty's appeal to his co-religionists in India to abstain from cow-slaughter on the Bakrid-day, his appreciation of western learning and his unfailing cordiality to the British. "In Afghanistan," said His Majesty at Aligarh, "I have among my subjects Sunnis, Shiahs, Hindus and Jews, and I have given to all of them full religious liberty."

Speaking at Patiala he said :—

'If God be willing, we hope to be at Delhi on id-i-Qurban this year. It is our religious duty to perform sacrifice on that day. Though cows, in common with other animals, are sacrificed, *our religion does not compel us that the sacrifice must be of cows.* On the contrary we may sacrifice camels, goats, etc., instead. *We intend not to sacrifice cows on this occasion in consideration of the feeling of the Hindus* of India in general and of Delhi in particular. Our visit to India should be an occasion of joy to Hindus and Mussalmans alike, not a cause of pain to the hearts of any. I wish that this intention of ours be made known to the Hindus of Delhi.

No wonder that His Majesty's courteous and generous spirit won for him the appreciation of Hindus all over India.

Many stories were told of the Amir's amiable traits, his shrewdness, his soldierly simplicity, his extraordinary love of adventure and his fondness for children. Of his generous catholicity the following from his own speech will bear eloquent testimony :

'I protect the interests of my Hindu subjects equally with those of Mussalmans. On my way back from the shrine, I just saw a Gurudwara. There are several Gurudwaras in Afghanistan where Fakirs and poor people live. I don't know, but I believe there are poor and needy people in this Gurudwara also. I have therefore ordered, for Rs. 200 to be distributed among them.'

On the eve of his departure, His Majesty passed Bombay where he was accorded a fitting welcome. Replying to the toast of his health proposed by H. E. Lord Lamington, His Majesty spoke with enthusiasm :—

"Let me say that at no time will Afghanistan pass from the friendship of India. So long as the Indian Empire desires to keep our friendship, so long will Afghanistan and Britain remain friends.

That was the keynote of the late Amir's policy, and he kept his royal word down to the last day of his death.

"A VINDICATION OF AURANGAZEB": A REPLY BY DR. SADIQ ALI

RAM PRASAD TRIPATHI, M.A., S.B., M.R.S., University of Allahabad, has reviewed my book, "A Vindication of Aurangzeb," in the "Indian Review," October, 1918. Several Indian journals have noticed my book briefly and very favourably, so I feel grateful to these kind reviewers. But I was looking forward to such criticism as might throw some light on additional truths unknown to me and to the general readers and so to correct my errors, and make up any deficiencies found in my book. The aforesaid review occupies about seven columns of the periodical named above, and is scholarly, free from vituperation, and of kindly tone. But the learned critic raises the same objections as have been fully replied to in my book. He does not find fault with any of the evidences set forth in support of my views, nor does he confute any of my arguments. He simply disagrees with the conclusions and denies them. My kind critic must know that simple negation cannot overthrow a view unless the view is disproved or the antagonistic truth is established. The object of my book was to remove and remedy one of the causes which have been maintaining discord between Hindus and Muslims in India. Living in the same country and under the same benign and liberal government, their interests have become so much interwoven and interdependent that neither community can build its fortune upon the ruins of the other nor can the one retrograde without dragging the other with it. The old-time

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order has now entirely changed. Formerly, might solely constituted right, hence despotism, inequality between the rulers and the ruled, and religious and social rancour. The ideals of to-day are liberality, democracy, equality, and brotherly love even among persons of different persuasions. Our forefathers, whether they wronged each other or not, have all gone, long ago, to render their account before the Supreme Judge. Their acts should be considered as things of the past, and we should take the present as it is, and make the best of it. I hope that the leaders and patriots, among both Hindus and Muslims, would join hands with me in the movement that I initiated. If all the sensible people among Hindus and Muslims tried to suppress the religious animosities of the masses, such riots as recently occurred in Calcutta and Katarpur, and have frequently occured at other times and places, could never occur.

Aurangazeb's history is not viewed from its historical standpoint but from its religious standpoint and it is the latter which produces disorder and animosity among the fellow-citizens of the same country.

I do not like to continue this kind of controversy which I myself wish to put a stop to. The time and energy wasted in performing this work which is useless and even injurious to the public interest, can be turned to very good account if employed in promoting the cause of our national prosperity.

Modern facilities for the swift expression and inter-communication of thought between people, however widely separated by time, space, scale of education, grade of civilisation and form of religion, have rendered it impossible to remain ignorant of what is going on in the outside world, of the possibilities in store for man, and still continue to be satisfied with the old mode of life with its ancient social and political conditions. Now, seeing that the western nations are progressing in civilisation and prosperity by leaps and bounds, our Indian brethren naturally aspire to similar advance. The liberal and democratic policy of the British Government is instilling liberal ideas in our minds, inspiring us with the hope of success, and encouraging us to follow the example of advancing nations. In such a happy state, it is impossible for us not to yearn after the advantages that others are reaping so plentifully from their well-intentioned and well-directed endeavours. But there is a very heavy and strong chain that not only drags us down but is continually pulling us backwards as well and hindering our advance. This chain is our internal feuds, discord and apathy. Unless we first break this chain, we cannot move a single inch forward. It is for this reason that I beg my readers and such leaders of the nation as my learned critic seems to be, to entirely forget the old disputes and errors which may have existed among our predecessors, and to strive that the masses likewise forget them. Thus we shall make friends with one another and can direct our combined forces and endeavours towards the promotion of the common cause, progress. Both Hindus and Muslims should be careful not to speak, write, or behave in such a way as to hurt each other's feelings. Unless we act upon this rule (one well recognised and followed in the west), we shall never be fit to ameliorate or better our condition. I beg, in conclusion, to bring to the notice of my readers a providential universal and unchangeable rule.

God is good and gracious, He supplies the wants of His creatures and satisfies their desires. As we are too selfish, and every one of us wishes to gain some personal advantage at the expense of his brethren, God knowing all, dispenses both the good and evil things of the world, to all of us that both, our good-will and ill-will, may be equally satisfied. If we love one another and always wish for others what we wish for ourselves, then God, wishing to satisfy our desires will have to do good to all, because He will not find any ill-will demanding satisfaction through the misfortunes of others. The proportion of prosperity of every community, therefore, depends upon the proportion of altruistic ideas and good-will which prevail in that community. For this reason, we should strive to inculcate altruism and promote brotherly love in our community.

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SIR P. C. RAY'S ESSAYS & DISCOURSES

BY

PROF. SURYANARAYANA, M.A.

MESSRS. Natesan are noted for their biographical sketches, also for their various collections of essays and addresses by eminent Indians. But it was a happy idea which prompted them to combine in this case* a collection of addresses and a biographical sketch in the same volume. Like other sketches from the same publishers, this one also does full justice to the eminent man whose life is studied. Big names are sometimes to us nothing but abstractions. So and so is a great poet; how many people understand anything definite by it? And yet, here at least is a chance of the man being appreciated, for Poetry is never a sealed book. But the sense of our own unworthiness weighs heavily on us, when the great man happens to be a scientist, for that gateway of knowledge is certainly not open to all. The life of a Scientist is perhaps the most difficult to write, for one has to remove from the minds of the reader the innate prejudice that a scientist is a musty, cranky creature, and show the living man, with the same hopes, passion and ideals as the rest of humanity. Both the biographer and the person who selected the essays seem to have had in view the element of success and we must admit they have both succeeded admirably.

Perhaps; the task was lightened in this case by the remarkable versatility of the subject. That a man of eminence in Chemical Science should at the same time have been an ardent student of History and have produced valuable works in both departments of knowledge must remain a matter for wonder. And yet, perhaps, there is little to wonder at, when one comes to think of it; for both are concrete sciences. A combination of Pure Mathematics and History would have puzzled us more.

The scope of the book would not allow of any reproduction from the historical works of Dr. Ray. But there are at least three essays "Ancient India," "British India," and "Antiquity of Hindu Chemistry" which exemplify the historical acumen of the Doctor. One of these, "British India," contains some excerpts from "India before and after the Mutiny," a book published by Dr. Ray when a student at Edinburgh.

Dr. Ray's views on Social Reform are brought out in his presidential address at the Indian National Social Conference of 1917. He delivers himself strongly against empty forms and conventions which serve only to clog the wheels of onward-marching Society. Human ingenuity and inventiveness get mis-directed and occupy themselves with laying down precise and unjust rules for meaningless ceremonies. The real and the only object worthy of the human intellect was relegated to the background, forms were multiplied endlessly, and Society stood still or began a downward march. In this connection, we would specially recommend to the reader the essay entitled "The Bengali Brain and its Misuse."

The book under review gives an exhaustive list of the contributions to Chemical Science from Dr. Ray and his pupils. The list is formidable and is followed by something more interesting, an Anglo-Indian's appreciation of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works. Messrs. Natesan have spared no pains in making the book as comprehensive as possible, in its small volume and have had all through in view the object of bringing out the many-sidedness of Dr. Ray's talents and activities. They have achieved this object with no little degree of success.

* *Essays and Discourses* by Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ray with a Biographical Sketch and Portrait—G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, Price Rs. 3.

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THE LAND OF BURNS

BY

THE LATE PROF. MICHAEL MACMILLAN.

"The lad that was born in Kyle will be remembered to-day in Cologne, in Bagdad, in Jerusalem; wherever there are Scottish troops the immortal memory will be honoured," wrote the 'Glasgow Herald,' on the 25th January, the anniversary of Robert Burns. "At home, the return to old interest, dislocated by four years of war, is being marked by the revival of the custom, now a century old, of celebrating the poet's birthday. If Scott's 'Marmion' and the 'Lady of the Lake' were read in the British lines during the Peninsular War, the poems of Burns have been freely quoted in the trenches in France and in Flanders, and his songs have been sung in the gatherings behind the lines. The hold which Robert Burns possesses over the emotion and the affection of his countrymen rests on too sure a foundation to be disturbed even by the mighty events through which we have passed. The appeal which he makes is an appeal to the things that cannot be shaken even by the convulsions of a new world in the making; while men live and love, they will read and quote the living words which tell of life and of love."

CIRCUMSTANCES compelled me to visit the home-land of Burns in the wrong order, so that I went first to Dumfries, the scene of his declining years and death and afterwards to the region of Ayrshire where he was born and bred. This arrangement of my tour, although it may be called, in the literal sense of the word, preposterous, was not without its advantages, as it left the best to the last and led me from scenes associated with the poet's decay and death to the, region of Scotland that he celebrated in his glorious prime.

Dumfries is a flourishing town beautifully situated on the broad river Nith and well deserves its proud title of Queen of the South. When Burns settled in Dumfries in 1792 as an excise-man on a salary of £ 50, his first home was in a flat in Bank Street above a stamp office and below another flat occupied by a blacksmith. It was a wretched tenement in itself, but a few steps from it would lead the poet to the banks of the Nith where the stream rolls over the dam below the new bridge in an amber flood incrusted with masses of white foam. Thence the poet often strolled a mile or two up the river to Lincluden Abbey, the red sandstone ruin of which crowned with clusters of rowan berries was one of his favourite haunts. In 1793, he moved to another house where there was more room for his family and there he died in 1796. This is now the chief show place in the town and is occupied by the poet's grand daughter, Mrs. Thos. Brown and his great grand-daughter, Jean Armour Burns Brown. It was the latter who showed us over the house, when through a narrow crooked street we had found our way to the door. In her face could be traced a strong likeness to Nasmyth's portrait of the poet. The resemblance was most striking in the eye, which was the most remarkable feature in the countenance of Burns. The house was plain and prosaic, but appeared commodious and comfortable enough to show that during his last years the poet must have been fairly well off. We were shown a few relics in the upper rooms, but they were not of great interest as compared with the fact that we were in the very house in which Burns died conversing with his direct descendant. Close by is St. Michael's Churchyard with a Mausoleum in the form of a Greek Temple, in which Burns is represented by a sculpture of Turnerelli as driving the plough and visited by Coila, the Muse of his native land. In the High St. is an old inn where are shown his punch bowl and ladle and the chair in which he sat carousing with his cronies.

Leaving Dunfries by the Pitpathick railway, we found ourselves, after passing castle-Douglas, in the lonely Moorland of Galloway. It was in this region that Burns composed his immortal war lyric, while riding through a tempest from Kenmure Castle to Gatehouse. "I took him," writes his companion, "to the moor road, where savage and desolate regions extended wide around. The sky was sympathetic with the wretchedness of the soil; it became lowering and dark. The hollow winds sighed, the lightning gleamed, the

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thunder rolled. The poet enjoyed the awful scene—he spoke not a word, but seemed rapt in meditation." The result of his meditation was

"Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled."

The shades of night were falling by the time we reached Ayr, but it was also by the moon-beam's misty light that Burns had his vision of the dusky spectres of the two bridges. So we thought we could not do better than go like him to the river side, when

"The tide-swol'n firth, with sullen sounding roar,
Through the still night dash'd hoarse along the shore:
All else was hushed as Nature's closing e'e,
The silent moon shone high o'er tower and tree."

Burns in prophetic vision heard how the spirit of the Auld Brig taunted that of the New Bridge foretelling the day when with all its "whirls and whirlygigums" it would be swept away by the flooded river. Proud of its antiquity of more than six hundred years, it cried out to its new fangled rival

"This mony a year I've stood the flood an' tide;
And tho' in crazy eild I'm sair for fairn,
I'll be a brig when ye're a shapeless cairn!"

This prophecy was fulfilled just thirty years ago when the new bridge collapsed and had to be pulled down. It has since been rebuilt and now in its turn the Auld Brig is threatened with destruction. We found it propped up with wood work and closed except for pedestrians. Unless patriotic Scotsmen can subscribe enough money for putting it in a thorough state of repair, the ruthless town council of Ayr has resolved to pull it down. Naturally indignant meetings are being held all over the country to protest against the threatened insult to an ancient monument so closely connected with the national bard.

On the following morning, we started along the road traversed by Tam O' Shanta on his famous ride. On the left of the High Street still stands the inn where he drank and cracked jokes with Souter Johnny. The tramcar at first follow-ed the footsteps of Tam's mare, but presently the new road diverged from the path of the old one so that we went to the left instead of the right of Burns' birth place and Alloway Kirk. In the kirkyard, an old man with a wooden leg was lying in wait for us. He knew all *Tam O'Shanter* by heart and recited fragments of the poem with great gusto and a fine broad Doric accent. He knew all the places passed by Tam on this famous tride and showed us the exact spots

Where in the snaw the chapman smoord.'
And past the birks and meikle stane,
Where drunken Charlie brak's neck-bane,
And thro' the whins and by the cairn.
The hunters fand the murder'd bairn,
And near the burn aboon the well,
Where Mungo's mither hang'd hersel,"

Then he stumped before us to the window, through which Tam glowr'd into the blazing kirk. Thence he pointed out the very "winnock bunker in the east" where the Devil sat in the shape of a "tousie tyke, black, grim, and large" and

"Screw'd the pipes and gart them skirl,
Till roof and rafters a' did dirl"

that the witches and warlocks might dance to the music. There too before us was the holy table on which were spread out "a murderers' banes in gibbet-airns" and other gruesome horrors. From the kirk Tam fled to the old bridge over the Doon with the witches in hot pursuit. The Scottish superstition (I do not know whether it is the same in India) was that witches could not cross running water.

"Now do thy speedy utmost, Meg,
And win the keystane o'the brig;
There, at them thou thy tail may toss,
A running stream they dare na cross,
But ere the key-stane she could make,
The fient a tail she had to shake,"

for the foremost of the witches got hold of it, and though Meg carried her master safe over the bridge, she did it at the expense of her gray tail. When all this happened, a tempest was raging and the river was swollen with heavy rain. We saw the river in very different circumstances on a beautiful summer's day. The birds were wantoning through the flowering thorn and the banks and braes o'bonie Doon were blooming fresh and

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fair as they appeared to the eyes of the deserted lover in the sweetest and saddest of Burns's love lyrics. Close by rose the lofty monument of the poet surrounded by a garden adorned with many flowers, the scent of which was fresh and fragrant as his memory is in the hearts of his countrymen.

A walk of about half a mile back from the monument in the direction of Ayr brought us to the birth place of Burns. So great is the spirit of heroship and idolatry in the *fervidum ingenium Scotorum* that it is estimated that this literary shrine of the poet of Scotland is visited yearly by about twice as many men and women as go to Stratford-on-Avon to see the birth place of the great dramatist of England and the world. The cottage which was built of clay by the poet's father's own hands has now been restored as nearly as possible to its original condition. It consists of a kitchen, a sitting room, and a byre under the same thatched roof. In the kitchen is a bed built into the wall, probably the very bed in which the poet was born. In the grounds behind is a museum containing M.S.S. and original editions of his poems, the family bible with entries made in his own hand, and other valuable and interesting mementoes.

From the home of Burns' childhood and boyhood we took the train to the central region of Ayrshire, where he spent the years of his early manhood. We had the advantage of staying at the hospitable mansion of Barskimming. Burns himself was a frequent visitor there and must often have wandered over the beautiful grounds alone or with Sir Thomas Miller

"Thro' many a wild romantic grove
Near many a hermit-fancied cove
Fit homes for friendships or for love
In musing mood."

Just in front of the house the Aye flows under a picturesque bridge through a deep gorge of red sandstone overshadowed by the many coloured foliage of the trees growing on either bank. Altogether it is the most lovely river scene that has ever met my eyes in the course of my wanderings over two continents. In a meadow by the side of the river a mile higher up Burns composed the poem entitled "Man was made to Mourn" and a mile lower down, also in the grounds of Barskimming, is the hallowed grove where under the fragrant birch and hawthorn hoar he bade his last farewell to his Highland Mary. My kind hostess drove me in succession to most of the places connected with Burns in the neighbourhood, as for instance to the town of Manchline the scene of the Holy Fair and the home of bonnie Jean. Here too is still to be seen Poosie Nancy's Hostelry where the Jolly Beggars "a mery core o'randie, gangrel bodies held the splore" and indulged in wild revelry that rivalled that of the witches in Alloway Kirk. At a mile and a half from Manchline on a hill commanding a wide prospect over land and over sea with the mountains of Arran in the back ground stands Mossgiel farm, Burns's home from 1784 to 1786, the most prolific period of his literary life. It was in a field of this farm that his plough share turned up the nest of the field mouse and crushed among the stone the slender stem of the mountain daisy. Close by the farm is the National Monument to Burns, a high and unsightly sower which disfigures the beautiful landscape.

All through his poetry and his prose correspondence Burns shows how dearly he loved his native land. He is not by any means cosmopolitan in his sentiments like Byron, and Shelley, or Browning.

Burns never visited the continent and never went farther into England than to Carlisle and Newcastle. His patriotism burned with a warmer glow because it was focussed on one small portion of the earth's surface. He might well have said of his the descriptions of scenery in his poems, as Allan Ramsay writes of the Scotch poems collected in his *Evergreen*, that "the groves rise in our own valleys, the rivers flow from our own fountains, and the winds blow upon our own hills."

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TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

The Future of Industrial India

Sir P. C. Ray, writing in the current number of *The Modern Review*, offers a searching criticism of the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission. The special object of the Commission was to suggest methods for the building up of indigenous industries.

The development of Indian industries would not mean that "the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your own boundaries." "We do not want mere Indian Capital," said H. E. the Viceroy recently, "we want Indian men and not Indian men only as labour but as leaders who will turn their attention to industrial enterprise and equip themselves for a great Industrial regeneration in India." The declared policy of the Government of India is decidely against the *exploitation* of Indian minerals and her almost inexhaustible resources of raw materials by foreigners, be they British, American, or German. Here Sir P. C. Ray pauses to think of some of the potent causes that brought about the ruin of the staple Industries in India.

The East has been immobile, overt and conservative to the core for centuries. In a manner she was living in peace and repose dreaming dreams or absorbed in meditations on the essence of the Supreme Being. Every village with the graduated hierarchy of the caste regulations was an ideal republic. There was the village artisan and the smith—the barber, the washerman, the priest—the landlord, the tenant—cultivator—the weaver and the small trader and so forth—each doing his allotted duty. But west changed all that. At barely a moment's notice contact with the mobile, progressive and energetic India found herself confronted with a formidable rival. She must run at railway speed or be lost for ever, and thus came a tremendous crash and the collapse of her industries. Here again, Nemesis overtook unhappy India. What was once an apparent source of strength now became the weak point in her armour—I mean the pernicious caste system.

The ruin and downfall of Indian Industries, Sir P. C. Ray remarks, was hastened by the selfish policy of British statesman, who, by the imposition of prohibitive duties, protected the British manufacturer and began to look upon the vast continent as a field for the supply of raw material required by them. The most fatal mistake has been the hostile attitude of the Government towards elementary mass education. Though we have got an Agricultural Institute at Pusa with all its expensive machinery, it is of no avail to the agricultural population who, steeped in ignorance, are not able "to take advantage or utilise the elaborate scientific researches which lie entombed in the bulletins and transactions of these Institutes". An ignorant people and a costly machinery of scientific experts go ill together.

For the recruitment of the Scientific Services, the Commissioners propose the wholesale importing of experienced men from England. Even when the choice lies between the best brains of India and the mediocres of England in the filling up of the posts of so-called experts, the former get but scanty justice.

Dr. Ray then writes of the serious obstacle that Swadeshi concerns ought to encounter in the matter of marketing the products on the output of their factories.

The damaging evidence of Mr. Adamjee Peerbhoy of Bombay, which for obvious reasons the President of the Commission wanted to be heard in camera, but which has leaked out, goes to prove, what is, however, notorious, that the Heads of the big purchasing departments show but scant consideration to the claims of Indians when there are British competitors in the field—it is but natural that they should fraternise with their own countrymen. The excellent intentions of the Government as embodied in Resolutions with sonorous periods get whittled down to precious little in filtering through the official strata.

In a Postscript, Dr. Ray refers with sorrow to the winding up of principal Swadeshi concerns in Calcutta which have been purchased by powerful British companies, partly with threats of overwhelming competition and partly with the offer of a rich bait.

If this is an earnest of what bids fair to become of "a self-contained India," she will soon be reduced to the position of a "human cattle-farm" and a plantation, with her people as coolie and "Babu" labourers; and the "Industrial Commission" had better be called "Foreign Exploitation Commission."

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Lord Morley on History

Professor A. F. Pollard, writing in the current number of *History*, the quarterly journal of the Historical Association, says that Lord Morley's characterisation of some of his colleagues is worth more to the historian than reams of laudatory or vituperative journalism. Gradually Lord Morley's absorption in letters gave way to affairs and his interest in politics became more practical and more insular. The *Fortnightly* led on to the *Pall Mall Gazette*; the studies of eighteenth century philosphers were followed by an official biography of Cobden; and first Chamberlain and then Gladstone took the place of Mill and Mazzini, Gambetta and Victor Hugo. 'The Englishmen of Letters' yielded to 'Twelve English Statesmen' and the author of 'compromise' produced an excellent plea for Walpole. Lord Morley does not regret his own progress to politics; and if he had the choice, he would not retrace his political steps and start once more from the point at which he abandoned the single-minded pursuit of letters.

About History he writes in the course of his *Recollections*: "History has advanced with a powerful stride to a commanding place within the last forty or fifty years, and a vigorous contest now stimulates and entertains us as to the true genius of the Historic Muse, or whether she be a Muse at all or only a kitchen drudge; whether a Science reducing great bodies of detail to concentrated and illuminating law, or that very different things, an Epic Art, a source of bright and living popular influence." His antithesis implies the exclusion of either science or art from History, whereas both are indispensable. Latter on he has an excellent remark that 'true history is the art of *rapprochement*—bridging distances of place and circumstance." This is the comparative method which alone can raise history to the level of literature or philosophy. This is the highest function of history but it is not the only one. Even the comparative method is worthless unless the comparison is between real phenomena; and we need the most vigorous and scientific research to establish that truth in detail without which our general impressions are invalid and quite fallacious. The specialist bent on contributing to accurate knowledge of detail is making true history, no less than the profoundest dealer in generalisations, though the relative value of his labour may be less. Paleography, diplomatic sigillography, numismatics and other scientific equipments are essential to the discovery of historical truth; but they do not make their votaries historians in the highest sense of the word. But neither does mere literary art make the historian; the sense of how things happen and what men mean is the supreme qualification for the historian.

Lord Morley's opinions on historians form very interesting reading. According to him Froude has no historic sense—no depth of faith in any principle—cynical at bottom and misleading. His 'Notes on Politics and History' gives better his thoughts on history and historians. "The controversies about the artistic, scientific and other possible characteristics of the Historic Muse leave no doubt that she is something of a sphinx and her riddles do not admit of mathematical solutions."

The New Age of Industry and Peace

The Current History (New york) for January publishes Mr. Frederick Harrison's very interesting and thoughtful article on "the Dawn of a New Era," wherein he draws a fascinating picture of a New World, free from barbarism and all these fierce weapons of destruction which Germany forged within her own walls for nearly half a century to imprison humanity at large. Mr. Harrison wonders whether one has realised the enormous changes which this Earth-War has brought about, what a new world we are entering, and what a new epoch of civilisation we have to

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make. These years of war, without example in range and in horror, have caused a new, a loftier civilisation to appear, in which militarism and national hostility may be transferred into an age of Industry and Peace. "Take it in all its aspects and its consequences, this new era of which we see the dawn is greater and more blessed than the epoch which Europe began to settle after barbarism, more pure than the advent of the New Learning and the New thought, more wise than the spasmodic revolutions in the times of Danton or Napoleon." Mr. Harrison reviews the progress of civilisation made within his own lifetime and, after making a brief reference to the political history of England, Russia, America, China, Japan, Germany, India, etc., speaks of the weighty task before his people, that of keeping to the ideal of a common faith, of a common spirit, of chivalry, loyalty and honour steadfastly and making it live and grow to Peace among men.

This awful time of bloodshed, ranging from the Arctic circle to the furthest Pacific, has given new meaning to all the forces that have been gathering up for a century, and it has discovered many new forces and brought together former enemies. Only twenty years ago Britain and America, Britain and France, were at arm's length. Can Britain, France, the United states, Italy, ever be parted again? Will not the races of Russia, Turkey, of the Central Empires, owe their free life to us—now together the vanguard of civilisation?

Four years of superhuman strain have transformed the world. East and West, North and South, have come together as brothers, in ways that they never knew. Humanity has come into its own in Peace and Union! Inventions to use and control the material earth, which were dreamed of for generations, have suddenly become realities.

The barborous blood tax must cease. Nevermore shall the nations have to offer up their sons to Moloch. The hideous waste of labour in engines of destruction —more than half the entire cost of Government— must cease. And with the waste of labour for destruction there must be ended also the waste of labour in debasing luxuries and wanton extravagance.

It will be a new world in this twentieth century. Shall we be new men, new women, worthy to use it rightly?

Education of Indian Labour

In the February number of *East and West*, Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rao writes an interesting article on the education of Indian labour in connection with the findings of the Indian Industrial Commission. He states that the Industrial Commission has gone into the question of the resources of the generating power necessary for the growth of industry. "The harvesting of water-power appears, however, to afford a more reliable source of energy." The conditions of labour in India are unsatisfactory and if they want to keep pace with the times, they need training and education. Various recommendations have been made by the Commission and great stress is laid on the extension of universal primary education. This reform, together with others suggested by the Commission will increase the intellectual capacity of Indian workmen, and hence his ability to adjust himself to the altered conditions for which the developments of science, etc., are largely responsible. That the large employers of labour, though conscious of the usefulness of education, have done nothing to provide for the education of labourers is really unfortunate. The real point at issue is whether the State or the organisers of industry should undertake this task. The Industrial Commission solves the problem by suggesting that "it would be unfair and unjust to impose upon employers this duty, which devolves rather upon the State and the local authorities."

The people in the country must be made to understand the importance of education in the industrial life of India. In addition to worldly success and material progress, wide diffusion of education provides that intellectual, moral, and spiritual equipment which enables the workmen to appreciate and take part in the higher activities of life. Every child has a right to claim for an opportunity to develop its latent powers, to enable it to take an 'intelligent and reasoning' interest in things with which it is familiar.

Is it too much to hope for the inauguration of an education policy which adopts a system of education that turns out the children that come under it, 'models of propriety and efficiency'?

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The Ideal of Unity in Hindu Philosophy

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganatha Jha, M.A., D. Litt., writing in the January number of *The Hindustan Review*, discusses in detail the fundamental unity of the entire philosophical and *political* life of India. The writer begins :—

Paradoxical as it may sound, India has, since the very beginnings of history, been the land of unification. In every department of knowledge and practice it has been the aim of our best men at any rate, to trace harmony amidst disharmony, agreement amidst disagreement, and unity in the midst of diversity. As early as the Rigveda, which, notwithstanding the great difference of opinion that there is in regard to its exact age, is acknowledged to be the oldest systematic record that has been handed down to us by antiquity,—we find the pregnant declaration—*ekam sad vipra bahudha vadanti*, the one real being the learned describe in manifold ways. In this short aphoristic sentence we find what has been rightly called the grandest and boldest stretch of philosophic generalisation. Coming down to the Upanishads, we find this same idea presented to us in diverse ways; and sought to be brought home to us by means of a series of metaphors and parables.

The advent of the great Shankaracharya, he proceeds to observe, witnessed a radical change in the philosophic outlook inasmuch as he asserted the "unreality" of all things in this world. The one result of this preaching of the negative side of the great Philosophy is an interminable struggle which we find going on in India among the advocates of various faiths and convictions. With a view to help the really earnest student who finds himself puzzled in the whirl of conflicting theories and attractive but evading ideas, Dr. Ganganatha Jha begins to prove that "the unity of the Vedantin is not only purely *spiritual*, but also strictly logical aud scientific." It is pointed out that there is real difference among the theistic philosophers as regards the oft-proved theory of *one* indivisible real essence pervading through all that is, that was, or ever will be, but the difference arises when they come to analyse the nature of the encasements of the underlying reality. To this all-pervading something, the Indian philosophers have given the name of 'Being', a word that best appeals to the humanistic tendencies of man, and "nothing can appeal to our higher nature which has not a personal or human touch."

After making a passing reference to telepathy, researches in chemistry and physics which definitely prove the unity of all things, he attempts to answer the question—"If it is true that the same consciousness is functioning in all phenomenal existences, whence the diversity"? The answer is :—

At this stage of enquiry the question that suggests itself is—If it is one and the same consciousness functioning in all phenomenal existences, whence the diversity? The presence of diversity cannot be denied what then is it that causes the diversity in the manifestation when that which manifests itself is even one? This diversity we are told is due to the limitations taken by the Consciousness upon itself, for the purposes of manifestation; it needs the limitations, as without these its manifestation would not be possible. For instance, for the purpose of manifesting in the mineral kingdom, the Consciousness has to take upon itself a coating of mineral matter; and so forth in every phase of manifestation: without a vegetable encasement, Consciousness could not manifest itself and function in the vegetable world; and without the animal body it could not be manifested in the animal world. For what, after all, is the 'manifestation of Consciousness' in any phase of phenomenal existence? It is only its appearance in some form in which the distinctive matter of that particular phase constitutes the predominating element; hence the need of the several kinds of forms, the mineral, the vegetable and the animal; in fact, formless manifestation would be a contradiction in terms; there can be no manifestation without some form, however subtle this may be. Metaphysically speaking, Consciousness *per se* is undifferentiable; and yet, without differentiation, no manifestation is possible; and differentiation implies diversity. Consequently, if it has to manifest itself, Consciousness must consent to be crabbed and cabined within limitations, and thereby lead to that diversity which thenceforth becomes the ruling principle in all phenomena.

Co-operative Representation

Professor J. C. Coyajee, in a recent issue of *The Bengal Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal* puts forward a strong plea for the representation of Co-operative Societies on local and district boards and other bodies. He observes that Co-operative Societies will supply a new motive power to create an interest in the rural population in the management of their own affairs. He says :—

I would first point out certain inconveniences which have resulted in the conduct of the present system of

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district administration which point to the necessity of such Co-operative Representation. The Hon'ble Sir S. P. Sinha in his admirable speech on the village Self-Government Bill has emphasized these inconveniences. He has pointed out "the need of a new motive power in the country—the interests and influence of the rural population in and on the management of their own affairs". In order "to evoke that interest and engage that influence in the system of Government and to tap the enormous reserves of energy, common-sense and natural shrewdness", we submit that the representation of Co-operative Societies is absolutely necessary since they alone have so far shown a living interest in economic matters and manifested markedly in their work that shrewdness and common sense. Sir S. P. Sinha has noted that villagers have shown in the past their reluctance to serve on the village *Panchayets* and to take a part in the labours of such uninviting character. Here also we can urge that the members of Co-operative Societies have been drilled to the work of management of common business and interests. Sir S. P. Sinha has further discussed the financial difficulty of the work of communal administration; and then again Co-operative Societies are the only bodies in the district who have learnt to look at matters from the correct economic point of view and to solve financial problems. He would leave jurisdiction in petty cases to village Committees; and we find that by common consent our Co-operative *Panchayets* have been settling disputes between members even before legislation conferred such jurisdiction on them formally. Sir S. P. Sinha would reserve for members of his contemplated Circle Boards the work of supervising the function of Village Committees. The members of our Supervisional Unions and the Directors of our Central Banks have already been trained in the performance of similar supervision in the case of primary societies. In a word, every requisite which the Hon'ble Sir S. P. Sinha demands from the members of his Village Committees, Circle Boards and District Boards, is already to be found in the *Panchayets* of our primary societies and in the Boards of Directors of our Central Banks.

A certain proportion of seats on the local bodies might be reserved for candidates chosen by Co-operative Societies-such proportion to depend upon the numerical strength of Co-operators comprised in the local units in question. The reservation of special seats for Co-operative Members is in no measure contravening the true ideal and spirit of democracy. The Co-operative Societies are the most intelligent and organised portion of the agricultural population and Co-operative Representation will only weigh the vote of the best and most organised section of the agriculturists. With the growth of the influence of Legislative Councils, it is necessary that agriculture and co-operation should have representatives therein.

War Indemnity for India

The Editor of *The Wealth of India* (January number) discusses the all important question of indemnity in the War and puts forth a very strong plea for India's share in it inasmuch as she stood shoulder to shoulder with European Nations, pouring forth her blood and money in the cause of righteousness. If distribution of indemnity is to be on the basis of the sacrifices made in winning the war, he asserts that India's claim to a share in it is indisputable. In defence of this plea, ample references are made to the utterances of responsible British statesmen, including Messrs. Asquith, Bonar Law, Lord Haldane, Lord Curzon, Lylod George, who all acknowledged in handsome language the material help that India gave in winning the war, her unflinching loyalty, her great sacrifices in men and money. Even the *Times* had a sympathetic note on India's enormous material assistance in securing the Allies' victory.

The value of the Indian export exceeded one hundred million sterling yearly. The State controlled prices at considerably less than the prevailing price and the rates secured considerable savings in the War bill of the Allies. As India's material recources were organised to supply the equipment of Indian troops and provide the Allies essential requisites for prosecuting the war, the extra equipment supplied reached the value of eighty million pounds. Of essential munition exports, wolfram, (one-third of the world's supply,) manganese ores, mica jute, shellac, saltpetre and hides were purchased by Government at controlled prices, considerably less, three to five times less, than those prevailing in neutral countries. For its own use and that of the Allies, rice, maize, barley, gram, oilseeds, oils and medicinal stuff were exported at controlled prices. Indian hides provided one third of the army boots. Skins were purchased at controlled prices considerably less than elsewhere, Three million tons of wheat were supplied to the Allies, the shipments being made available at considerably less prices than those ruling in the world markets. To meet one year's requirements, forty-one million yards of khaki and hundred and eighty and two million pounds of wool were exported to England. The Tata Iron Works supplied eighteen hundred miles of railway track and two hundred engines. India supplied over six hundred thousand vehicles for various theatres of war. She supplied 883 vessels to Mesopotamia, over 500 anchor boats and electric plants for Basra and Bagdad, worked by Indian operatives and ten million cubic feet of timber.

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India's Part in the War

Sir Valentine Chirol writing in a recent issue of the *Journal of the Overseas Club* points out that in any reckoning up of the credit and debit sides of the great war one of the most important assets will be the appreciation of what India means to the Empire and of what the Empire means to India. From the mere military and material point of view, writes Sir Valentine, we shall have to bear in mind "not only the actual part that India has played in the war, but the much larger part she might and would have played if her resources had been more fully developed and more intelligently employed." As it was, he continues :—

Not only did the expeditionary forces she despatched to France in the autumn of 1914 fill a vital gap which, owing to our unpreparedness for a conflict of such magnitude, could not at that time be filled either from the United Kingdom or from the Dominions, but she alone was able to supply and did supply from her much larger reserves, guns and rifles and ammunition and war material of all sorts, without which it would have been difficult for our Army to carry on until British industry had been entirely reorganised for war purposes. At the same time India provided considerable forces for other expeditions to Mesopotamia East Africa, Egypt and Gallipoli, which it is now rather the fashion to depreciate as mere side-shows, though, in spite of many blunders they helped substantially to accomplish great ends in relieving the Empire from the meance which Turkey's co-operation with the Central Powers involved for the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf, *i.e.*, for the safety of all our Eastern possessions. Recruiting, which has, of late especially, increased by leaps and bounds till it has now exceeded a million men since the beginning of the War, shows how much more effectively we might have drawn on the immense reserves of Indian man-power, had we made an earlier and larger appeal to Indian loyalty. Indian industries of which Agricultures must always remain the greatest, have made no mean contribution to the War, but it might have been infinitely greater had the British rulers of India realised in this respect, as perhaps Lord Dalhousie and Lord Curzon alone seem to have done, the immense potentialities of India, or had they not been hampered by the narrow and often selfish conception of the home interests which prevailed in this country until the Great War came to open our eyes.

But the spirit in which India made all the sacrifices for the cause of the Empire in this war was even more remarkable. Says Sir Valentine :—

More important, however, for the future than any of the material contributions made by India to the War has been the willingness with which they have been made. The great wave of enthusiasm which swept over India at the outbreak of hostilities was a splendid testimony to the value of the British connection in the eyes of Indians of all creeds and classes and communities. * * * * * * *

India rallied to the British cause because she learnt to know it was a cause worth fighting for. How did the Empire respond in turn ?

For the first time Indian representatives were admitted into the innermost Councils of the Empire. At the War Conferences in London they took their place beside the Ministers of the Crown and of the self-governing Dominions, just as the Indian troops have fought shoulder to shoulder with British and Dominions troops. In both cases better acquaintance has produced a sounder appreciation of common interests and common devotion to the great ideals for which the Empire stands; on the part of Indians a growing desire for the admission of India to full and equal partnership in the Empire; on the part of the Dominions a growing willingness to accept them into partnership ; on the part of the British people a growing desire to help India forward on the path of progressive and orderly progress towards the ultimate goal of self-government as an integral part of the British Empire.

Sir Valentine concludes with an appeal to Indians and Britons to show the same capacity to co-operate heartily and courageously in Council as they have shown on many a stricken field of Europe and Asia.

The Settlement of Turkey

One of the most important questions to come up before the Peace Conference is the fate of the Ottoman Empire. It is already probable that the outlying sections of the Empire will be detached from Turkish sovereignty and granted independence. Thus Arabia is practically recognised as an independent Kingdom. Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia will also become independent of the Turkish Empire. In the current number of the *Asiatic Review* there is a discussion as to the fate of Thrace in Asia Minor. In a secret treaty which was concluded in April 1915 between England, France, Russia, and Italy, it was agreed that Adalia and the southern half of Asia Minor should be the Italian share of the spoils, and that Russia should take Thrace. Constantinople and the northern half of Asia Minor, and that France and England should be rewarded

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with Syria and Mesopotamia. The subsequent collapse of Russia and Armenian's entry into the war may be considered to have rendered this treaty null and void. President Wilson is prepared to support Turkish rule only in so far as it permits of the *unmolested autonomous development* of the other nationalities.

In Asia Minor even according to the Greek census the Turks form seven tenths of the total population, and they outnumber the Greeks alone by four to one and the Greeks and the Armenians together by three to one. But this preponderance of the Turks is smaller in some provinces than in others. The *villiyets* may be divided into two classes—those where the Turks form 75 per cent. or more of the population and those where they form less than 75 per cent. If the law of self-determination is to be applied to Asia Minor, of course, the large Turkish majority would vote for Turkish rule. But what about the $2\frac{1}{2}$ million Indians of Asia Minor? Can Turkish rule be transformed to the extent of bringing it into harmony with modern ideas of popular government? Some propose that outside Powers should establish some sort of control over this reformed Turkish Empire, and then conflicting interests, mutual jealousies, and mazy intrigues will inevitably follow. The maintenance of Turkish rule is by no means a solution which will eliminate future trouble. The only alternative is partition or dismemberment of the Empire. Thrace and Asia Minor might be partitioned between The Greeks and the Turks; to the Greeks the provinces where the Greek element is strongest and *vice versa*. There must be an interchange and inter-migration as to render this partition more acceptable to both sides. Constantinople should not be left under the Turkish rule; the straits must remain a free and neutral international waterway. It cannot be safely put under the control of anyone European power, and it must be for sometime under the protection of the League of Nations.

Materialism or Spirituality?

"Let the critic compare the noble and spiritual life of the ancient Hindus with the meaningless hurry and short-lived evanescence of modern times, and he will find that the history of mankind has been a history of progressive degeneration" writes Mr. Muthukumaru, M. A. in the course of an interesting article on "The Spirit of Hindu Institutions" in the January number of *The Young Hindu* of Jaffna (Ceylon). The writer thinks that the advocates of the modern theories of evolution and progress may pretend to be scientific in their ways of thinking. But they can never hide the fact that there is greater misery, vice, and suffering in the world now than in the days when man tried to find the true goal of his life not in the vanity of external things, but in inward realisation of his capacities. The present condition of Indian life divorced from all spiritual ideals sapped the purity of ancient institutions, and the result was decay of all that was best and most sublime in our National life. There are very few Hindus who can understand the spirit of their ancient institutions.

The founders of Hindu institutions were great men who studied life as a whole and understood things in their true perspective. They knew the great secret of life and growth and made the unfoldment of life the chief aim of their institutions. The two chief features of Hindu institutions seem to be (1) the conditions so well devised and arranged as to facilitate the growth of a synthetic mind, and (2) the emphasis laid on the principle of unconscious growth by indirect suggestions and communion of minds with institutions.

After explaining fully what the above principles meant in practice, Mr. V. Muthukumaru concludes:

The present state of things in our midst is very discouraging. Most of the people who are entrusted with the work of guiding our destinies do not in the least work for the purity of our institutions. They go with the current and do not have that clarity and depth of vision necessary for leaders of thought and action. All of us are every day being unconsciously vulgarised by coming in contact with the institutions of modern civilisation. Who among us will consecrate his life to cleanse our temples, our schools, and our homes of the existing evils, and defend them against the inroads of alien ideas and ways? Great is our heritage and let us grow to be worthy of it.

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Primary Education in India

A writer who signs himself "Q. R." in the *Sind Students' Magazine* gives some interesting figures regarding the progress of Education in this country. The history of the movement for English Education in nineteenth century India is briefly told:—

India saw in the first half of the nineteenth century the extension and consolidation of British Rule, and in the second half two attempts made towards the cause of education. The first was the famous Wood's Despatch in 1854 and the second was the appointment of a Commission to enquire how far the policy laid down in the despatch of 1854 in regard to elementary education had been carried. The Commission made careful inquiries and found that in 1882 there were about 85,000 primary schools in the country recognised by the Department, and there were about 21½ lakhs of pupils attending these schools. In addition to these there were about 3½ lakhs attending unrecognised schools. That means 1.2 per cent of the whole population of India at that time.

Then follows an instructive comparison between different countries of the world and a native state in India itself. The writer's conclusions deserve to be noted:—

Now it has been universally recognised that a certain minimum of general instruction is an obligation which a Government owes to all its subjects. And thus it is that, led by German States, country after country in Europe and America and Japan in the East have adopted the system of free and compulsory education; and we find to-day all the countries in Europe, excepting Russia and Turkey, and the United States of America and Canada and Australia and Japan and several even of the smaller Republics in South America—all having this system in operation. And even within the borders of India, the enlightened and far-seeing Ruler of Baroda, after an experiment of 15 years carried out in one of the Talukas of his state, namely, the Amreli Taluka, has since 1909 extended this system to the whole of his State.

But here in British India education occupies a secondary place. Up to 1910 it had no separate department of its own. In the course of 34 years from 1882 to 1916, the progress in this country is represented by an advance from 1.2 per cent, to nearly 2 per cent of the total population. The expenditure on elementary education per head of the population is highest in the United States of America, being no less than 16 *s*; while in India it is barely one penny. Many are the objections which have been raised against primary compulsory education. Some say that there is plenty of room yet for our voluntary bases and others say that it would cost much. But where there is the will, there is the way.

Canada and India

Writers on constitutional problems have frequently referred to the historic Report prepared by Lord Durham in connection with the grant of self-governing powers to the Dominion of Canada. There are many points of comparison between Canada and India and it is interesting to read Mr. Bernard Houghton's article in *India* on the above subject.

Two differences there are but they are differences entirely in favour of Indian aspirations. Loyalty to England burns with a strong flame in most Indian hearts; in the hearts of the French Canadians of the 'thirties its very ashes were non-existent. Amongst leaders of Indian thought there is a hundred-fold more enlightenment and real statesmanship than were to be found with the French of those days. We have all heard Lord Morley's metaphor on wearing a Canadian fur coat in India. But even Lord Morley has his limitations. As his policy on the Bengal Partition and more than one of his speeches show, in Indian affairs, he has suffered the nobility of his ideals to be warped by the instilled poison of Anglo-Indian sophisms. . . What the debasing system of tutelage denies to its victims has been very aptly expressed by Lord Elgin in one of his letters. "One thing is, however, indispensable," he wrote, "to the success of this or of any other system of Colonial Government. You must renounce the habit of telling the Colonies that the Colonial is a provisional existence. *You must allow them to believe that, without severing the bonds which unite them to Great Britain, they may attain the degree of perfection and of social and political development to which organised communities of free men have a right to aspire.*" Change "Colonial" for "Indian" and you have the policy which India demands. It is the deprivation of this right which gives birth to the ferment in India, a ferment which will never quiet or slacken until India sees her way clear to the open ground of political freedom. This right to Self-Government is bound up in the minds of all thinking men with the spirit of nationality, as the living body with its beating heart. Events in Europe tell us that it is that spirit which to-day dominates the world and that it will surely break the fettering forces which oppose it.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ENGLISH LAW AND THE PERSONAL LAW OF INDIANS IN ENGLAND WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MARRIAGE LAW. By Sir Frederic Robertson, Kt., K.B.E., L.L.D., ["The Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law, No. XLI."]

THE NEW PARLIAMENT AND INDIA. By Mr. Saint Nihal Singh ["The Modern Review, March 1919."]

THE REPORT ON INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM. By Sir, F. S. P. Lely, C.I.E., K.C.I.E., ["The Asiatic Review, January 1919"].

A STATE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA. By B. L. Vajpayee Bhimpuri, M.A., ["The wealth of India, January 1919"]

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Education in India.

We take the following from the Report on Indian Education in 1917-18 :—

In the four years of the war there has been an increase in educational expenditure amounting to 180 lakhs a year, the last year's total being about 12 crores of rupees. The number of schools has increased by 4,164 to 196,919, public institutes show a decrease by 4,558 to 159,510, private institutions, a decrease of 394 to 37,409, but pupils have increased by about 969,000. The percentage of those under instruction to the whole population has risen from 3·2 to 4·26. As to the provinces, Bengal has the largest number of school going children and the largest increase in the year. There has been a decrease in the number of pupils in the provinces of the Punjab, Burma and the North-West Frontier Province. Among general matters which occupied the attention of the Department of Public Instruction, the most important were the training and pay of teachers, reforms in which were made possible by the new Imperial grant of Rs. 30 lakhs. A second feature of the year has been the introduction of important changes in the system of the secondary school final examinations. Owing to the war and the consequent dearth of medical men, no great progress was possible in school hygiene. The most fruitful field of advance has been in first-aid classes in several provinces. Nearly the whole of the first-aid class at the Training College at Allahabad passed the examinations and its members rendered valuable aid at the Kumbha Mela to bathers rescued from drowning.

THE YEAR'S PROGRESS

As regards the Universities and colleges the principal event has been the sitting of the Calcutta University Commission. Meanwhile certain developments have taken place in the organisation of instruction for the degrees of M. A. and M.Sc. Assistance was given during the year to Sir J. C. Bose's Research Institute in Calcutta, and the Government of Bengal sanctioned a lakh towards the acquisition of the land required. The two new Universities at Benares and Patna commenced operation,—that of Mysore had already come into being in 1916. The colleges and their students increased by 6 and 4,297 respectively. As regards secondary education the principal feature has been the institution of school-leaving certificate examinations. The number of pupils rose by 12,225 to 1,198,586. Primary education has expanded on the whole. The average annual increase in pupils during the last 5 years has been 166,117 and during the last year the increase in schools was 5,672 and in pupils 114,011. There was some retardation of progress caused by the difficulties of the year. The remarkable point about the figures under primary education is the increase of schools. Expenditure on primary schools rose by Rs. 17,28,969 to Rs. 3,10,42,514. The principal feature of the year has been the movement in favour of compulsory elementary education. The second important point is the continuance of elementary education. As regards professional and special education, progress was made in the matter of Sanskrit education in Bombay. In the United Provinces, the number of students who presented themselves at the Sanskrit examinations was the largest on record. Efforts have been made in the direction of technical and industrial education. The governing body of the Civil Engineering College, Sibpur, submitted a scheme, with a view to improving and increasing the output of mechanical engineers and mechanics. Further, the profession of teaching has risen by 480 to 19,876. The total number of teachers in public institutions of all kinds in India is now 292,739 and these trained 95,542 against 280,738 and 88,169 last year.

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UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Mr. Swinny on the Reforms.

In the course of his annual address, Mr. S. H. Swinny, the President of the Positivist Society, says:—

In a world organised for peace, complete sovereignty is the simplest mode of self-determination, but in that great Confederation or Alliance, the British Empire, or, as it might more truly be described, the British Commonwealth of Nations, it has been found possible to grant large and in some cases practically full powers of self-development in the parts, while preserving a general though vague unity in the whole; and the good results of that policy are plain to see in the ready and voluntary help extended to the mother-country in her hour of need, not only by Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, which had no grievance against her, but by South Africa, eighteen years ago the scene of war and rebellion. And now it is proposed to make in India a further step in the self-government of that great dependency. I am very far from thinking the reform scheme put forward by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford perfect in all its parts, least of all in its treatment of the central government; yet there are very strong reasons why India, while seeking to amend, should be careful not to reject. In the first place, it makes no professions of finality—on the contrary, it expressly gives opportunity for future expansion. Secondly, the moment is favourable, general gratitude is felt for India's aid in the war, and this feeling will never be stronger than at present when the dangers we have shared together are still fresh in all minds. Thirdly, constitutional reform in India has many enemies; Parliament and the public will be much occupied with the reorganisation necessitated by the war; Mr. Montagu's successor is not likely to follow the same path, if this attempt fails. The present is an opportunity which, if it be rejected, may not return for years.

India and the Philippines: A Parallel

Mr. Gregoria Nieva, Editor of the *Philippine Review*, speaking at a meeting held in honour of Sir William Meyer's visit to the Island, said:—

To a certain extent, there is actually some parallel between Indian and Philippine affairs, particularly as regards the destinies of the two peoples in the Far East. India and the Philippines cannot feel themselves as different peoples because of the place they hold on earth, and because both come under the common term of "Oriental peoples." Their aspirations are very much similar, and, however different one country may physically seem from the other, such dissimilarity dwindles to insignificance in the broadening horizon of the Orient. On the other hand, India has been, during the last century and half, under the *dependency* of a Power that has unfailingly been the mother of small nationalities in Europe, while the Philippines has had the very great fortune of being, during the last two decades, under the *guidance* of that power, now at the head, effectively and whole-heartedly, of world Democracy, and of the new Idea of binding the World together with the bonds of sympathy and friendship—America. Thus you see that there is really some parallel between India and the Philippines as well as between America and Great Britain. And while it is not yet all the parallel we wish it should be, we feel confident their purposes, and their aims, and their motives will at last become all one and the same at one time. * * * During the three distinct stages of our existence under the glorious flag of America that is so nobly leading us to full independent nationhood one under purely American administration, one with the co-operation of the former Philippine Assembly, and one, lastly, under our almost exclusive legislative and administrative responsibility—all three in less than two decades—the commerce and revenues of the Islands have steadily grown up fully in proportion to the growth of our political institutions.

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The Travancore Durbar.

The Travancore Dewan's address to the Shri Mulam Popular Assembly indicates the progressive nature of the administration in certain respects. The Durbar has been assisting the backward classes with plots of land for habitation and cultivation. The number of members in the Co-operative Societies increased from about 2,000 to about 2,800, and the paid-up capital of the Societies also rose from Rs. 24,710 to over Rs. 30,000, and the promoters of the Societies are reported to have been willing to supply funds out of the resources at their disposal. "Government are glad to note that the encouragement of small loans, the enforcement of punctuality in repayments and the readiness on the part of the members to a strict adherence to the provisions of the bye-laws were the prominent characteristics" of non-agricultural societies during the year. The first Co-operative Conference was held during the year. One of the progressive features of the year was the thorough reorganisation of the Ayurveda Department.

Passive Resistance in Udaipur.

The *Pratap* publishes accounts of a very appalling nature about Vijoulia, a small jagir in Udaipur State (Rajputana). The people of this jagir, it is said, are subjected to about a hundred taxes over and above the taxes levied on the general population of Udaipur State and the local authorities use all sorts of coercive measures to realize these. Recently on account of conditions caused by high prices the poor people of the jagir found it impossible to pay up the taxes and applied to the authorities to be relieved from them. Instead of giving any heed to their entreaties the authorities doubled the force of their extortion. The consequence was that some 500 arrests were made. His Highness the Maharana was appealed to, and he very generously directed that the matter should be enquired into.

The Mysore University.

The Mysore University, says a writer in the *Hindustan Review*, is the highest and most valuable achievement of the present administration which will endure to the end of Mysore histroy and tend to alter its phase for its betterment as no other institution would. But we must wait for full results as the Presidency Universities have done for at least half a century.

The next great move is the introduction of the compulsory education in the State, the encouragement of technical education in various ways, the development of female education and the special concessions granted to the education of the backward classes. The results are bound to be slow and the usual complaints about want of openings for the men and women trained will become louder and louder. But the working and the thinking capacity, and even the agitating power of the people will increase when they take full advantage of the facilities now offered.

New Dewan of Cochin.

Rao Bahadur T. Vijiaraghava Chari, who has been appointed Dewan of Cochin, took charge of his office on the 3rd instant.

Mr. Vijiaraghava Chari is one of the senior members of the Madras Provincial Civil Service and has had a varied and successful career. Among numerous appointments he has held successively are those of Revenue officer of the Madras Corporation, Secretary to the Board of Revenue in the Settlement Department, Secretary to the Indian Officers' Association, Vice-President of the Madras Government Servants' Co-operative Society and Vice-President of the Madras Social Service League. He has been twice Secretary to the Madras Industrial Exhibition, and was selected for special duty in the Department of Industries in 1918 where he continued up to November.

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The Transvaal Indians.

Mr. Gandhi has addressed the following letter to the Press:

"The cable received by me from Mr. Aswant, Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association, shows that a revival of "Satyagraha" with all the attendant suffering, is imminent in South Africa. Unless the danger that threatens to overwhelm the Indians of the Transvaal is averted by prompt and effective action by the Government of India, and, if necessary, by the public also, the situation warrants a repetition of Lord Hardinge's action and the immediate despatch to South Africa of a mission consisting of a distinguished civilian and an equally distinguished Indian publicist. What is that situation? The Precious and Brass Metal Act referred to in the cable affects the gold area of the Transvaal in the largest part of its Indian population. Krugersdrop is an important town near Johannesburg and contains many Indian merchants, some of them owning stock probably worth three lakhs of rupees. If no relief is provided, it means ruin for the merchants and for those residing in the whole of the gold area. The goal of the Union Government seems to be, as has been openly declared by several Union statesmen, to reduce its Indian settlers to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. It is possible that the Court's interpretation is correct. If so, the Act itself must be changed, and the Indian community must be saved, not merely because of their status as British subjects, but also because of the Passive Resistance Settlement of 1914, which protects vested or existing rights. The judgment is a direct attack upon Indian liberty. In pursuance of the policy referred to by me the Government want further to harass the community throughout the Union by refusing facilities for the conservation of its present Indian population. They cannot remain in it if they may not receive occasional visitors, if on the death of a propertied man his trusted relatives may not enter the Union in order to administer his affairs. I can understand the dominant community in South Africa not wishing to have an unlimited influx of people alien to them in civilisation, but it is impossible to understand a policy of ruthless extermination side by side with a profession of loyalty to a common Empire. Moreover, this refusal to issue temporary permits is a breach of the Settlement. It has been all along understood that temporary permits would be granted whenever necessity arose. Surely, nobody could question it in the late Mr. Mahomed Isac's case, quoted by Mr. Aswant in the cablegram. Reference to the late Mr. Gokhale in this connection is a libel on a sacred name. After the termination of the interview, Mr. Gokhale came directly to the hotel where we were staying. I had the privilege of being his Secretary and he related to me the whole of the conversation between the Ministers and himself, and there was not a word about his having consented to a stoppage of temporary permits under any circumstances whatsoever. He had no authority to enter into any agreement. He went only to learn and to plead. Your readers will recall that at the historic meeting held in Bombay upon his return from South Africa, he declared publicly that he had no authority to negotiate a settlement and that he had agreed to nothing. As representing the Indian community I was a party to the settlement of 1914. If any such agreement had been made surely, it would at least have formed part of the many discussions between General Smuts and myself. It is worthy of note that General Smuts is not now in South Africa. If he was asked I doubt not that he would repudiate Col. Shawe's allegation. The cablegram adds that there are many other harassments going on throughout the Union. We are supposed to be on the eve of embarkation upon Reforms that are to eventuate in the near future full responsible government. What answer has India to give to Mr. Aswant's pathetic appeal? The hundred thousand Indians of the Union have a right to look up to the Government of India and the people for protection of their elementary rights.

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Tata Industrial Bank.

At the first general meeting of the Tata Industrial Bank held at Bombay on Feb. 30, the reply of the Directors up to 31st December last was presented. The profits of the bank in the first few months working on that date amounted to four lakhs sixty thousand rupees on a paid up capital of seventy lakhs and the working capital amounted to over four crores thirty seven lakhs. The chairman of the bank, Sir Dorab Tata, in his speech, said the greater part of the bank's business so far had been ordinary banking business as done by ordinary banks. If the bank has not been able to act up to its name as an industrial bank, it was due to want of necessary men and machinery to scrutinise and report upon industrial propositions as much as to lack of really sound propositions. Now with the end of the war and the return of more normal times he hoped propositions of a more natural and permanent character would be submitted to the bank. He assured shareholders in this connection that the bank on its own part would not merely wait for propositions to turn up, but would also take the initiative itself and find out profitable channels for employment of its resources in industrial investment.

The Trade of India.

The report published by the Department of Statistics, reviewing India's trade in 1917-18, roughly points out future developments and lines on which progress in trade is likely to take. The report says: Three years ago few of us dreamt that India being far distant from the Titanic struggle in Europe would have experienced great changes that have taken place in her commerce and industry. In commerce continuous demands on the part of the Allies stimulated the export of commodities of vital national importance and at the same time altered the direction of trade in the industry. * * * * In the direction of India's trade the effect of the war has been to increase the trade of India with other parts of the British Empire. A most interesting feature in regard to the direction of trade is the large increase in trade with Japan and United States. When the long list of imports at the present time is examined, the progress in our trade with Japan cannot be termed other than phenomenal. In 1917-18 the total trade with Japan exceeded that with other countries except United Kingdom and was valued at Rs. 52 crores. This was an increase of 400 per cent. in imports and 103 percent. in exports over pre-war average. The value of trade with United States had grown to twice what it was in the pre-war period, being second only to that with Japan. Half of the import trade with United States was made up of iron steel and mineral oil, while the trade with Japan was chiefly in the import of cotton manufactures, matches, silk manufactures and glassware and in the export of raw cotton.

Import of Pulses.

The Director of Civil Supplies, Madras, writes:

The Director of Civil Supplies, Bengal, informs me that dal and pulses are imported into Calcutta from up-country markets in Bengal, for re-export to this presidency. If you can get into touch with these up-country markets in Bengal and draw supplies direct from them instead of *via* Calcutta, it would mean considerable saving of railway wagons. I shall in future give preference to applications for priority certificates for pulses direct from up-country markets in Bengal, over applications for pulses from Calcutta.

Cocoanut Industry.

Work in connection with the establishment of the cocoanut industry at Ernakulam is being pushed on with great rapidity. There is some delay in setting up the machinery as nearly 4,000 to 5,000 tons of materials have to arrive from America. The industry is to be mainly built with machinery from America and managed chiefly by Americans.

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AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Indian Agriculture.

Much of the work turned out by the Agricultural Departments in India consists of the prevention of diseases and of scientific research, the results of which are not immediately apparent. Two striking statements relating to the increased money yield of particular crops may, however, be cited from Mr. MacKenna's comprehensive report on the progress of agriculture in India in 1917-18 which has just been published. Most of the Indian wheats, the Agricultural Adviser points out, are of low quality and consequently fetch low prices in the markets of the world. The straw is also weak. The object aimed at in the experiments in wheat-breeding accordingly is to combine high grain quality with increased yielding power and a strong straw. In regard to the introduction of the American variety of cotton seed known as 4 in the canal colonies of the Punjab we are told that at a very moderate valuation the extra gain to the Punjab cultivators of this cotton in the present year is at least Rs. 60 lakhs. Work on the evolution of better types still goes on and it is possible that a better variety than 4 will be forthcoming. Results such as these must demonstrate even to the unimaginative what the application of science to agriculture may ultimately mean to India.

Cinemas and Agriculture.

Realising the value of moving pictures as a publicity medium for illustrating the natural resources of the Dominions and the national value of industrial development, the Canadian Government and the Industrial Reconstruction Association are undertaking a comprehensive scheme of moving-picture propaganda. The latter body is issuing an initial half-a-dozen pictures, to be followed by others, as the activities of the Association develop. The first series of pictures will include:—

(*a*) The Woollen Industry—showing flocks and grazing lands in Western Canada, and tracing various processes of manufacture to the finished woollen and knitted products.

(*b*) The Pulp and Paper Industry-depicting first the timber resources of British Columbia and working through various stages of lumbering activity to paper making, book binding, printing, etc.

(*c*) Grain and Milling—illustrating successive stages of wheat production, sowing, harvesting to elevators. Other pictures will show successive stages of manufacture through the flour mills and shipping for export.

(*d*) The Iron and Steel Industry—showing the mineral resources of the country and mining process, with shipments of raw material and stages of manufacture.

(*e*) The Packing Industry—depicting Western stockyards, the raising, etc., of hogs and cattle.

(*f*) Agricultural Implements—illustrating manufacture, shipment, and operation.

Agricultural Education.

At the Imperial Council the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma asked:—"Was a supplementary grant of £200,000 made for technical and agricultural education during 1918-19? If so, how has this grant been utilised?"

The Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill replied:—"The answer is in the affirmative. Out of the total grant of £200,000, £ 60,000 have been allotted for technical education and £140,000 for agricultural education. The latter amount has also been supplemented by a sum of £120,000 representing the balance available from the profits which accrued from the scheme for the purchase and export of wheat on Government account. The grant for technical education has this year been given for non-recurring objects only and the distribution has been made with reference to schemes which were ready or appeared feasible. The grant for agricultural education was made with the object of starting some of the most urgent schemes for the improvement of agricultural education.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS

[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

The aims of Labour. By the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M. P., Headley Bros, London.

Labour in Great Britain as elsewhere is no longer a negligible factor but one to be reckoned with as a great and compelling force in the polity of the future. Already the ideals of Labour are transcending the merely patriotic and national standpoint. Labour is becoming an international Brotherhood, thanks to the genius of its leaders heralding the advent of a league of peace. In this pamphlet Mr. Henderson, Secretary of the British Labour Party, has touched on some of the most vital problems of labour and the social and political ideals which inspire British labour in particular with the deft and unerring vision of a practical statesman. He writes delightfully of the coming together of a "powerfully organised movement to achieve a new freedom and to establish on this earth, drenched with men's blood, torn with men's struggle wet with human tears, a fairer ideal of life."

Shri Rupkala. By A. B. Narayan Sinha, translator, Patna High Court.

This is a short sketch of the life and activities of His Holiness Shri Vaishnavaratna Swami Shri Sita Ram Sharan Bhagwan Prasadji Rupkala of Ayodhya, by one of his ardent disciples, Mr. Sinha. The book deals with the various stages in the Swamiji's life, such as Vidyarthi, the householder, the Bhakta, the author, etc., and Mr. Sinha also mentions some of his personal reminiscences which form interesting reading.

Indian Directory—Delhi. Edited and compiled by Harnarayan Prasad, B. A. Published by the Encylopaedic Indian Directory and Co., Allahabad. Price Rupee one.

The publishers of this useful book have collected together in this one volume all information of general interest regarding Delhi. The tourist as well as the student of history and archaeology will find this book immensely helpful.

The Indian Year Book: 1919. Edited by Sir Stanley Reed, Bennett Coleman and Co., Lt., (can he had of G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras) Rs. 6.

The wide popularity of this useful book of reference is evidenced by the fact that it is sold out every year within a few months of its publication. And the demand is deservedly increasing. The current number is a distinct improvement on the previous editions. Special attention has been given to questions arising out of the war and the chapter on "India and the War" is an instructive record of our war efforts. Prominence has also been given to leading political questions like the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, the Industrial Commission's reports, and proceedings of the Congress, Moslem League and the Moderate Conference. Another admirable feature is the inclusion of a "Who's Who" which however is rather meagre. There are surprising omissions but we trust subsequent editions will be more full and copious.

The History of a Village Panchayat. By Mr. E. V. Sundara Reddi, M.A., B.L., The Kanara Press, Madras.

Mr. Sundara Reddi describes the constitution of a small village to illustrate the working basis of the Panchayat System and the facts and figures he has collected are so marshalled that a student of politics will find ample food for thought. The Panchayat has withstood the shock of falling dynasties and has preserved the integrity of the village from time immemorial from the fate of more pretentious cities which have shared the vicissitudes of proud capitals. Mr. Reddy's study of this vital unit of the Indian polity is at once thorough and scholarly and is fruitful of many a sound and helpful suggestion for the active politician.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

Feb. 20. His Majesty the Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan was assassinated at Laghman.

Feb. 21. The Ninth All-India Vedic and Unani Tebbi Conference opens to-day in Karachi.

Feb. 22. Lady Chelmsford lunches to-day with Their Majesties the King and Queen at the Buckingham Palace.

Feb. 23. Public meeting at Bombay to protest against the Rowlatt Bills.

A Reuter's message announces that Mr. Tilak has lost his case.

Feb. 24. Lord Sinha presides to-day at the Rhodes Lecture by Sir J. D. Rees.

President Wilson arrived at Boston.

Feb. 25. Lord Ronaldshay presided at the Annual convocation of the East Bengal Saraswat Samaj at Dacca.

Lord Sinha takes his seat in the House of Lords.

Feb. 26. Professor Limaye of Fergusson College died to-day at Bandra.

Feb. 27. H. E. Lord Ronaldshay opened the Social Service Exhibition at Dacca.

The Government of Madras forfeited to-day the security of the *Desabhaktan*, a Tamil daily of Madras.

Feb. 28. Mahatma Gandhi's letter to the Press condemning the Rowlatt Bills.

The Inter-Allied Mission of Poland meets the German Representatives to-day to discuss the future of Poland.

Mar. 1. Sir James Meston presents the Financial Statement for the year 1918–19.

Mar. 2. A mass meeting is held to-day at Benares to protest against the Rowlatt Bills.

Mar. 3. H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir lunched with Their Majesties the King and Queen.

Mr. H. N. Apte, ex-President of the Poona Municipality, died to-day.

Mar. 4. Lord Sinha delivers his maiden speech in the House of Lords.

Mr. Gandhi arrives at Delhi to-day to see the Viceroy in connection with the Black Bills.

Mar. 5. Mr. Johnson apologises in Court with reference to the case brought against him for throwing the Saraswati image into the dustbin.

Mar. 6. H. E. Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay, addresses the students at the Wilson College Annual Day.

Mar. 7. The Calcutta High Court Vakils' Association holds a protest meeting against the Rowlatt Bills.

Mar. 8. Sir William Vincent presents to-day the report of the Select Committee on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

Mar. 9. H. E. the Governor of Bombay opens the Naval Exhibition in Bombay to-day.

Mar. 10 A public meeting was held under the presidency of Lord Ronaldshay at Calcutta for the purpose of considering steps to be taken to perpetuate the memory of the late Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

Mar. 11. A public meeting of Bombay ladies held to-day at Chinabagh to protest against the Rowlatt Bills.

Mar. 12. A garden party was given at Metcalfe House, Delhi, by the Maharaja of Darbhanga on behalf of the Landholder's Association in honour of the Viceroy.

Mar. 13. The All-India Zamindars' Conference meets to-day under the presidentship of the Maharaja of Darbhanga.

Mar. 14. Admiral and Lady Jellicoe landed at Apollo Bander at 5 this evening.

March 15. The Madras Teachers' Guild Conference was opened to-day by His Excellency the Governor.

March 16. The Calcutta Provincial Congress Committee held a Conference to-day and approved of the policy of Passive Resistance.

March 17. A public meeting was held at Madras to protest against the Rowlatt Bills.

March 18. Madras Moderates have issued a manifesto against Passive Resistance.

The Rowlatt Bill has been passed into law.

The Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma resigns his membership of the Viceregal Council.

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Literary

Gandhi's Message to the "Independent."

Mr. Gandhi addressed the following words to the conductors of the new daily organ at Allahabad, *The Independent* :—

"In wishing you success in your new enterprise, I would like to say how I hope your writings would be worthy of the title you have chosen for your journal, and may I further hope that to a robust independence you will add an equal measure of self-restraint and the strictest adherence to truth? Too often in our journals, as in others, do we get fiction instead of fact, and declamation in place of sober reasoning. You would make "The Independent" a power in the land and a means of education for the people by avoiding the errors I have drawn attention to."

The World's Press.

The following shows that the Press in all the civilized countries is free but in India :—

England.—Complete Freedom of the Press.

Scotland.—Press is Free.

Ireland.—Seizure of a newspaper is provided for, but there is nothing like depositing security at the inception of a paper.

U. S. A.—The Constitution of 1867 secures liberty of the Press.

British Colonies.—Press is Free.

Hungary.—The Constitution of 1867 secures liberty of the Press.

Belgium.—By the Belgian Constitution of 7th Feb. 1831 it is declared that the Press is free.

Brazil.—By Art. 179 of 1824 every one is entitled to publish his thoughts.

Argentine Republic.—Liberty of the Press is one of the rights secured by the Constitution.

Chili.—Liberty of the Press is secured by the Constitution.

Denmark.—In 1849 the Press was declared free.

France.—With the republic, the Press has been made free.

Germany.—The Law affirms liberty of the Press.

Greece.—Press is Free.

Holland.—Press has been free for very long.

Italy.—By Art. 27 of the Political Code of Sardinia, granted by Charles Robert, on 4th March, 1848, and still in force, the Press is free.

Mexico.—Liberty of writing and publishing is inviolable.

Norway.—Liberty of Press is secured by the Constitution.

Ottoman Empire.—By Art. 12 of the Constitution of 23rd December, 1876, the Press was recognised as free.

Portugal.—Liberty is secured to the Press.

Rumania.—Liberty is secured by the Constitution.

Spain.—Press is free.

Sweeden.—Liberty of the Press is declared to be the privilege of every Swede.

Switzerland.—Liberty of the Press is secured by the Constitution.

Editor of the "Times"

Mr. Geoffrey Dawson has resigned the editorship of *Times* and is succeeded by Mr. Henry Wickham Steed. Mr. Dawson, in a letter to Mr. John Walter, Chairman of the *Times* Company, says, he has been awaiting his arrival from Spain in order to tender his resignation, which he had been considering for some weeks ever since it became clear that Lord Northcliffe was constantly dissatisfied with the policy of the *Times* because it deferred from his own expressions of opinion in the other newspapers.

The "Panchama."

We welcome the *Panchama*, a new monthly Journal, published from Hyderabad (Deccan) by Mr. J. Muthayya. The journal is devoted to the uplift of the depressed classes of India. The subscription is only Rs. 1-8-0 a year.

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Educational

Sir Rabindranath on Education.

In the February number of *The Mysore Economic Journal*, Mr. V. Subramania Aiyar, B. A., gives a succinct summary of the views of Sir Rabindranath Tagore on some educational problems, which he jotted down at private conversations with him :—

Universities

While the Assistant Professors for the routine work of the University classes may be appointed in consideration of their academical titles and diplomas, Professors for higher work must be selected on the basis of unique merit—men who have to be leaders and directors of thought and given unquestionable proof of their genius and originality. The best method of selection is by sending for best men available, asking them to deliver courses of lectures and selecting the best among them. Those who are so selected must be bound by a condition that within three years they should produce some original work. The system of exchanging Professors for short periods must be adopted. Good salaries must also be paid.

As regards selection of men for Specialisation, it is only when young men have been in close touch with professors with originality of thought, that their merits and aptitudes for original work can be known. And this can be judged best not by ordinary lecturers, usually known as Professors ; but by those who have done original or research work. There should be travelling scholarships to enable research students to visit different provinces of India. The subjects of study ought to be selected according to the special taste of students where he can have free scope for manifesting originality. The medium of instruction should be, as far as possible, the vernaculars of India and the adoption of this principle should be gradual. Instruction in fine arts is an urgent necessity. The study of the Buddhistic and the Pali literature should be combined with a study of Sanskrit literature.

Women's Education.

Woman has a right to learn the sciences and arts that man learns, and to enter, as far as practicable, the walks of life that man usually seeks. The work of preservation and development of individuality of man can best be done only by woman, and she must, therefore, be trained for discharging this great duty of rearing up the real man of the future. The courses should be given in the vernacular.

Primary and Secondary Education

The teacher and the parents may give the child talks on various topics or subjects *incidentally* in the garden, on the road, at the dinner or elsewhere. Task work must be confined to only one subject. The mother tongue should be the medium of instruction.

Education in General

All educational development must proceed from within outwards. The aim must be to develop not only the *individual* aspect of the mind but also the *universal* or the *spiritual*. A sound educational system should provide for the development of variety without losing the hold or the basis of spiritual unity.

A Real Indian University

" There must be a place, if not in every province, at least in one centre in this vast country, to which the best intellects of India and even of the world outside, could be induced to resort, where they could meet, stay temporarily or permanently and impart their knowledge to the public. It will help to kill racial, sectarian, caste and other prejudices and be a real fountain of universal light. It is only Hindu States, whose rulers have in their veins flowing the ancient Aryan spiritual culture, based on 'unity' and universality that can realise its importance and organise a real university of this type, which will be India's educational contribution to the world's progress."

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Legal

The Tilak-Chirol Case.

The *Mahratta*, while regretting the recent decision in the Tilak-Chirol case, publishes the following:

There is, however, an appeal or two provided by law against this judgment, and those who know Mr. Tilak need not be assured that he will not rest till he has exhausted all the remedies still open to him for getting a judgment in his favour. The possibility of an appeal, which, we believe, must be already in course of presentation, requires that those who disapprove of it must observe reticence if not absolute silence.

The Rowlatt Bills.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in the course of an article in the *Indian Social Reformer*, discusses the question as to what should be the attitude of the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council towards the Rowlatt Bills. He says that the *temporary* character of the measure is a "concession" to public opinion, but he also admits that the concession is "only partial and does not satisfy the conditions of the constitution to justify at least the Indian non-official members of the Council in resting satisfied with the concession made and according their support to the law as a temporary measure". The Indian non-officials are, he says, "exponents of the general will of the country" and they should refuse support to the measures.

"That is the test for them; and they are entitled, on the ground of recognised constitutional principles, to urge that the constitution of the Government should be popularised first in the direction of Responsible Government before they can share the responsibility of such laws with the Executive in a time of peace. If, under the present system of Government, and before Mr. Montagu's Reforms take effect and admit the people *into* the administration and make them responsible for it, the Legislative Council passes the Rowlatt Bills, whether with the support of the Indian members or by an official majority without that support, the Legislature will be passing the law under the guise of authority from public opinion, when that opinion is really opposed to the measure. The charge has been brought against the Indian members of the Council by some that those members have opposed the Bills because they fear that if they support the measures they will lose their popularity. The *Pioneer* makes much of that. Even assuming it is so, what does that argument come to? It means that these measures are *unpopular*. And if they are, the Indian members as representatives of the people, will be going against public opinion should they support the measures."

Women and Hindu Law.

The *Calcutta Weekly Notes* writes:—

The denial of civil rights to women in India has never been so rigid as it was in England half a century ago when John Stuart Mill wrote his famous essay on the Subjection of Women. The Hindu law hardly attached any disqualification in respect of civil rights of women in India. It is also well-known that large properties are managed by Hindu widows as life-owners. Hindu women are also absolute owners of their *stridhan* properties. They are ordinarily the absolute mistresses of their own household and possess business capacity to a remarkable degree. In point of intelligence and in their knowledge of men and affairs, they are in no way inferior to their European sisters and they often possess stronger common sense than men. It would be a shame to say that they are incapable of exercising their right of vote. We hope therefore that none of the Commissioners will bring upon himself the odium of opposing this proposal for the conferment of a very elementary civic right on the women rate-payers of Calcutta.

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Medical

A Ministry of Health.

At a recent meeting of the Council of the Royal Sanitary Institute, England, the following resolution was passed :—

"The health of the people being of paramount importance in the progress of the nation, the Council of the Royal Sanitary Institute have noted with great satisfaction the progress that has been made and the valuable work accomplished during the past fifty years by the various departments dealing with public health.

"The rapid development under present conditions of the many subsidiary factors affecting the question, and the complexity of the interests involved, make it essential, for the effective continuance and development of the work, that so far as possible all matters relating to public health should be co-ordinated in one department as a Ministry of Health.

"The Council therefore desire to urge that the matter is one of pressing public importance, and trust that it may receive the early attention of His Majesty's Government."

Lung Operations.

The remarkable operations upon the lungs carried out by Col. Pierre Duval, of the French Reserve Medical Corps, are claimed to have been followed by complete recovery in two-thirds of the patients. A six-inch opening through the ribs being made, the injured lung is drawn through the aperture with forceps, and is then manipulated like a sponge with one hand, while the other hand ties severed blood-vessels, cleanses the surface, and swabs out the inner tracts with gauze. By feeling over the whole organ, bullets and bits of shell are found and removed. Portions of the lung that have been torn are cut away, and the wounds are sutured.

The Ayurvaidik Conference.

The Ayurvaidik and Unani Tibbi Conference was held this year at Karachi under the presidentship of the well-known Unani Practitioner, Hakim Muhammad Ajmal Khan of Delhi. The President said in the course of his address that the Ayurvaidik and Unani systems were based on scientific principles and laws and that their component parts were governed by a regulated system. After referring to the main branches into which the Indian systems have been divided, he proceeded :—

If eastern or Indian systems of medicines are called unscientific because, for example, they do not possess a detailed information about bacteriology as is to be found in the Western system, I should like to enquire of my narrow-minded and prejudiced friends, that if this or any other changes of the same kind, entitle the Western system to be termed scientific to-day, are they prepared to acknowledge that before the introduction of these changes and new discoveries, their own systems were unscientific. More than this, they will be compelled to admit that according to this principle they cannot call the Western system scientific even to-day, because they see that the constant efforts of the nations of the world are adding some new facts to the existing stock of the world's knowledge in which is included the knowledge of the medical science also. Changes and improvements are taking place daily and therefore every science, which has been subject to them, will appear to be unscientific until such change or improvement. My answer to these critics will be that the shortcomings mentioned above are not sufficient to debar any branch of knowledge from admission into the Court of Science. Otherwise without doubt we shall hesitate in pinning the medal of science on the chest of the Western system of medicine, in the same way as we shall hesitate to put the garland of praise and honour round the neck of the Eastern systems.

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Science

Is The Earth Drying Up ?

Many authorities recognise the fact that the earth is slowly losing its moisture. How this can occur is partially explained by Professor C. F. von Herrmann, by the action of electrical discharges in decomposing water vapour. One of the component gases, hydrogen, is very light and rises to the upper limits of the earth's atmosphere, where it is ultimately thrown off. This loss of hydrogen means in the long run a loss of water. The decomposition of the earth's moisture, with final loss, is also brought about by other agencies, notably the effect of the light-rays of the upper part of the spectrum.

Dr. Karl Stoeckel says :—" It is believed that the ultra-violet rays of sunlight which fall upon the water vapour suspended in the lower strata of the earth's atmosphere, decomposed a small part of it to produce hydrogen, which rises to great heights."

On this Prof. von Herrmann comments as follows :—" I do not think it has been pointed out before that the earth's surface must be continuously losing hydrogen through the decomposition of water vapour by every flash of lightning. Pickering and others have recognised the hydrogen lines in the spectrum of lightning, and the larger works on meterology mention the fact that lightning flashes decompose some water. . . . . The hydrogen formed by every lightning flash rises rapidly to the upper atmosphere and is lost to the earth.

" Considering the frequency of thunder storms during the summer seasons in both hemispheres, and at all times in the equatorial regions, the loss of hydrogen in this way cannot be considered as insignificant. As long as conditions upon the earth remain such as to render thunderstorms possible, the slow desiccation of the earth must continue. "—*Popular Science Siftings.*

A most Uncanny Clock.

A most uncanny clock is in the possession of an Indian prince. It has no dial, only a round dice, to which numerous little bells are attached. Its mere sight at every full hour is sufficient to strike awe into nervous persons. For this uncanny clock indicates the hour by uniting, as with a magic hand, into a skeleton a number of bones heaped about it. This skeleton then seizes a bone and strikes with it at the bells as often as are hours to be indicated. This done, the skeleton falls again to pieces. £1,000 was recently offered for the clock, but the owner could not be induced to sell it.

Wireless and the Cable Service.

The War has developed wireless commercially as well as scientifically. The normal load on the cables during the War has been about 200,000 words a day between Europe and America, and the radio stations have been able to relieve the cables of much official routine.

Rapid communication with America was a matter of supreme importance for General Pershing and for sometime the absence of proper communications considerably hampered him. It was owing to his urgent representations that the " Lafayettee " station at Bordeaux, the largest and most powerful wireless station in the world, was erected by the American navy. The power of the station is twelve hundred kilwoatts, and it provides absolutely trustworthy communication at any period of the year.

Of other features in the advancement of this fascinating science that of wireless telephony will most astonish the public when the results become known. One informant described a conversation with an aeroplane some fifty miles distant, in which the human voice was loud and distinguishable, even to the smallest inflection, as if the speaker had been in a room with his listener. For instance, it was clear that he had not learnt English west of the Atlantic or south of the Tweed.

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Personal

"Moderate" Deputation to England.

The following is the personnel of the deputation to England on behalf of the Moderate party :—

The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, Sir Benoda Chandra Mitter, Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. N. M. Samarth, the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the Hon. Provash Chandra Mitter, the Hon. Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay, the Hon. Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi, the Hon. Dr. A. Suhrawardy, Sir Vitthaldas D. Thackersey, Mr. M. V. Joshi, Mr. W. A. Chambers, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, and Mr. K. C. Roy.

To assist this deputation and to promote the cause of Indian constitutional Reform, arrangements are being made to form in England an influential committee consisting of prominent British statesmen.

The following additional names, to form the second batch, have also been announced :—The Hon'ble the Maharaja of Kassimbazar, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, Dr. Sir Nilratan Sarkar, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Nawab Syed Allafal of Bogra, Mr. D. C. Ghose, Mr. J. N. Roy, Prithvis Chandra Roy, Rev. Mr. Nag of London Baptist Mission, Rai Sahib A. P. Patro and Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon.

The Late Mr. H. N. Apte.

Mr. H. N. Apte, ex-President of the Poona Municipality and a famous Marathi novelist, died of dropsy on March 3, at Anandashram, Poona. He was an intimate friend and devoted follower of the late Mr. Ranade and Mr. Gokhale. He was the Secretary of the Deccan Sabha for a long time and took a prominent part in politics. He was a Fellow of the Bombay University and for several years Examiner in Marathi.

The Late Prof. Limaye.

We are deeply grieved to record the death of Prof. Limaye of the Fergusson College. He died suddenly at Bandra during a brief sojourn to Bombay in connection with the proposed college in Salsette of which he was to have been the Principal. Readers of the *Indian Review* will remember his scholarly criticism of Prof. Kincaid's "History of the Maratha People" in our December number. Prof. Limaye was a scholar in the best sense of the term, equipped with a vast and varied knowledge coupled with a temper of singular amiability and remarkable powers of persuasion. In his death the Deccan Education Society loses one of the most devoted and successful of its members.

Sir Dinsha Wacha's Retirement.

We regret to observe that Sir Dinsha Wacha is retiring from the Bombay Corporation and is not seeking re-election from the Ford Ward, says the *Times of India*. While, as a man who is completing his three quarters of a century, he might well sing his *Nunc dimittis* and seek to shift to younger shoulders the burden of municipal life he has borne so long and so well, he will be a great loss to the Corporation which has owed much to him in these latter years owing to his long and intimate experience of civic life. Whatever might be said of his early career in the Corporation, during his old age, especially since the death of Sir P. M. Mehta, he has been its *praesidium et dulce decus*, and his disappearance from it will be felt as a distinct loss for a considerable time. This withdrawal from the Corporation does not mean, we hope, Sir Dinsha's retirement from public life. In Indian politics just now, a leading man of his moderation and political sanity is much required, and it is to be hoped that he will continue his political activities. Probably when relieved of his municipal duties, he will find greater leisure for politics.

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Political

Under-Secretaries for India.

The following list of parliamentary under-Secretaries for India from 1858 to day will be found interesting at this moment :—

1. Mr. Henry James Baillie : 1858-59.
2. Mr. T. G. Baring (afterwards Lord Northbrook, Viceroy) : 1859-61.
3. Earl de Grey and Ripon (afterwards the Marquis of Ripon, Viceroy) ; 1861.
4. Mr. T. G. Baring (afterwards Lord Northbrook), *second time* : 1861-64.
5. Lord Wodehouse (afterwards the Earl of Kimberley, Secretary of State) : 1864.
6. Lord Dufferin and Clandeboye (afterwards the Marquis of Dufferin, Viceroy) : 1864-66.
7. Mr. James Stansfield : 1866.
8. Sir James Fergusson (afterwards Governor of Bombay) : 1866-67.
9. Lord Clinton : 1867-68.
10. Mr. (afterwards Sir) M. E. Grant Duff (afterwards Governor of Madras) : 1868-74.
11. Lord George Hamilton (afterwards Secretary of State) : 1874-78.
12. The Hon. Edward Stanhope : 1878-80.
13. The Marquis of Lansdowne (afterwards Viceroy) : 1880.
14. Viscount Enfield (afterwards the Earl of Strafford) : 1880-83.
15. Mr. John Kynaston Cross : 1883-85.
16. Lord Harris (afterwards Governor of Bombay) : 1885-86.
17. Sir Ughtred Kay (afterwards Lord) Shuttleworth : 1886
18. Mr. Edward Stafford Howard : 1886.
19. Sir John Eldon Gorst : 1886-91.
20. The Hon. George Nathaniel (now Earl) (Curzon afterwards Viceroy) ; 1891-92.
21. Mr. George W. E. Russell : 1892-94.
22. Lord Reay (earlier, Governor of Bombay) ; 1894-95.
23. The Earl of Onslow : 1895-1901.
24. The Earl of Hardwicke : 1901-02.
25. Earl Percy : 1902-03.
26. The Earl of Hardwicke (second time) : 1903-04.
27. The Marquis of Bath : 1904-05.
28. Mr. John Edward Ellis ; 1905-07.
29. Mr. (now Sir) Charles Edward Henry Hobhouse : 1907-08.
30. Mr. Thomas Ryburn Buchanan : 1908-09.
31. The Master of Elibank (now Lord Murray of Elibank) : 1909-10.
32. Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu (now Secretary of State) : 1910-14.
33. Mr. Charles Henry Roberts : 1914-15.
34. Lord Islington : 1915-17.
35. *The Right Hon. Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha : 1919—*

Mr. Asquith and the Speakership.

The parliamentary correspondent of the "Daily Chronicle" states that there is a strongly expressed desire among Labour members that Mr. Asquith should be invited to accept the Speakership, on Mr. Lowther's retirement at Easter.

I do not think, adds the correspondent, he is at all likely to view the suggestion with favour ; but there is little doubt that he would have a unanimous invitation from all parties in the House if he expressed his willingness to accept the post. Should Mr. Asquith entertain the suggestion, there would be no difficulty about providing him with seat.

Judicial and Executive Functions.

The separation of executive and judicial functions, writes the *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, has long been demanded by public opinion in India with the support of weighty legal and judicial opinion both in this country and in England. With the advent of constitutional reforms, this demand is bound to become persistent, and we have little doubt that this question will have to be taken up before long.

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General

Mr. Gandhi on Patel's Bill.

Writing to the *Indian Social Reformer*, Mr. Gandhi observes:—In my opinion, the question specially as between Brahmins and Dheds does not arise in this connection at all. Dheds stand in the same relation to Brahmins as Kshatriyas, Vaishyas or Shoodras. Their peculiar disability is not affected either one way or the other by the Bill. If the Bill constitutes an attack upon *Varnashram*, as a believer in *Varnashram-dharma* I should oppose it. I am told by my orthodox friends that it does constitute such an attack. I am told by the supporters of the Bill that not only does it not interfere with *Varnashram*, but it merely seeks to restore the pre-British State of Hindu Law, which was wrongly interpreted by judges, who, being ignorant of it, were guided by biassed or corrupt Pandits. Both sides have very able lawyers. Without deciding one way or the other, I have suggested that the effect of the Bill should be restricted to intermarriages among sub-castes. This might satisfy the most ardent reformer at least as a first step, and would enable men like the Hon. Pandit Malaviya to support it.

War Memorial.

The "Matin" states that a Bill providing for a national war memorial has been laid before M. Clemenceau, who has given it his approval. The memorial is to consist of an immense series of galleries, halls, vestibules, and amphitheatres, with a total floor space of 4,500 square metres. These rooms will be hung with 1,040,000 portraits of men who have died for France grouped according to their regiments. The scheme provides for a Chair of History in connection with the war, as well as for a war museum and library. Busts of the great generals and one of M. Clemenceau himself will be conspicuous, and there will be stained-glass window and frescoes illustrating the famous battles of the great conflict.

The Satyagrahi.

An interesting article on "The Satyagrahi" appeared in a recent issue of the *Times of India*, and we take the following passages:

The Satyagrahi not only hates falsehood, sham and unfaithfulness, he seeks to learn the Truth and in his search for it as well as in his testimony to it he is ever careful to maintain a fervent charity. While he is prepared to sacrifice all for truth, he believes that bigotry is the betrayal of it. Truth should be tender, resembling a surgeon's instrument rather than a highwayman's bludgeon. Its chief purpose is to heal and not to wound. Sometimes in opposition to falsehood and error, it may have a painful operation to perform, but the Satyagrahi like the surgeon will be careful to prevent the least chance of poisoning during or after the operation. As the surgeon washes his instrument in an antiseptic, so the Satyagrahi will bathe truth in love to keep it from rankling in the heart of anyone. If we have a cause to plead or a truth to propagate, we must not falsify our cause or discredit our truth by clumsiness of our methods and the bitterness of our speech. No good cause requires such advocacy and in the long run it cannot benefit much from it. Therefore in religion and in politics and in all else it is our duty to "deal truly, in love."

A Great Archaeologist.

To the Travancore Archaeological Department in particular and to South Indian Epigraphy in general, the death of Mr. Gopinath Rao, Superintendent of Archaeology in Travancore, must be irreparable. Mr. Gopinath Rao devoted the best portion of his life to the unravelling of the obsure history of Southern India and to the correct interpretation of the Architecture and kindred arts of ancient India. Mr. Gopinath enjoyed in a considerable measure the confidence and esteem of many scholars both Indian and European to whom the news of his death will be something of a deep personal bereavement.

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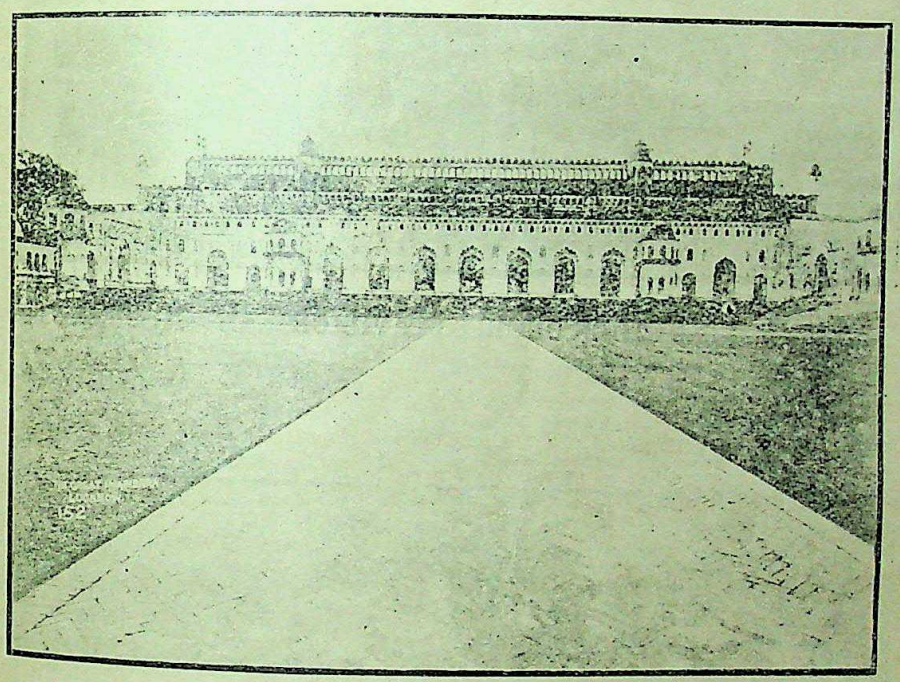

THE GREAT IMAMBARA, LUCKNOW

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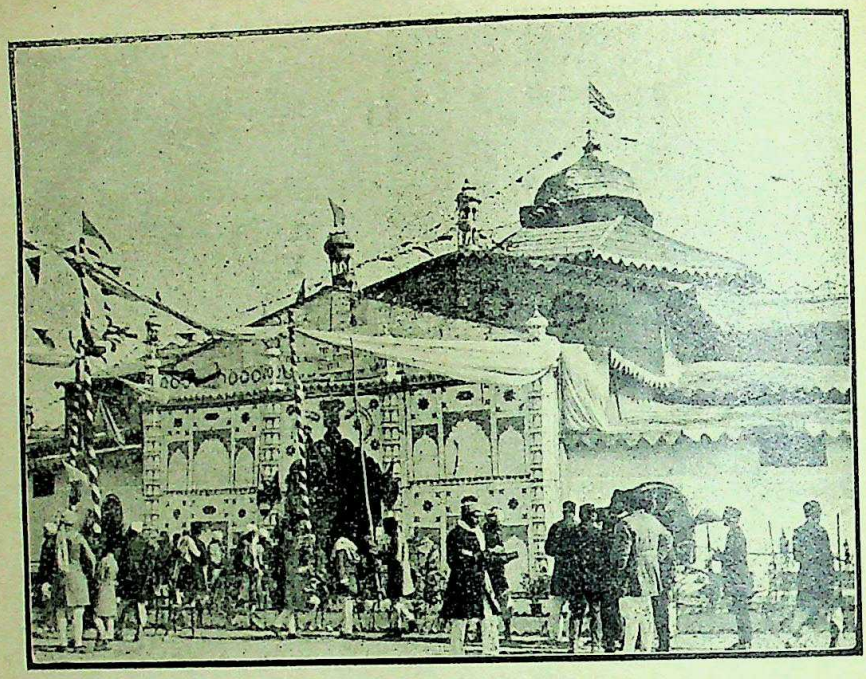

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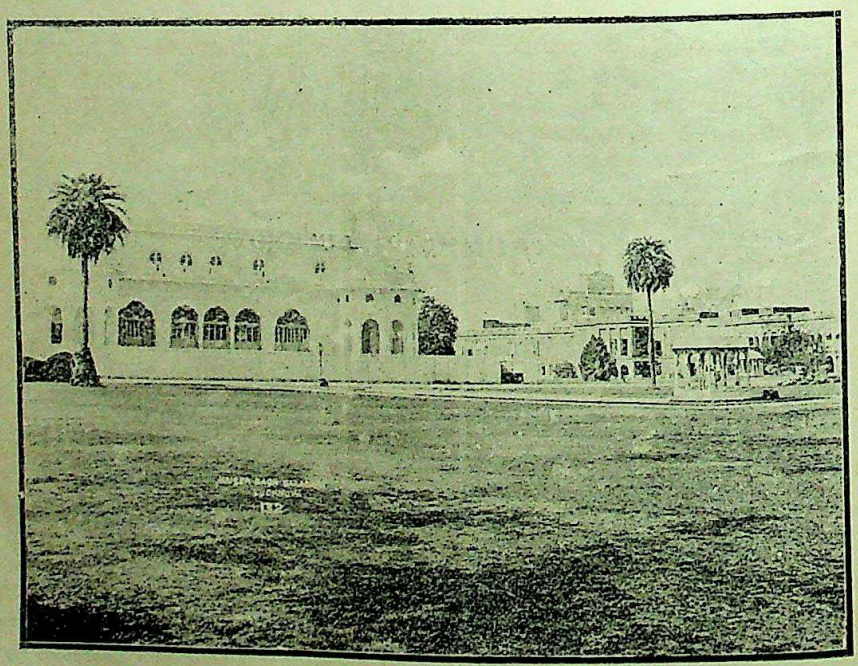

KAISERBAGH BARADARI, LUCKNOW
Where the Moslem League held its sittings

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.
PUBLISHED ABOUT THE THIRD WEEK OF EVERY MONTH.
EDITED BY G. A. NATESAN.

Vol. XVIII. JANUARY, 1917. No. 1.

POST-WAR REFORMS: A SYMPOSIUM.

are publishing in this issue the second instalment of the Symposium on Post-War Reforms mmenced in the December Number of *The Indian Review*. Owing to pressure of space, we regret we e obliged to hold over a few more contributions on the subject to the succeeding number.—Ed. *I.R.*]

Sir Sidney Lee, LL.D.

I lack that personal knowledge of India which ould justify me in expressing an opinion on the tailed Scheme of Post-War Reforms submitted H. E. the Viceroy by nineteen elected non-ficial members of the Imperial Legislative Coun-l. I can only assure you that I earnestly hope ter the war to see adopted every measure which prudently calculated at one and the same time increase the prosperity and happiness of my dian fellow-subjects of the British Crown, and make for the additional security of the British mpire. *I am especially anxious that in any eme of Imperial Federation, India should be ard, through her chosen representatives, a place milar to that of the Self-Governing Dominions.* I trust after the war that I may be in a posi-n to accept an invitation, which has been given to lecture on literary themes in one or more the Universities of India, and thereby to come re closer touch than has yet been possible for e with the enlightenment of the Indian peoples.

Sir M. M. Bhownaggree.

In my opinion, nothing short of the privileges d rights enjoyed by other parts of the British pire will do for India, with every distinction race and colour at present in vogue eliminated. . . . . I look forward to the people of dia "taking their proper place in the comity nations side by side with the other children the British Empire." That, in brief, comprises at British citizenship means for the people India, adapted to their special circumstances interests.

It is likely that some scheme of an Imperial nature will be evolved as a result of the War. should make it perfectly plain that she es to have adequate representation on such y, and that matters touching her peculiar and interests must be controlled by her representatives there.

Mr. Amar Singh, Pleader, Punjab.

Apart from the intrinsic merits of the "Memorandum of Nineteen," the wholesome effect it will have on the Indian politicians is worth notice. The retrograde, the puppet, and the ornamental required a good deal of pulling up. With one masterly move the Nineteen have shown them their place. The Nineteen have proved that Indian politics can better do without them. The very bold decision of the Muslim League at Lucknow, in bidding "exit" to the reactionary spirits, has intensified the deterrent effect of the silent action of the Nineteen on the official-made leaders and those whose foremost aim is to grind their own axe.

Matters raising impressions of mistrust in the people by the Government, invidious distinctions which make people feel themselves foreigners in their own country: with a comparatively few honorable exceptions, the overbearing attitude of Europeans and those who pass as such towards the sons of the soil: indifference as to the safeguarding of the Indian interests abroad, are the four main factors which, I think, are the head and front of unrest in India. The Indian political movements are but a protest, not only against the form of government, but against the whole mental attitude of Anglo-India as well. Tardiness in eliminating these factors of discontentment has cast doubt on the *bonâ fides* of British Rule in India. The doubt has led to desperation which, in turn, set fire to the fuel of discontentment emblazening it into anarchical outrages.

The Memorandum places before the Government the real situation in a nutshell. Malady is no longer a secret—unrest is there, and there is the political crime. The Nineteen have suggested the remedy. The treatment rests with the Government. It is fortunate both for the people and Government to avail themselves of the suggestion.

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Mrs. Annie Besant.

The memorandum of the nineteen members of the Supreme Legislative Council, and the scheme passed by the National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, mark out the road of reforms which the Nation is determined to tread. The latter affords a workable scheme for a peaceable and easy transition from the present entirely irresponsible but partially representative Government to a Government responsible to the almost wholly representative Legislative Council. As the President of the National Congress pointed out, it is a transition scheme and should be regarded as such. The third clause of the Congress resolution marks the end of the transition, the entry of India into the proposed Imperial Council, as a Self-Governing Nation, equal in status to the Self-Governing Dominions.

The objection raised in the columns of this "Review" last December by Sir Valentine Chirol, in the words of Lord Hardinge, betrays a want of knowledge of the evolution of government in India, and I may say in passing, that those who worked out the scheme accepted last Christmas, had carefully studied the so-called "patient and steady evolution" of the Colonies, varied by revolts, mob agitation, and continual law suits against the Central Government. Patience was, perhaps, hardly a dominating factor. While revolts and mob agitation have been singularly absent in India, save for the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, it is unreasonable to ignore the successive reforms which have led up to the present demands; these cannot be regarded as requiring a "sudden stroke of statesmanship," but are, as in the Colonies, the inevitable sequence of past changes. The Colonies began as Crown Colonies with or without Executive Councils; then a nominated Legislative Chamber; then elected and nominated Chamber; then wholly elected, save for nominated Ministers. Refusal of supply led to responsible government, but without statutory basis. A "sudden stroke of statesmanship" gave an Act. In India, the process started with a trading charter in 1600. In 1669 a charter changed the trading company "to a territorial sovereign" (Ilbert): from 1765 to 1858, power was divided between Company and Crown, executive and legislative powers being in the hands of a Governor-General and Council; in 1833 an "additional member" of Council was added, only for legislation; in 1853, six members were added for legislation only, a germinal Legislative Council, and the original additional member was made ordinary, in 1858, the Crown took over Government, and in 1861 the Council was enlarged, half the additional members were to be non-official, and the Presidency Councils were given legislative powers: in 1892 the Councils were enlarged but were nominated: in 1909 they became partly elective, partly nominated. The process has been more "patient and steady" and much longer than in the Colonies; the new—asked for—four-fifths elected, one-fifth nominated"—is hardly "a sudden stroke of statesmanship," but rather a very modest demand, less than the step taken by the Colonies; yet this, accompanied by control of supply, as in the Colonies, will compel responsible government, as in the Colonies, without statutory action, for refusal of supply means a dead lock till the "irresponsible" government submits, and becomes responsible. The Act, as in the Colonies, will shortly follow the Reconstruction of the Empire, in order that India may take her place in the Imperial Council.

Hence the *vital* Post-War Reforms are: making the Councils four-fifths elective, and giving to these Councils the power of supply. All else is subsidiary. But unless these are gained, nothing of value is gained, and they must be gained in a form with which no Regulations made here can interfere.

We must, of course, stand by and agitate for the whole scheme, especially for the Muhammadan proportion in the electorates, for on this the union was made. Nothing less than the whole scheme should be accepted, for it forms the first step, and anything less would be marking time. The talk of "revolutionary changes" made shows ignorance of Indian constitutional history, and I humbly recommend to those who speak and write in this way the reading of Ilbert's *The Government of India*.

It seems to me unnecessary to put forward any Post-War Reforms except the United Scheme. Obtaining that, we obtain power to repeal all the obnoxious and repressive laws which disgrace our Statute-Book, and to place on it the beneficent legislation necessary for Indian prosperity. We can then adjust taxation, regulate expenditure, educate our people, foster our industries, improve our agriculture. It is unwise to dissipate energy over many reforms when one reform, that of legislatures, will give us power. Let us concentrate on the Congress-League Scheme and carry it to a triumphant conclusion.

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Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon.

(*Editor, "The Indian Patriot," Madras.*)

The proposals formulated by the Indian National Congress are more or less on the lines sketched in the Memorandum submitted by the 19 elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council, which has been vigorously and even sarcastically attacked by Lord Sydenham. Indian politicians have wondered at the attitude and temper of Lord Sydenham, who belongs not to the Civil Service, but to a class of statesmen preferred by Indians for their liberal views and larger ideas, for freedom from local prejudices, and for their ability to take a detached view of Indian affairs. That such a man should come forward to declare opinions which are so reactionary in their character and so despotic in their tendency, would surprise Indians. We fail to see what it is that has shocked him so much, whether it is the claim to enlarge the Legislative Councils or to the proposal to enlarge the Executive Councils so as to enable Indians to influence in a larger and more effective manner the policy of the Government. The question is, whether it is desirable and expedient to allow due power to Indians to increasingly influence the policy of the Government. It is not proposed to make the decision of either body final. It may be vetoed by the Governor or Viceroy, as the case may be, and finally by the Secretary of State. There is no danger of the Empire being imperilled by allowing Indians to participate in the government of the country with some certainty of the prevalence of their opinion, if the head of Government agrees with them. Indians and Europeans being equally divided, it is the opinion of the head of the Government that will decide any issue in regard to which there is a difference of opinion between the two wings of the Executive Council. It is the latter that initiates and shapes policy; and in initiating and shaping policy, Indian opinion should have as much weight as European. When if the two are antagonistic, the head of the Government will be able to determine which side he should support. Lord Sydenham seems to be startled by the number of members proposed for the Legislative Councils. That Indian opinion should prevail is the policy of Lord Morley's Reform Act, so far as Provincial Legislative Councils are concerned. Such opinion should be obtained on a broad basis, namely out of larger electorates, but also of wider representation. Perhaps it may be well to recall the constitution of the Council, as proposed by Charles Bradlaugh. Bradlaugh's proposal far exceeded the number that is now proposed. For a Council to be constituted on behalf of about 40 millions, the number proposed is too small. For the Imperial Council the strength proposed is not excessive, remembering that it is to act on behalf of the whole of British India. Mere numbers would not effect the powers of the Council, but only the proportion of official and non-official strength. If all interests and all shades of opinion are to be represented, it is essential to substantially enlarge the Council. In view of the extensive area and population, even a strength of 500 would not at all be too large. What Indians claim and feel that they are justified in claiming is that their opionion must be capable of being effectively asserted. That is in accordance with the policy which Lord Hardinge claimed to have followed, namely, of governing in India in accordance with the wishes of the people. Lord Sydenham belongs to the opposite school, which maintains that in the government of India, the British, and not Indian, view ought to prevail. He maintains that India should ever remain dependent, that Indians should be, not equal subjects of the King, but subjects of those who rule India. On such a question, it is not to be expected that Indians will surrender their claim. They may be thwarted by the efforts of men like Lord Sydenham. But they will persist in pressing their claim until it is granted.

Lord Sydenham is against even granting them the right of volunteering and the right of getting commissions in the army. On what intelligible ground can he justify such denial, except that Indians are unworthy to be admitted to those privileges. From the way in which the ex-Governor writes, it is evident that he is not prepared to place trust in the people of India. He puts forth the time-honoured theory that the educated classes, by reason of their education, have become a class apart from the masses. He probably believes in it. It is the English officials that fill that rôle, and they will do it for ever. Not a single fact has been cited to illustrate this either in the matter of administration or in the matter of legislation. What we regret most is, that a man in the position of Lord Sydenham, who has the prestige of having occupied the high position of Governor of Bombay, should indentify himself with the extreme school of English politicians. Such men can hardly find fault with the extreme school of Indian politicians, who on the opposite side follow their example.

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Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai.

The memorandum of the nineteen non-official elected members gives articulate expression to the reasonable and modest aspirations and expectations of our countrymen. As regards the main demands stated therein for securing effective voice to the representatives of the people, in the internal administration of the country, there can be no difference of opinion; and any differences that may arise with reference to the details of the scheme, I think can be easily remedied when the regulations are framed. Timely reforms will surely strengthen and ensure the goodwill and the loyal attachment of India to England, while advancing at the same time the prosperity and the welfare of the masses of this country, and adding to the glory of the British Isles and the British race.

The Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan.

It is the greatest compliment to Great Britain that within a century of her rule India considers herself advanced enough to claim the boon of Self-Government. If the British nation after all that she claims to have done for India does not consider her fit for this privilege, she deliberately undervalues her own capacity of elevating nations whose fate it is to be under her rule. Great Britain has been, deservedly or undeservedly, credited with the possession of a genius for benevolent governance of alien races for their greatest good. In this art of government she claims to have succeeded to a phenominal extent. None can bear better witness to this claim than the nations that have borne the brunt of the experiment. This world war has put all the nations on the face of the globe on their mettle and every one has to give an account of her charge at the bar of the world's judgment. The affairs of all nations are being subjected to the fierce searchlight of scrutiny both from without and from within. The component parts of the British Empire have awakened to the defects of the Imperial machinery, and they rightly demand readjustment of inter-state relationships and effective voice in international matters. The truth is, that Great Britain has so long controlled an empire through the time-worn institution of the British Parliament that was designed only for the administration of a small kingdom of England and Scotland, and which was out of joint even for the neighbouring isle of Ireland. A system of Imperial Government suited to the modern times—in fact an Imperial Democracy as distinct from a rule of one nation by another—has yet to be evolved. Great Britain owes it to herself as the controlling partner of the only world-wide empire of the day as much as she owes it to the humanity at large to so reconstruct the Empire as would equally satisfy all its parts. In spite of their serious pre-occupation, Great Britain and her so-called Dominions have become keenly alive to this necessity. Preliminaries are already being arranged for the settlement of this momentous question, and at this juncture India considers it her duty to declare what part she should have in the councils of the Empire and what form of government would suit her best.

This she does now in the most unmistakable language. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the demand for substantial reforms in the administration, and for the grant of self-government at an early date, is put forth for the first time in the name of United India. There can be no better proof of our political sagacity and fitness for self-government than the manner in which the two great peoples of India have composed their differences and come to an understanding that will undoubtedly insure—nay it has already insured—their perfect solidarity.

The Hon. Rai Bahadur Bakhshi Sohan Lal.

I am entirely in favour of the Memorandum with regard to Post-War Reforms signed by nineteen non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council and submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy.

The Hon. Syed Ali Nabi.

I agree with the proposals of the Joint Committee of Hindus and Muhammadans, as set out in the matter of "Post-War Reforms." At present I can add nothing to what I have expressed as my opinion in that Committee at Calcutta.

WARFARE IN ANCIENT INDIA.

BY MR. P. JAGANNADHASWAMI, B.A. L.T.

In this book the author gives a vivid picture of warfare in Ancient India, the causes, methods and principles that should guide the belligerents in times of war. He has drawn largely from the ancient literature extant on the subject in Sanskrit Sukraniti and Kamandaka, Manu, the Vedas, the Smrithis; and the Epics are quoted *in extenso* to give a real picture of warfare understood and practised in ancient India.

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Self-Government for India under the British Flag

BY THE HON. MR. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

[The Hon Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, President of the Servants of India Society, deserves the warmest thanks of the country for having brought out, at an opportune moment, his remarkable brochure on "Self-Government for India under the British Flag" one of the ablest expositions of India's case for Self-Government Following the example of his illustrious master, Mr. Sastri has stated all the objections that have been urged against India's demand and shown conclusively how unreal and unjust they are. To Britishers and Indians alike, the book must appeal as an honest and earnest attempt to plead the cause of India. It is hoped the following paragraphs selected from the book, will give the reader an idea of the method and manner in which Mr. Sastri has tackled the great problem of the hour. We commend a careful study of the book to every true well-wisher of India.—*Ed. I.R.*]

THE demand of Indians to be allowed to govern themselves is countered by the assertion that they are unfit for so high a task. It is alleged that when the English Colonies were granted responsible Government, they had reached a higher standard of fitness than we have now attained. This is not historically true. The present prosperity and enterprise of the Dominions should be entirely forgotten when we try to picture the Colonies as they were in the forties and fifties of the last century. Fifty years of political and economic independence, as the example of Japan shows us, can make wonderful changes in the condition of a people. Let it also be remembered that fifty years of the modern time are really much longer than the like period in any former century. Canada was the first of British colonies to be made self-governing, and it is in Canada that British political institutions are believed to have shown their happiest results. Luckily, we possess in the report of Lord Durham a graphic and in general a faithful description of the condition of the colony and its people at the time when the concession of responsible government was made.

The report that he drew up, describing the condition of the country and making recommendations for its improvement, is considered to be one of the ablest State documents ever submitted to Parliament. Constitution-makers go to it for inspiration. Its perusal is a tonic to those whose faith in the healing and ennobling power of popular institutions is weak. The chief lesson it conveys to us in India is, that responsible government is remedy and the only sure remedy for the evils arising from imperfect understanding between the government and the people. Existing defects in India are pointed to by opponents of progress as barring the way to a fuller measure of popular government. Whereas, if a second Lord Durham could now come out to report on Indian affairs, he would in all likelihood advocate the immediate grant of responsible government *as a cure* for the ills of the body politic. . . . . .

The grant of responsible governmeht, wherever it has been made, has only strengthened the bond between the suzerain power and the subordinate but autonomous governments—a lesson which may well be borne in mind by those prophets of evil who prognosticate that in India political generosity will be met with ingratitude. . . .

In spite of the vicissitudes of fortune through which our country has passed, the great Dravidian, Aryan and Mahomedan civilizations are found in vigour, if not in their pristine purity. Each one of these civilizations has developed forms of government and systems of administration which have been productive of beneficent results to the people. Judged by modern standards, they might be pronounced to lack the elements of strength and thoroughness. Nor do they appear to have given rise to democratic or popular forms of organization of the kind that we are familiar with to-day. Self-government,* then, in the sense of the power to develop an indigenous polity and find an indigenous agency to maintain it, has always been with us. It may have been overborne at times and not had free play, it may have degenerated under stress of adversity, it may have left the people weak, disorganised and helpless before external force; but it has always been there. The numerous Indian States carry on before our eyes the ancient traditions, transformed, it is true, in great measure and adapted to the special needs of the British pattern, but still kept alive by age-long aptitudes. In our own time, the work done in these territories by some diwans and administrators within the limitations to which they are subject can bear comparison with the great deeds of Western statesmen in British India.

* Self-Government for India under the British Flag, by the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Servants of India Society, Poona. Price 8 As.

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Whenever opportunity has been afforded, Indians have shown that they can work modern institutions in the modern spirit. In the executive, no less than in the judicial department, officers of the Provincial Civil Service recruited by competition have proved themselves, man for man, the peers of their brethren in the Indian Civil Service. The Indians, who were first appointed to the Council of the Secretary of State for India, have elicited warm appreciation from no less a judge of men than Lord Morley. Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge have in turn borne generous testimony to the assistance they derived from the advice and co-operation of their Indian Ministers. The late Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, of Madras, the first Indian on that side of the country to whom a statue was erected by public subscription in which Europeans and Indians joined, has been the recipient of posthumous tributes from his European colleagues, which are remarkable as much for the admiration which they convey as for the note of personal attachment which they strike. To Mr. Gokhale, who struck the imagination of the English people in many ways, was reserved the unique honour of discussing affairs of high international moment, albeit in an informal way, with the Government of South Africa. This difficult and delicate task he performed with such ability, fairness and statesmanlike grasp of the issues involved that he earned the gratitude and admiration of all parties concerned.

. . . . . .

In the Legislative Councils the people's representatives have conducted themselves with moderation and self-restraint, and although they have chafed at the restrictions placed upon their activity and usefulness, their resentment has on no occasion broken out in any of those disorderly or violent forms which disfigure the annals of the legislatures of England and of the Dominions. Lord Hardinge has more than once borne high testimony to their work. Their criticism and advice have not been without effect on the policy and administration of the country. But so high is the expectation which the public entertain nowadays of the Legislative Councils, and so keen is their sense of the impotence of their representatives from a constitutional point of view, that nothing can satisfy them hereafter short of the power of regulating the policy, disposing of the finances and controlling the executive.

. . . . . .

The theory of unfitness appears in another shape, not so uncompromising, but not less dangerous. The unfitness, say some critics, is not incurable; in course of time, under careful and benevolent political education, such as our slowly-broadening institutions afford, it is possible, though prophecy in such matters is proverbially foolish, that the people of India may become fit for self-rule. But that day is not yet. Wait, wait in patience. Then our mentors resort to metaphor. The way is long and weary, full of peril and adventure. Do you know how they toiled and travailed who went before you, what trials and tribulations they had to bear? Metaphor and proverb, fable and parable, history and epic, teach us a good deal; they give us warning and guidance. But they are not actual life, they cannot replace direct experience either for individuals or communities. The best training is obtained when you grapple with your difficulties by yourself, the highest and most useful part of education is self-education. The people of India will become fit for self-rule only by practising self-rule. There is no other way for it. They must conceive their aims and ideals, they must lay their plans and execute them, make mistakes and rectify them, incur losses and recoup them, encounter perils and overcome them. Mr. L. Curtis, in his book, *The Problem of the Commonwealth*, writes:

> In the first place, the exercise of responsibility tends to increase fitness for exercising it. As every one finds in his own experience, it is in having to do things that a man learns how to do them and develops a sense of duty in regard to them. And that is why political power is and ought to be extended to whole classes of citizens, even when their knowledge and sense of responsibility is still imperfectly developed.

True, this process should not begin too early; there must be a period of preliminary training. What is the period required? The answer is, till the necessary general, intellectual and moral equipment is acquired, till the necessary political experience has been gained. Our contention is, that we have this necessary equipment and experience. In so far as such comparison is possible, we cannot see that India is less fitted to-day than the Philippines for self-rule, nor that her general condition is much behind the condition of Canada or the other Dominions when they had the gift of responsible government, and we go further and say that England and Japan appear to have had nearly as many shortcomings as India now has when they adopted a fully popular constitution. The Emperor of Japan took the great Charter oath in 1869; in 1881, he promised to grant a constitution in ten years;

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and, in 1890, the first Imperial Diet was summoned. The Filipinos have had less than twenty years schooling in civilized administration. Are Indians so much worse than the Filipinos, or is the school of British political institutions so much slower than that of American political institutions that it takes a century, and how much longer one cannot say, to complete the process of education in the one case which in the other is completed in twenty years? The first Legislative Council met in Canada in 1792. In fifty years full responsible government was granted. In New South Wales the first Parliament met in 1843. The first responsible ministry took office in 1856. Indians were first admitted to the Legislative Council in 1861, though it had been in existence for many years. It is not generally known, but it is a remarkable fact that, during this first period, when Europeans enjoyed the exclusive right of legislation for India, they conducted business in regular parliamentary style, with their own standing orders, calling the Acts of the Executive in question and carrying on debates which, in their range and breezy freedom, contrast markedly with the prudish and correct respectability of present-day proceedings. Beginning in 1861 on a scale which was caution itself, the non-official Indians admitted to the Council being few and nominated, and the Council itself never meeting except when there was a legislative measure to be placed before it, we did not take a second step till more than thirty years had passed. In 1892, after a good deal of popular agitation, the number of non-officials was increased slightly, they were still nominated in form, but practically elected by delegates of local bodies, a limited power of interpellation was given them, and the annual budget was placed before them for discussion, but it was not to be voted upon. Seventeen years passed and strong agitation had to be made before the third step was taken in 1909. This time local legislatures were to have non-official majorities, members in the Councils could put supplementary questions and move resolutions on subjects of public interest, subject however to too many exceptions and to the further proviso that, even if accepted by the Council, they were not to be binding on the Executive. Those reforms were introduced with a great fanfare of liberal sentiment, and generally hailed by the people as a substantial improvement. But the seven years that have passed since have been marked by an enormous advance of political thought and political ambition in the people, and the Councils are spoken of by the advanced school as glorified debating clubs. In fact, the executive government is still practically master of the situation and carries measures in the teeth of public opposition. After fifty-five years people's representatives have still nothing like constitutional power in the land. Surely our progress is none too hurried. The foundations have had ample time to settle down and can now carry the full weight of the structure of self-government.

. . . . . .

The next objection to be noticed is that, if the scheme came into operation, it would establish the reign of the few who are educated over the many who are uneducated; we should have an oligarchy of a few hundred thousands controlling the destinies of vast millions. You reply that, taking numbers only into consideration, the change will be a big step towards popular government, as the present ruling class does not exceed a few thousands. "But we have knowledge," say they, "of rural life and of the dumb millions, which you, educated gentry dwelling in towns, cannot and do not care to acquire." "It is not so," we rejoin; "the gulf of antipathy and contempt between educated and uneducated is a fable by which you deceive yourselves. The educated come mostly from villages and keep in constant touch with village life. In fact, the most notorious evil of the present administration is, that it is run by people who come from over the sea, never learn the vernaculars sufficiently well for ordinary conversation and depend throughout their service on interpreters. Besides, they maintain an attitude of proud exclusiveness which differs in kind and manner of display from the ancient arrogance of the Brahman, but is a far more effectual barrier to sympathy and mutual trust; in fact, it is now an article of creed with them that India and Indians are unfathomable mysteries and that, the longer one remains in the country, the more convinced one becomes of the impossibility of ever understanding its people and their nature and modes of thought and life." "But the lower classes look to us for protection, they remember the old misrule and tyranny from which we rescued them, and will not consent to the transfer of power from us to you, their social oppressors for ages." "Our history, like the history of other peoples, shows periods of good rule and bad rule, of social well-being and social misery, of progress and decay. When you came, you found us in one of our unfortunate phases, disorder and the break-

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ing up of an empire met your eyes and helped the establishment of your dominion. The oppression of the lower by the upper classes is nothing peculiar to the East. Before the dawn of the modern humanitarian age, the annals of Europe were disfigured by similar abuses and tyranny. Plato long ago said that in every city there were two cities, that of the rich and that of the poor. To-day, even in the most liberally governed countries, the peasants and the labourers may be heard to denounce the learned folly and the selfishness of those that make the laws and work them for their own benefit, while all the time professing to help and relieve the masses. Ideas of social amelioration and service and higher standards of government have been learned by the educated men in India, and as they have incomparably greater interest in the prosperity of the country and far more knowledge and sympathy to inspire their efforts, there is no danger of a revival of the old days of caste domination and heartless tyranny. The new oligarchy then will be at least as good as the present." One doubts whether this ancient fiction about the protection of the masses is believed any more even by those in whose interest it is kept alive. Is it the indigenous Short or the oversea Codlin who opposes the spread of education among the people and uses their illiteracy as an argument for opposing political advance? Is it the indigenous Short or the oversea Codlin who defends the pernicious excise policy of the Government on the ground that every man must have his tastes, and likewise approves of the raising of the State demand on land at every resettlement on the ground among others that money left in the ryot's hands goes to the drink shop? Who allows the country to be flooded with cheap free trade goods and refuses to foster the industries of the people in the only way in which other countries, including Great Britain and her colonies, have fostered theirs? Who was responsible for the currency legislation of a few years ago, which, but for some fortuitous happenings which told in his favour, might have hit the poor agriculturist hard, while relieving the Government of the exchange difficulty in paying off the heavy Home Charges? Who at the same time gave the European services the exchange compensation allowance in cynical disregard of the taxpayer's interests? Who to-day, when extravagance is treason and luxuries of every kind are denounced as crimes, keeps up the exodus to the hills for half the year and sanctions extra allowances to Civilian Officers for promotion delayed, while at the same time cutting down expenditure on education? Who is going to defend the interests of the voiceless and voteless taxpayer, when in consequence of the report of the Public Services Commission, the organised and well-paid Services will drive the Government of India mad with all sorts of claims for increased emoluments? The unfortunate Indian Short, in a hopeless minority in the Council, must set up a piteous wail, which, however, will be drowned in the noise of Codlin's trumpet announcing to an astounded world his protection of the Indian masses against their own heartless countrymen.

. . . . . .

The last objection that we shall deal with in this section is, that the martial races, believing that the government of the land has passed into weak hands when it passed into Indian hands, will raise the standard of revolt and shake the new regime at the very start. In the first place, this cannot be true of either the Mahomedans, the Sikhs, or the Marathas, who have drunk deep from the fountain of patriotism. In the second place, when service in the army is thrown open to all who are physically fit and promotion is within the reach of all who are worthy, irrespective of race or colour, the distinction between martial and unmartial people will disappear in the course of a generation. But the real answer to this objection is, that it would apply only to a scheme which sought to take India out of the British Empire and completely eliminated the strong arm of the British from Indian affairs. Our critics may choose for their own alarmist purposes to misrepresent the effect of our proposals or the motive that underlies them. But, as a great man once said, "You may fool some of the people all the time and all the people some of the time, but not all the people all the time." Our scheme has for its aim and purpose the continued maintenance of British supremacy in India and the reconciliation of her peoples to the suzerainty of the British Empire, which has done them incalculable good, giving them hope of a nationhood that they had lost or never possessed, and admitting them to a share of the noblest inheritance of modern civilization, *viz.*, democratic freedom.

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THE PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION

BY MR. HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU, B.A., B.Sc.

(*Of the Servants of India Society.*)

THE report of the Public Services Commission has, at last, been published. Had its contents been made public, as officially announced in September last, it would have enabled the Congress to consider its recommendations and given the members of the Imperial Legislative Council an opportunity of studying it before the cold weather session of the Council. The delay in its appearance, however, has prevented the former from giving authoritative expression to the views of educated India on the subject for a year, and it is improbable that many members of the Council will be able to study it in all its bearings before the close of the present session.

The report will be a bitter pill for India to swallow. In the history of Indian political agitation, no subject has engaged the attention of our leading men longer than the employment of Indians in the high branches of the Public Services. For thirty years we have been protesting loudly against a system which virtually debars Indians from occupying positions of trust and responsibility in their own country. And when the Public Services Commission was appointed, we expected that some justice would be done to Indian claims, and that our countrymen would no longer be treated as the pariahs of the Indian administration. But the report of the Commission, while recommending many changes favourable to indigenous talent, is in essence a complete denial of the principle that Indians have a prior claim upon every appointment in the public services of their country and is a justification of the system which is draining it morally and materially. It is a melancholy satisfaction, however, to note that Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim has refrained from signing this reactionary document and written a minute of dissent—it may well be called a minority report which deals with the problem, which the Commission was appointed to consider from the Indian point of view and vindicates the moral rights of the people of this country to control the course of administration by having an agency, which possesses their confidence, to carry out the laws under which they have to live. Mr. Sahibzada's minute of dissent also deserves warm praise. The fact that he has signed the report ought not to detract from the intrinsic merit of his minute.

The Commission took evidence in regard to twenty-four services. Of these, leaving out of account a few specialist appointments, the post-office, telegraph (traffic), railway (stores), Northern India salt revenue, salt and excise, registration, land records (Burma), and survey (Madras) departments, are recruited for India. The other departments, recruitment for which takes place either wholly or partly in Europe, are divided into three main groups. "In the first," say the Commissioners, "we place the Indian Civil Service and the police department, in both of which the nature of British responsibility for the good governance of India requires the employment, in the higher ranks, of a preponderating proportion of British officers. To the second group belong those services in which, on grounds of policy and efficiency, it is desirable that there should be an admixture—in the *personnel* of both Western and Eastern elements. Such are the education, military finance, medical, telegraph (engineering), public works, railway (engineering and traffic), and survey of India departments. In the third group come certain scientific and technical services, such as the agricultural, civil veterinary, factory and boiler inspection, forest, geological survey, mines, mint and assay, pilots (Bengal), and railway (locomotive and carriage and wagon) departments. In these there are no grounds of policy for any considerable admixture of officers imported from Europe, and all that limits recruitment in India is the lack of facilities in that country for technical instruction and the consequent deficiency of properly qualified teachers." The recommendation in regard to the two remaining departments, viz., the Indian finance and customs departments, is similar to that made in the case of the third group. Thirty years ago Indian demands for admission into the higher ranks of the Public Services were strenuously opposed on the ground that Indians were lacking in character, which being left undefined, could easily be claimed to be a British monopoly, and that a minimum of Europeans was necessary in order to maintain British methods of administration, and the validity of these grounds was endorsed by the Commission of 1886. The same cry was raised again a quarter century later before the Commission of 1912, but the Commissioners have

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wisely refrained from repeating these worn out objections. They have preferred to rest their case on political grounds. The nature of the British connection, they say, implies that the Indian Civil Service and the police should be continued to be staffed, in the main, by men who are ignorant of our history and our language, our manners and our customs. So long as the reins of power are in the hands of Great Britain, Indians must yield the first place, as a matter of course, to Britishers. Declarations of responsible British statesmen are ignored, royal proclamations are disregarded, and even the Act of 1833 is thrown to the winds. Henceforth, not merit but race is to be the test of fitness.

It is difficult to understand on what principle the departments mentioned in the second group are treated differently from those belonging to the third group. The line which separates the first from the second is natural and obvious. But the distinction sought to be made between the second and third group is a distinction without a difference. For instance, what are the "grounds of policy and efficiency," which necessitate that the education department should contain a substantial—nay, for years to come a preponderant—British element? No doubt the structure of the Universities Act would topple down at once if Indian agency were substituted for British agency, but one would fain hope that it does not embody a cardinal principle of British policy. As for efficiency, present or prospective, the less said about it the better. "The evidence," says Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, "which the Commission received from both official and non-official witnesses, shows that the staffing of the education service, especially in its higher branches, is inefficient, and though it may have been the best that could have been done on the whole or up to now, its inefficiency will become more and more marked as the standards of Indian education are raised." Under these circumstances it is futile to expect that the arrangement proposed by the Commission will inspire confidence in the public.

The policy enunciated by the Commission in respect of the services included in the third group is as gratifying as it is just. The Commission desires that eventually they should be recruited wholly in India and recommends that "immediate and determined" efforts should be made to provide suitable educational facilities for this purpose. But the value of these recommendations will be greatly discounted if the transitional stage is not shortened as far as possible. Unfortunately, as Mr. Chaubal points out, the proposals made by the Commission to increase the salaries and better the proespects of the European officers in the scientific and technical departments will tend to prolong this period indefinitely. These changes have been proposed in order to secure and retain the services of qualified men and to ensure that the conditions of employment will be such as to induce them to remain in India "for a full term of service." This implies that the superior posts will continue to be occupied at least for a generation to come by Europeans, and it is not unreasonable to fear that in the end the policy, which the Commission has laid down, may be forgotten and never given effect to.

It has already been mentioned that recruitment for the post office, telegraph (traffic), railway (stores), Northern India salt revenue, salt and excise, registration, land records, (Burma), and survey (Madras), departments takes place almost entirely in India. The Commission approves of this arrangement and recommends its continuance in future. One might think that these services, being recruited in India, would contain a large number of Indians in the higher ranks. But nothing is further from the truth. Out of the 1,887 posts in these departments monthly carrying salaries of Rs. 200 and over, only 448 or 23 per cent. are occupied by Indians; the rest are occupied by Europeans and Anglo-Indians, whose total population is a little over two lakhs. The inequality is even more marked if we take into account only the higher posts. Out of 536 posts, to which salaries of Rs. 500 and over are attached, only 44 or 7·2 per cent. are held by Indians, while of the 298 posts of the monthly emoluments, of which are not less than Rs. 800, only 19 or 6·4 per cent. fall to the share of Indians. Thus, the higher ranks in these departments are as much the monopoly of non-Indians as in those which are recruited wholly or partly in Europe. But the Commission not only ignores this fact, but aggravates the evil by proposing that wherever the possession of a university degree is required of Indians, "an examination of a corresponding standard in European schools" should be regarded as sufficient in the case of Anglo-Indians. This point is brought out with the greatest clearness in Mr. Chaubal's minute of dissent which, for its grasp and vigour, is well worth perusal.

The twenty-four services, with which the Commission deals, affect 9,949 officers, of whom 4,140, or about 42 per cent. are recruited in Europe. Again, the total number of posts in these depart-

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cents, to which monthly salaries of not less than Rs. 200 are attached is 11,064. Of these, only 42 per cent. or less than one-half are held by Indians. If we take only salaries of not less than Rs. 500 and Rs. 800 per mensem into consideration, we find that the number of posts is 4,984 and 2,501 respectively, and the share of Indians is represented by 19 per cent. in the first case and 10 per cent. in the latter. Can anything furnish a more eloquent and convincing proof of the utter inadequacy of the steps hitherto taken to give Indians their rightful share in the Public Services and of the urgent necessity for the adoption of radical measures to accomplish this object? But the Commission has failed to grasp the importance of the problem, which it was called upon to grapple, and there is nothing in its recommendations to show that it regards the present system, which condemns Indians to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, as essentially unjust. There are two principal methods of ensuring that Indians should have adequate opportunities of entering the superior grades of the various departments. In the first place, examinations should be held simultaneously in England and India for services which are at present recruited by means of competitive examinations held in England alone; and, in the second place, the artifical division of some of the most important services into Imperial and Provincial, carried out at the instance of the Public Service Commission of 1886, should be done away with. But neither of these methods has commended itself to the Commission. With the important exception of the Public Works Department (including the engineering branches of the railway and telegraph departments), the existing division of the services into Imperial and Provincial is maintained, as the Commission is satisfied that it corresponds to a real difference in the duties, which officers belonging to the two sections are expected to perform. Simultaneous examinations are rejected, because they will have an adverse influence on Indian education and impair the British character of the administration which, by the way, consists in practice in the adoption of methods and principles foreign to the spirit of the British constitution. The attempt at argument is too feeble to be seriously considered. It seems to me that the conclusion, at which the Commission has arrived, is less the result of an impartial examination of facts than of a desire to justify the *status quo*. A more conservative or liberal system, if prevalent, would have been as easily approved as the one which happens to be in force now.

In the limited time at my disposal, it is impossible for me to discuss the recommendations of the Commission in detail or even to consider their effect on some of the more important departments. I shall content myself, therefore, with a brief examination of the proposals relating to the Indian Civil Service, which is the premier service in India and which controls the entire civil government of the country.

Public opinion in India has demanded nothing more insistently than that the examination, which qualifies for admission into the Indian Civil Service, should be held simultaneously in England and India, and the rejection of this demand will cause the keenest dissatisfaction throughout the country. If there were a large proportion of Indians in the Indian Civil Service, it would not only gratify the legitimate ambition of Indians to occupy the higher and more honourable positions in the public services of their own country, but in all likelihood facilitate the solution of many a question of policy and administration. The pace of political progress would probably be rendered much quicker, and the separation of judicial and executive functions made easier of accomplishment, as there would no longer be any consideration of prestige to bar the way to these reforms. The admission of Indians into the higher ranks of the other services, also, will become easier, for the officers of the Imperial Services are regarded as the coadjutors of the Indian Civil Service in the proper governance of India, and this alliance may be expected to cease when there is a substantial Indian element in the Indian Civil Service. Educated India has, therefore, rightly regarded admission into this Service as the thing to be chiefly aimed at, and I am afraid that until it succeeds in this object, or wins the right to control the internal affairs of India, no satisfactory solution of the general question of the wider employment of Indians in the superior grades of the public services is practicable.

While disapproving of simultaneous examinations, the Commission recommends the institution of a separate examination in India open to statutary natives of India only. The age-limits for the examination are to be 20–22. Nine posts are to be recruited for in India. Of these, seven are to be filled in accordance with the result of the examination, and the other two by candidates to be termed, "King Emperor's Cadets," and

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nominated each year by the Secretary of State, on the advice of the Government of India, from amongst graduates of the various universities, and of an age similar to that of the competitors at the examination." All the nine candidates are to be sent to England for three years, and are to receive the same training as those successful at the examination held in England. The candidates appointed in India are to be on equal footing in every respect to those appointed in England.

The proportion of posts reserved for statutary natives of India will excite no enthusiasm. According to the rules framed in 1879, one-sixth of the appointments to be recruited for every year were to be given to Indians. Forty years have elapsed since then, during which India has made great progress in education and witnessed the birth of a new national consciousness, but the Commission does not feel itself justified in going much beyond the proportion fixed in 1879.

But the most objectionable feature of the new arrangement proposed by the Commission, to which Indians can never reconcile themselves, is that the age-limits for the English examination should be reduced from 22-24 to 17-19, and that every candidate should furnish a certificate from the headmaster of a secondary school recognised by the Civil Service Commissioners, that he had attended the school for three years "up to a time within six months of the examination itself," or had passed an academic year at a university. This would make it practically impossible for any Indian to succeed at the English examination, and in effect, is a violation of the Act of 1833. When the Statutary Civil Service was formed in 1879, the age-limits for the competitive examination held in London were lowered to 17–19, and were again raised when it was abolished in 1892. During this period the percentage of Indian successes at the examination was only 2·5, while during 1892-1912, the figure rose to 5·6 per cent. The Commission is aware of this fact, and generally speaking recognizes that Indians will not be able to compete at the English examination. And if, in spite of this, it recommends the lowering of the age-limits, one is forced to conclude that the proposal is only a device, while remaining within the four corners of the law, to prevent Indians from entering the Indian Civil Service through the door of the examination in England.

The Commission, while slow to recognize the claims of Indians is not at all backward in urging the grant of further concessions to Europeans. The cadre of the Indian Civil Service has considerably increased since 1886, but the Commission proposes that it should be enlarged still further, and even recommends the division of districts in which the work is heavy.

Concessions have also been recommended in regard to the salaries of the officers of the Indian Civil Service, while, as Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim points out, in England and Ceylon the maximum salary, which members of the Home and Colonial Civil Services can hope to draw, is Rs. 30,000 per annum.

This represents the average pay of an officer of the Indian Civil Service in the higher grades, and the maximum is more than three times this figure. In the matter of pensions also, the Indian Civil Service enjoys valuable privileges, but the Commission does not hesitate to recommend that the salaries should be raised, the exchange compensation merged in the salaries, and the four per cent. contribution to their pensions made by the members of the Indian Civil Service, abolished. These recommendations will throw an additional burden of 20 lakhs upon the State, although the evidence received by the Commission establishes that there has been no falling off in the number or quality of recruits to the Indian Civil Service.

India is pulsating to-day with a new life. She demands that she should soon be made master of her destiny and given a place, compatible with her self-respect and dignity in the British Empire. She asks to be released from leading strings and allowed to manage her own affairs. The Public Services Commission has failed to grasp the situation and thinks that she is hankering after a few more posts. It has approached the question from a wrong standpoint. The question it has asked itself, says Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, is, "What are the means to be adopted for extending the employment of Indians? But the proper standpoint, which alone furnishes a satisfactory basis to work upon, is that the importation of officials should be limited to cases of clear necessity, and the question, therefore, to be asked is, In which services and to what extent should appointments be made from England." The report will be received with intense dissatisfaction throughout the country, and should strengthen our determination to win Self-Government for India at an early date, for in that alone lies our salvation.

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THE SPIRIT OF THE NIGHT

BY

MISS REGINA GUHA

[illegible] The moon was at the new;
[illegible] and [illegible]med
[illegible]bought I had cast off my earth-worn clothes
[illegible] clad in aery lightness wing'd my way
[illegible] the empyrean. Behind, the air
[illegible] close around, a soft and clinging mass;
[illegible] broke into a spray of thousand lights
[illegible]re. Joy enfolded me and love
[illegible]ffable. Sweet tuneful voices rang
[illegible]pon my ears. Ah me! I said
[illegible]hy should I stay behind and suffer there
[illegible]nd ever mourn among the human crowd?
[illegible]hy listen to the groans that never cease?
[illegible]hy witness pain that will not lessen? Why?
[illegible]hy? And speaking thus I cleft the air
[illegible]nd the darkness loomed in front of me but soon
[illegible] broke and then upon my wildered gaze
[illegible]rision dawned—an opalescent light
[illegible]god-like form—I stopped with awe inspired.
[illegible] was a woman more than common tall
[illegible]ho wrapt her round in silken sable cloak
[illegible]hich fell in long and straightened lines unto
[illegible]er feet. Her face was fair and eyes
[illegible]ike unto stars that burn and burn but yet
[illegible]ith all their burning do not fade. Her hair
[illegible] raven stream and lips like blood or worse
[illegible]hey shone so red into the night. One hand
[illegible]ne pressed upon her heart, the other to
[illegible]er forehead held and formed an arch her brow
[illegible]bove: and below them peered afar as though
[illegible]he saw strange things which we of earth see not
[illegible]ow dare to see. Spell-bound I stood and looked
[illegible]nd then as tho' with eager worship seized
[illegible]e love so wonderful, I know not how,
[illegible]uickly hastened forward with a bound
[illegible]nd springing fell upon my face, my head
[illegible]pon her feet. She stirred and moving threw
[illegible]e wrap between a ray of silv'ry sheen
[illegible]ke unto the twilight gleams that shoot
[illegible]nd wander in the Indian sky—their life
[illegible]s span too brief—and bending put her hand
[illegible]pon my head, her touch mysterious, sad;
[illegible]hich caught my heart with a sharp and sting-
ing pain
And made me sob aloud. "What ails thee,
child?"
She whispered low, her voice like to the soft
And sighing summer breezes which in sweet
And saddened murmurs tell of life,
And death which soon must follow life and love
That too must cease. And then it seemed I heard
A woman wail who'd lost her only child
And a maiden weep whose lover long had left
And ne'er returned, while still all night she prays
And in the day. I gently answer made
"I know not why I am so sad."
At this she lifted me and clasped her arms
Around me close. I leaned upon her breast
And then was comforted. Again she spoke;
"Art sad and know not? Many are sad and know
But cannot be consoled." I raised my head
And saw the sorrow on her face. Her cheeks
Were lined and drawn as tho' the tears had chased
A many furrows in their coursing down.
Her eyes, they were no longer bright: a shade
O'er them was drawn. And thro' the films, deep
pools
Of sadness showed and pain unending
As if the sorrows of the world below
Were mirror'd there—as if that heart had borne
And still did bear such loads as never lift.
Her teeth had caught at her under lip and drops
Of blood oozed forth. What is my grief, I thought,
Compared to hers. And stepping closer kissed
Her on the cheek. She smiled—a sob had been
More glad. I murmured low "Thou too art sad,
Wherefore?" "I moan my children's fates; alone
And desolate there's none to comfort them
Or love: and I so far they know me not."
She said and then again in answer to
Th' unspoken question of my eyes: "Know thou
The weary ones of earth? My children they
And I am Night their mother. Behold
The Day brings many griefs, my children pray
The Day but laughs and passes on or yet
A moment stays and fiercer light doth throw
Upon those wrongs would always fain be hid,

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All in despite and haply mocks at them
And then I come and see and weep and throw
My darken'd mantle over them and touch
Their down-dropt lids with blessed sleep and teach

Them to forget. But all in vain for now
Perchance bad dreams afflict or soon anew
The morn remembrance brings of all that passed
And I must yield my partial sway and here
Return. This all I do, but all's too little.
And from this point of vantage I can view
The doings of the world and th' agony
Hath pierced me through and slowly I have changed

And yet doth change my immortal nature.
My strength is humanised and soon I feel
I shall descend to the earth below and live
A woman there—a god no more.
And as she spoke a grey and pearly light
Awoke: the east grew bright and brighter still
And in her rose-flushed beauty morn looked down
And darting beams of golden haze before
Announc'd her coming back. Grey night, her

Up gathered, fled but in her flight th[illegible]
And loving looks behind. I struggled to pursue
And starting up with eyes a-dazzled saw
A stream of golden light pour on my face.

The Congress and the Muslim League

BY

MR. SHAMNATH MUSHRAN, M.A., *Bar.-at.-Law*

WRITING this time last year to the *Indian Review* about the sessions of the Congress and the League just then held at Bombay, I ventured to express a hope that "the current which had deflected the League for a time from the Congress would be lost in the sweep of the flood when the younger generation came a little more into its own." I would have characterised as visionary the suggestion that barely a year would pass before the younger generation would come into its own, and sweep the League into the channels along which the younger members of the Congress would have her life-streams flow. And yet this is the phenomenon which has been accomplished within the space of one short year. The causes have been multifarious and for our purposes not very material. We are concerned with the scheme of reforms which has been formulated by the Committees of the Congress and the League, and the unity and clearness with which both have lent their voice to its support. There is no charm in words or phrases, and to us Self-Government by any other name would sound as sweet. A gradually increasing association of the people in the government of the people, with some provision for the responsibility of the Executive portion of the Government to those who stand for the people is the aim of Young India, irrespective of the agency through which the reform is effected or worked. The *personnel* of the Government, whether it is Indian or European, is a question of no primary importance. It is this desire jointly expressed, and a clear and definite recognition of this by the more intelligent sections of the two communities, that marks the last Session of the Congress and the League as so momentous in the history of India's political evolution, and would keep the national week of 1916 fresh in the minds of so many. How united both were, a comparison of the resolutions moved and adopted by the two bodies would clearly show.

It would be idle to pretend or to suggest that all those who favoured the line adopted by the Congress and the League did so after a mature consideration of the nature of the change and the responsibilities it would entail, or that there were none who lent their voice to the movement simply because it was popular. But any candid observer would admit that there were many—and not a minority either—who did so with a steadiness of feeling and a clearness of exposition that would at once acquit them of all charge of drifting with the current. It is not the demand but the method of its formation that holds the promise of a better day. The silent steady effort, the mutual recognition of goodwill and good intentions, and, above all, the spirit of compromise, the strong and deliberate subordination of views, to which their adherents had been wedded for years in order that a larger purpose may be served, it was this and the manner in which this was effected that ushers in a new hope. We trust that men who could effect

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...would not lapse into the impatience of ideal-...or succumb to the lethargy that overtakes so ...y of our resolutions in the process of trans-...ion into practical work.

People gathered to the Congress in record ...mbers, and not only was the assemblage greater ...than ever before, but its composition was more ...ried and more representative than in any of the ...ceeding years. In addition to the men who ...t year after year to discuss the questions that ...ry the future of the country with them, there ...me those who had seceded from its fold eight ...ars ago, and also the representatives of the ...League, who had been holding aloof for fear of ...sing their identity in the multitudinous voice of ...e major community. And no one could say ...at any one of these had been manœuvered into ...e Congress, or that beyond a recognition of an ...sistent necessity of union, any one had a tactical ...otive in coming together. None of these main ...ctions represented in the Congress could be said ...o have captured the other or to have capitulated ...o them. There was some advance—legitimately ...lled for by the spirit of the day—on the side of ...e "Orthodox" Congressmen, and a good deal of ...odification in the creed of those who had hitherto ...lled themselves Nationalists in contradistinc-...on to the Moderates. Both of these again held ...t the hand to the League, whose members came ...orward to grasp it impelled by the same sense of ...ecessity which seemed both to shadow and to ...timulate the proceedings all through. What this ...mpending sense was would take us far out, nor ...as an idea of it so clearly present in relief as to ...ield itself to analysis without a study of other ...hings in the background. World waves pass over ...ontinents, giving to movements the colour of ...nationality, and you cannot live without receiving ...something of its tone. The world clash in Europe ...has deepened the respective colourings of nations, ...and under the pressure of these ideas, ...things are becoming more homogeneous, or ...rather the movement is towards a more intense ...homogeneity to the elimination of all jarring ...notes. Events are lashing the surface of life else-...where, and ripples come into the backwater of our ...existence, and possibly this would explain the ...eagerness of outlook with which everyone seemed ...to approach the consideration of questions. ...Possibly also a sense of sharing in the responsibi-...lities of a reconstructed Empire—or at least being ...concerned in the difficulties incident on such ...reconstruction—in the burden of upholding which ...they were sharing, gave them a sober and a larger ...outlook. All differences seemed not only tempo-rarily sunk, but an honest endeavour was apparent all round to permanently remove all occasion for them in future.

The Congress reveals only the face of the community, and after the discussion and deliberations which precede the passage of resolutions, it wears a placidity of expression which might deceive a casual eye as to the temperature of the political body. You can only get at the pulse in the meetings of the subjects committee. The complexion of affairs there is an accurate index of the feeling of the country. A meeting of the subjects committee is symbolic of the sense and capacity of its constituents. Two things stood out clearly in the deliberations, (1) a growing and an almost passionate feeling to take a larger share in the management of our affairs, so that the country should proceed in government, education, or military training along lines approved by the leaders of the country; and (2) an intense nervous apprehension that the Colonies were to be given a hand in the management of those very affairs. Everything else was not merely given a secondary place but sank into it, it did not arrest the attention of the meeting—it seemed an intruder claiming the time which every one wished dedicated to the consideration of the two large problems. Both of these were only the two facts of a single impulse, the desire to keep free of colonial domination being largely due to the insistence on the self-management of our own affairs. The Colonies—or the Dominions as they are called—may have no wish to have anything to do with India, but a strong and organised attempt seems to be on foot to so bring about the reconstruction of the Empire as to bear India under the control of the new Imperial federation. All this is without counting with the wishes of the people in general in England or of the collective wish of the Dominions, but apparently the increased responsibilities and burdens of the Empire, which the Dominions will have to shoulder, will be compensated by the enlargement of the sphere of colonial power and dominion, so as to bring India under their sway. How far young democratic countries emerging from their struggle with the elements of Nature, and just touching the fringe of modern civilisation, will be able to "train" India for her work of self-government, as it is euphemistically put, is not very clear. What is clear is, that both the Congress and the League have declared in uncompromising accents that they will have none of this arrangement, unless reciprocal rights and privileges are reserved for the people of this country in the management of affairs in the colonies.

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How far the Colonies were "fit" for self-government, when representative institutions were granted to them, was delineated by the Chairman of the Reception Committee in his masterly Address of Welcome. Common-sense would join hands with experience in holding that the only thing which could fit a people for self-government was the gradual introduction of a system of self-government. The much-vaunted fitness is nothing but the experience of having done the thing before, and efficiency is another name for experience. The best training a person can have is to be made to do the thing, and it is sailing too close to disingenuousness to say that India can have no self-government because she is not fit, knowing all the time that fitness can come only by self-government.

Self-Government is the ideal to which the Congress and the League have been committed by the growing sense of the larger masses whom they represent. The claim, as it was repeatedly expressed on the two platforms, is neither a slight to the intentions of those who are now responsible for the government of the country, nor an instance of ungratefulness on the part of the people. Constituted as we are, a desire for Self-Government is a biological necessity—and nothing in the shape of a smooth runing machinery on the quiet and peace of having your house looked after by another can compensate for the deleterious effect of leading strings persisted in after the time for them has gone by. An ampler mould is necessary for the expanding energies of younger India, and for a loyal co-operation of the Indians it is necessary that ampler mould should be provided. Petty minds in great positions tell us that this demand is made by a minor faction trading on the support given to the Government by the martial races and the princes of India. If it were worth while disabusing men who seem to have made misrepresentation a mission of their life, I would tell them that the growing want of the country has nothing to do with the part played by Indians in the war. We ask for no return for the sharing of the burden of the Empire—nor is the loyalty of India determined by considertions of any material recognition. It is no favour we beg. India looks on Self-Government as advocated by the Congress and the League as her right. She is persuaded to voice the demand clearly in the hope that after what she has done in the war, there will be no room for any misunderstanding or misrepresentation. A larger association of the people is becoming a pre-requisite of the loyalty of India. Not that the persons who speak for the country mean it as a threat of a refusal to co-operate, but for the mainstay of constitutional speakers it is necessary that they should be in a position to point to a progressive policy of the Government keeping pace with the needs of the country. Who makes headway, the constitutional and loyal citizen or the revolutionary who disdains the path of a graduated development and whose impatience is innocent of the logic of facts, is a question that will soon be pressing for an answer. We know the deliberate attempt to confuse the two, and punish the one for the unwisdom of the other. Then who blame us for the existence of anarchy would be the first to build on its absence as a guarantee of contentment with the existing state of affairs, and warn us against meddling with a scheme which was working in so peaceful and smooth a manner. The effort to bear with persons, who would fain provoke us into impatience, is one of the steps in the training for Self-Government.

The path will be neither easy nor smooth. The work to be performed steadily will have to be in hands that will neither flag in their efforts nor chafe at control. If the Subjects Committee of the Congress be a true index of the temper of the country, the Congress has passed away from the older to the younger men. The reign of men like the old workers still spared to the Congress is over, and they can rest in the hope that younger and more nervous hands are carrying on their work. They are then to guide and to restrain, and the credit of their good work is an asset for the young Indians to cherish. But the work lies for other hands than theirs. The scheme of an Organised Committee to work the propaganda of the Congress, hemmed in as it was by safeguards, will assume shape even though temporarily rejected, and the earnest enthusiasm of young men in the Committee, and the bold virile addresses in the League, carry assurances that the ideals of old have the energy and the earnestness of youth behind them. Men will doubtless work with the patient and cautious enthusiasm of those to whom the greatness of the work is a sacred trust, and in such hands the work will prosper. A consciousness of the enormity of the work, and an appreciation of the difficulties in the way, will chasten their mood; a sense of the world-forces at their back will nerve them, the wishes of a country will lend them support, and her prayers will bring them light; they will work in the shadow of a hope, and the maintenance of their work will be their reward.

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THE DECEMBER GATHERINGS

[The closing week of December 1916 was marked by the sittings of the Indian National Congress, the Moslem League, the Industrial and Social Conferences and various other gatherings held at Lucknow. To enable the busy reader to get a bird's-eye view of the Congress, the Conferences, the Conventions and the Leagues held not only at Lucknow but in different parts of the Indian Empire, we give below a brief account of their deliberations. One happy feature of the numerous December gatherings was that, notwithstanding the multiplicity of sectional conferences, the unity of purpose and the identity of interests they disclosed were markedly pronounced. Never was the Hindu Moslem *Entente* more cordial and decisive. Indeed, the keynote of the season's gatherings was struck by the Hon. Mr. M. S. Das, in his presidential address to the All-India Christian Conference at Madras, when he pointed out: "National life begins with birth. With its birth, the Nationality of the child is determined. On its birth, the child incurs obligations to the country of his birth, and he establishes his right to a share in the invaluable treasures which his ancestors have bequeathed as legacy to future generations. Religion cannot change a man's Nationality. Faith cannot deprive a man of his National heritage. Faith does not work forfeiture before the National tribunal. There is no law of escheat in God's Kingdom."—Ed. *I. R.*]

The Indian National Congress.

THE Thirty-first Session of the Indian National Congress commenced its sittings on the 26th December in the historic city of Lucknow under the presidency of the Hon. Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar, the Grand Old Man of Bengal. It had a record attendance as there were no less than 2,350 delegates and about 4,000 visitors, including 500 ladies. The Lucknow session will besides be memorable in the annals of this great National Institution for more than one reason. It has brought together under one fold all those who parted company some ten years ago at the Surat Session; it has confirmed and emphasised the unity of the Hindus and Mohammadans in their devotion to the ideals of the Congress and above all, it has given unanimous and definite expression to the ideal of Self-Government for India as the goal of the united Indian nation. On the dais were seen leaders of all classes and creeds and parties in India, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, and Parsi leaders of the moderate and nationalist groups of Indian politicians. It was, therefore, in every way a historic session.

The Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then read his Welcome Address, in the course of which he referred at some length to the re-union of the Congress and to the part played by India in the cause of the Allies in this great war. He spoke feelingly of the loss sustained by the country by the death in quick succession of such well-known patriots as Ganga Prasad Varma, Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar, Mr. Subrahmania Iyer and Daji Abaji Khare, and recounted the difficulties which the Reception Committee experienced at the hands of the enemies of the Congress, when it met last at Lucknow, in 1899. The anti-Moslem feeling for the Congress of seventeen years ago has now become a thing of the past, and Lucknow re-asserted again the union of Hindu and Muslim interests more emphatically than ever. He then made out a splendid case for India being granted Self-Government.

The President, the Hon. Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar, having been formally elected, then delivered his address. The address was a remarkably candid and bold exposition of Indian aspirations and was received with great enthusiasm. It was primarily devoted to the discussion of the subject of Self-Government for India and a plea for India's representatives to be heard in the Councils of the Empire after the War, on terms of perfect equality with the representatives of the Self-Governing Dominions. It criticised the existing form of administration and depicted the evolution of the new progressive spirit among the people. It urged that the bureaucracy having established order had outgrown itself and that the time had come for the grant of an adequate measure of Self-rule for India. It dealt also with education, administration, immigration, industrial development and such other topics of immediate concern and suggested several important reforms somewhat in the manner of the Memorandum on Post-War Scheme submitted by the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council. In conclusion, the President referred to the work of the British Committee in London, and ended with an appeal for the exercise of loyal patriotism.

Considerable time was then taken up by the proceedings of the Subjects Committee and the meetings in connection with the *rapprochement* of

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the Moslem League and National Congress. In fact, the primary importance of this Congress Session may be attributed to the great work of reconciliation that has been brought about among the divergent elements of patriotic workers.

The proceedings of the second day opened again with the singing of patriotic songs, after which resolutions mourning the deaths of the three Congress leaders during the year and of Lord Kitchener, as also a resolution of loyalty, were moved from the chair. In the meantime His Honour Sir James Meston and party arrived at the Congress Pandal and were received with great eclat, the whole assembly standing. They were welcomed on behalf of the Congress by the President in a graceful speech, in which he recalled a chapter of the early history of the movement.

In 1885, said the President, when the Congress was first started in Bombay, Sir William Wedderburn, Professor Wordsworth and a number of other high officials attended to listen and to advise. At the second Congress, Lord Dufferin received a deputation headed by Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji. In another Congress, Lord Connemara received all the delegates. But the curtain of official sympathy was dropped. Happily it had now been raised. In 1914, Lord Pentland attended the Congress, and on that day Sir James Meston had done them the honour to attend. They took it that His Honour sympathised with the rising aspirations of the people. His Honour's Government had signalised itself by introducing measures regarding the industrial development of the province, and they hoped and trusted his administration would be further signalised by measures leading to the growth and rise of people.

Sir James Meston, who received an ovation, said in reply :—

Mr. President and Members of the Indian National Congress,—There has been between the Indian National Congress and myself from the day of its inception a curious link both in time and in sympathy. The Congress, as you, sir, have just reminded, first saw the light in 1885, and that was the year in which I first began my endeavours to serve India.

Throughout these intervening thirty-one years, I had thus a unique opportunity of watching the development of this great movement, and I have watched it with interest and, believe me, not without deep sympathy. It is, therefore, a great pleasure to me to be for the first time a guest and a visitor at this great meeting. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your hearty and unexpected welcome.

The Hon. Mr. Radha Kishen Das, whose speech we reproduce in another page, speaking on the Resolution on Arms Act urged its repeal at once and for ever. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in the course of a brief but effective speech, which is printed in another column, said that she came from a city where there was no restriction to possess arms. British India, she urged, could well take a lesson from Hyderabad.

The resolution relating to the question of volunteering and the granting of commissions in the army to Indians was then duly moved and carried.

In the next three resolutions, the Congress urged, (1) the repeal of the Press Act of 1910; (2) the abolition of indentured emigration; and (3) the adoption by the statesmen and people of Greater Britain of a more liberal and imperial view of the status of the Indian settlers in the Self-Governing Dominions and the Crown Colonies of the Empire. In pleading for the abolition of the Press Act, Mr. Horniman (whose speech will be found elsewhere) protested against the unjust and invidious use made of the Act. In pleading for the proper treatment of Indians in the Colonies, Mr. H. S. L. Polak referred to the discovery of Mr. Curtis' letter marked "private," and addressed to the round table groups all over the world, and "in which Mr. Curtis had, with the connivance of highly placed officials in this country, laid a plot to bring India under the domination of the Self-Governing Dominions of the Empire." (Mr. Polak's stirring speech will be found elsewhere.) Mr. G. A. Natesan, in seconding the resolution, observed that India would resist to a man any attempt on the part of the Dominions to domineer over her. She must be treated as an equal and admitted into the Councils of the Empire on terms of perfect equality.

But the most important work of the Congress was with reference to the resolution on Self-Government for India. This resolution, the text of which is given in another page in this issue, was the outcome of the deliberations of many bodies, including the Congress and the League Committees. It was moved by the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, who has pleaded for a large and effective control of Indians in the Councils of the Empire ever since the commencement of the Congress. He made a notable speech on the resolution which was ably seconded by Mrs. Annie Besant, who was followed by several other speakers, including Messrs. B. G. Tilak, B. C. Pal, Joseph Baptista, Sir Dinshaw Petit, the Hon Mr. Haque, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jehangir Petit, extracts from whose addresses will be found elsewhere in this issue.

The resolution was carried unanimously, and the President was authorised to send a copy of it

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to His Majesty's Government through H. E. the Viceroy.

This was followed by a resolution moved by Mr. C. P. Ramasami Aiyer, urging on Congress Committees, Home Rule Leagues and other politi- al bodies to carry on propagandist work on the lines laid down in the Congress Resolution.

The Hon. Mr. C. H. Setalvad, of Bombay, moved a resolution placing on record appreciation of the sentiments conveyed in the message of the Prime Minister to the Princes of India and fully sharing in the determination of the British people to bring the war to triumphant issue, and regretting that larger use had not been made of the man-power of India, and urging the raising of an army immediately in India from the civil population under Indian commissioned officers for that purpose.

The proceedings of the next day commenced with the Hon. Principal Paranjpye's resolution protesting against the Patna University Bill. Then came the discussion on the Defence of India Act and the resolution on National Education moved by Mr. G. S. Arundale. (Extracts from the speeches of Mr. Paranjpye and Mr. Arundale are reproduced elsewhere in this issue). After passing a resolution on India's representation in the Imperial Conference, the Congress considered questions relating to the creation of a Governor in Council for the United Provinces, the Congress Deputation to England, the Trial of Indians by Jury and such other topics of interest. The Hon. Bhupendranath Basu, in an eloquent speech, proposed a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee. The Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya then thanked the President of the Congress and in a luminous speech surveyed the present conditions and the future prospects of the country. The Hon. Mr. Samiulla Beg, in seconding the vote of thanks, rejoiced over the successful manner in which Hindus and Mohammadans had worked together for the common welfare of their mother-land. The Session concluded with the President's parting words to the Congress delegates and volunteers. He thanked all who had laboured to make the Session such a complete success and ended with an inspiring call for active work on behalf of India and the Empire.

A banquet was given that night to the leading Members of the Congress and the Moslem League by the Hon'ble the Raja of Mohammadabad. After the loyal toast was heartily responded to, Mr. Jinnah proposed the toast of the Congress, and Mr. Banerjea responded by proposing the toast of the Moslem League.

The All-India Muslim League.

An unusually large attendance marked the Ninth Session of the All-India Muslim League, which held its sittings on the 30th December at Lucknow. The Congress leaders reciprocated the honour done to them by the members of the League at their meetings by attending in large numbers. The Hon. Syed Nabiullah, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in an able speech, after which the Hon. Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah took the chair and delivered the presidential address.

In the course of his Welcome Address, the Hon. Mr. Nabiullah referred at some length to the various problems now agitating the country, such as those relating to the War and Indian loyalty to the cause of the Allies. He criticised the Press Act and the Defence of India Act and protested against their unnecessary application in the case of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard*. He urged, however, that the tumults of controversy should be hushed when the war is on, but

> this does not, however, mean that we are to remain in a state of suspended animation while the hammer blows of Fate are fashioning the framework of a new and, we trust, a better and a freer world. The organisation of peace after the war is, in the opinion of most thinking men, a more complex and anxious problem than the winning of the war itself. In Great Britain and the countries of her Allies, no less than among the peoples of the Central Alliance, strenuous thought and energies are being applied to the discovery of a stable foundation for a new political, economic, and social order. Is India alone to stand still and take no thought for the morrow, when that morrow is to usher in a new era in the history of the world and nations saved from the perils of militarism are to undertake the replanning of their lives with the freedom and joy of a new resurrection ?

The Hon. Mr. Jinnah's Presidential Address was marked by much thoughtfulness and earnestness, and his especial reference to India's demand for Self-Government and the Hindu Muslim unity were received with great enthusiasm. He gave a crushing answer to the cry of unfitness so often levelled against Indians and urged the Government to enunciate a definite policy. Referring to the Scheme of Reforms submitted by the non-official members of the Viceroy's Council, he said :

> We have not been favoured either by our critics or by the Government as to what is the alternative scheme. We are not taken into the confidence of the secret chambers of the Government, where the Government of India, it is said, have been deliberating upon, and preparing a despatch containing their proposals of reform to be submitted to the Secretary of State for India. In England, the representatives of the Colonies and the Press and the people and Ministers are freely discussing reconstruction of the constitution of the Empire after

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the War, nay even before the War is over it is suggested to set up an Imperial Council, whereas in India we are denied the opportunity of knowing even what the Government are contemplating. It will be a great misfortune if any decisions are arrived at with regard to the future of India by the Government and the Secretary of State for India without the proposals being published and placed before the country at large for public criticism and opinion. I most earnestly urge upon the Government that before any final decision is arrived at, the proposed reforms should be published and the people should be given an opportunity to express their views and that they should be taken into their confidence. I feel that if the people are bitterly disappointed at this juncture, it will mean the greatest disaster to the future progress of this country.

Resolutions of Muslim loyalty were then passed, which closed the deliberations for the day.

The League resumed its sittings on the following morning when Mr. Wazir Hussain, the Secretary, presented the report of the Reform Committee appointed in Bombay. The report was on the same lines as the Congress report. The Raja of Jehangirabad, in moving the adoption of the scheme, said that it satisfied the minimum demands of India. He also rejoiced in the complete union of Hindu and Muslim interests. The Hon. Mr. A. Rasul then moved that the All-India Muslim League, while adopting the scheme of reforms prepared by the Reform Committee of the League and approved by its Council, submits it in conjunction with the Indian National Congress to the Government for its introduction after the war as the first step towards the establishment of complete Self-Government in India. The Hon. Moulvi Fazlul Huq seconded the resolution in Urdu. At the request of the President, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu addressed the gathering on Hindu-Moslem unity. The Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan, Mr. Mahomed Umar, Nawab Zafer Ali Khan and the Hon. Syed Ali Nabi supported the resolution which was carried unanimously. (Most of the speeches were delivered in Urdu; but a selection of the important English speeches on the Self-Government Resolution will be found in another column.) While Mr. Rasul was speaking, H. H. Sir James Meston accompanied by Sir V. Lovat and Mr. L. Curtis arrived at the meeting and were appropriately received with a speech from the chair. Mr. Jinnah addressing His Honor, said :—

I consider it my duty as President of the Ninth Session of the All-India Moslem League to accord to you a most cordial welcome amongst us. Your Honour's presence amongst us as the head of the Local Government is a clear mark and indication on the part of Government of a desire to understand our opinions and our feelings. I once again cordially welcome your Honour.

His Honour Sir James Meston replied :—

Mr. President and Members of the All-India Moslem League,—There are in this interesting gathering too many old friends to make it necessary that I should labour my acknowledgment and the great pleasure with which I have received your invitation to be present to-day and the still greater pleasure at the welcome which you have accorded Sir Verney Lovat and myself. It is not possible for me to discuss, or even to express an opinion on, the subjects which you have gathered together to discuss this morning. But it is possible for me as the head of these Provinces, in which the Mussalmans occupy a large and important place, also as, I may say, I am an old and sincere friend of the Mussalmans (loud applause), it is possible for me in these capacities to offer you a welcome to Lucknow and to express a fervent hope that on the subjects which now come before you for consideration, your deliberation will be guided by wisdom, and you will not overlook and will not subordinate it to any meaner aim and will not overlook the primary duty of the advancement of the increasing welfare and happiness of the great community which you represent. I sincerely thank you all. (Loud applause)

On the third day, the Raja of Jehangirabad moved that their Council should be authorised to send a deputation to England, in co-operation with the Congress Deputation, to urge the united demands of India. Mr. Gandhi, who spoke next on the Indians in the Colonies, urged them to conduct their proceedings in Urdu and to take more interest in Hindu literature than hitherto, as a means for a permanent *rapprochement* between the two communities. The resolution demanding the repeal of the Arms Act was moved by the Hon. Mirza Samiullah Beg, and seconded by Mr. Khunaja. As in the Congress, the repeal of the Press Act was insisted on and a resolution recommending the appointment of an advisory committee in every province, with reference to the working of the Defence of India Act, was also adopted. This was followed by the adoption of another resolution expressing deep regret and pain at the internment of Messrs Mohamed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Zafar Ali Khan, and Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad.

This over, various other resolutions expressing satisfaction at the passing of the United Provinces Municipalities Act, which accepted the principle of separate representation for Moslems on public bodies, demanding amendment of the Patna University Bill, and the immediate establishment of a university at Dacca, advocating the separation of judicial and executive functions at an early date, and the appointments of Governors in all Indian provinces with executive councils, and on other subjects, were then discussed and carried amidst great acclamation.

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THE CONFERENCES AND CONVENTIONS

The Indian Industrial Conference.

IN the afternoon of the 30th December, after the Congress sitting for the day was over, the Indian Industrial Conference assembled at the Congress Pandal at Lucknow. There a melancholy interest in the address of welcome to be delivered by the Hon. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra. As it was originally prepared by the late Rai Bahadur Prag Narain Bharghava Bahadur, whose untimely demise at Calcutta, on December 23rd, created a void the transference of the responsible duty to the Hon. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra. The address began with a comparison between Bombay and Lucknow, traced the various small industries now carried on in the city and in its environs, referred briefly to its historic antiquity and importance, and passed on to a discussion of other important problems of commerce and industry relating to all India. It surveyed the prevailing economic wants of India, touched on the inevitable consequences of the war on Indian trade and urged :—

All the important countries in the world have come to the present industrial eminence by a well organized system of State-aid and protection in the earlier stages. Why should India alone be an exception? Unless, therefore, the Government helps our industries by financial assistance, expert advice, the diffusion of secular, technical and industrial education, internally and by imposing prohibitive duties on foreign articles which can be manufactured in India, externally, I, for one, have no hope of seeing Indian industries developing properly. Even Sir Thomas Holland's Commission has been precluded by the Government of England from discussing the tariff problem. The reason is obvious ; the Government in England is in this respect, as in many other respects, unable to go against the wishes of the people. Lancashire is stronger than the Cabinet. What is the remedy? Fiscal autonomy in India alone. Sir Valentine Chirol, (even he!) cannot justify the refusal to India of the fiscal autonomy for which there is a far more widespread and general demand than for political autonomy. I hope this Conference will urge on the Government to take immediate steps to get the fiscal policy modified to suit the conditions of India. And I dare say this is the most proper time to agitate for this change as the British statesmanship has realized the danger of unrestricted free trade views in England and is on the eve of giving it up in favour of State-aid.

The address then touched on the problems of banking and currency and finished with an enumeration of the inherent defects and disadvantages of the belated Industrial Commission. It urged:—

It is, therefore, essential that without waiting for the implementation of the recommendations of the Commission, the Indian Government should come to our help at once and lay the foundations of industries for which this is the most suitable moment.

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The Hon. Rai Sitanath Bahadur the President of the conference in the course of his address, spoke at some length on the immensity of India's natural resources and the inadequacy of the people's endeavours to take full advantage of them. He then urged on the necessity for State-aid for our infant industries and appealed to the people to take advantage of the principles of co-operative credit societies. He concluded with the following brilliant peroration :—

For over a century we have been in a state of industrial paralysis and helpless dependence. It is a long descent from providing the luxuries for the ancient empires of Asia and Europe to become the mere purveyors of food and raw materials for the more enterprizing nations of to-day. The whole world is being stirred with new aspirations, and India feels the throb of the new life pulsating through her veins. To realise this new life is to be industrially great. And India feels it. It is not going to be a fleeting sensation, a temporary stimulus. Questions of vital importance, of the readjustment of our social, political and educational positions in view of a larger industrial life are engaging the serious attention of our countrymen, and I feel confident that the narrow views, prejudices if you please, which hampered the growth of our industrial life, are rapidly giving way under the stress of the new conditions which are confronting us on all sides. And not the people alone but the Government of India have grasped the essential needs of the situation, and we hope we shall strive together in perfect accord towards the attainment of the ideal before us. And in this connection the labours of the Industrial Conference, through a long series of years, have not been altogether thrown away. We have appealed to and awakened the national consciousness of our people. I see signs on all sides of its being thoroughly roused. I see before me the picture of an awakened India.

The annual report, which was read by the general secretary, Rao Bahadur R. M. Mudholkar, was then adopted. Several papers on economic and industrial questions were then submitted which were taken as read. Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey then moved an important Resolution, in which he urged the necessity of the people taking over the management of Railways, now in the hands of the State, when a suitable opportunity should occur. A committee was also appointed to draw up a memorandum dealing with questions referred to the Indian Industrial Conference for circulation to the standing committee. After re-affirming the resolutions adopted last year, the draft constitution was circulated among the members, their opinions being invited before March 31 next. Rao Bahadur Mudholkar and the Hon. Mr. Manmohan Das Ramji were elected joint secretaries, and Mr. J. K. Mehta, assistant secretary. The office of the Conference will be in Bombay.

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The Indian National Social Conference.

The Thirtieth Indian National Conference met, on December 27th, in the Congress Pandal at Lucknow. A number of ladies were also present. Pundit Manohar Lal Zutshi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates said, that national efficiency should be the central idea of the Social Reform propaganda, and the victory of social feeling over personal and sectional selfishness should be the keynote of all social work. He urged the raising of the depressed classes, and the abolition of early marriage and enforced widowhood. Touching the question of caste and national efficiency, he observed :—

National efficiency, then, should be the central idea of the Social Reform propaganda, and the victory of social feeling over personal and sectional selfishness should be the keynote of all Social Reform work. For, a study of Indian History shows that while the Hindus have not lacked individual virtues, while they have been second to no other community in, for instsnce, integrity, courage, generosity and personal devotion, they have been lacking woefully in social virtues, in public spirit and national cohesion, and in my humble opinion, their downfall may be ascribed in no small measure to this great national defect.

And the chief cause of this great national defect is, I have no doubt, the institution of Caste and the exclusive and centrifugal spirit which it fosters. Whatever its origin in primitive human society may have been and whatever benefits it might have conferred on Hindu Society in the past, Caste, as we see it to-day, is the greatest monster which we have to kill. And when I say this I do not merely mean the outward forms of Caste, though these are bad enough in all conscience, but even more than these, its inner spirit, which makes every Hindu, sometimes in spite of himself, *think* in terms of Caste. It is this anti-national spirit of pride and exclusiveness which we must destroy and replace with the sense of man's duty to man irrespective of birth and rank.

Babu Jyotish Swarup, of Dhera Dun, an ardent Social Reformer and a staunch Arya Samajist, was elected President. He said that to make the organization a real, living one, they should appoint a small working committee and a journal to record the workings of the committee. He fixed the marriageable age for men at 25, and for women at 16. In conclusion, he advocated economy in ceremonies, foreign travel, temperance and social purity, female education, widow marriage and such other reforms.

Our object is to base our reforms on all that is good in our own and to move onwards to find anything elsewhere also good, which we might absorb for the purpose of our advancement. It is not a secret that, on several instances, those who were very emphatic and earnest on the platform in their denunciation of some of the existing social practices, forgot all about their views and resolutions recorded when occasion arose for them to act upon lines agreed to. Such failures have been the great obstacles in the way of progress of social reform. Unless one is brave enough to stand the opposition to practical life together with that moral courage, has tact enough to win over his own near and dear ones to his views, the result will be generally disappointing, because people ordinarily say that when those who have these views fail in courage to put them in practice, there must be something uncertain, something wanting.

The Conference adopted various Resolutions with reference to these subjects and concluded with a request to the Government to introduce a Bill to declare the validity of intermarriages among Hindus.

Sir N. G. Chandavarkar was re-elected General Secretary, Mr. G. K. Devdhar, of the Servants of India Society and Mr. D. G. Delvi were elected Assistant Secretaries for the next year.

The All-India Theistic Conference.

Her Highness the Dowager Maharanee of Cooch Behar, daughter of the great Brahmo leader, Keshab Chander Sen, presided over the last Session of the All-India Theistic Conference, which held its sittings at Lucknow in the Christmas week. Mr. Nilmony Dhar, of Asra, welcomed the delegates in a graceful speech and suggested that the name of the Conference might be changed into the Brahmo Conference as Mahomedans, Christians and Arya theists were not represented. The President, in the course of her address, said :—

I thank you with all my heart for the honour you have bestowed upon me by electing me President of the All-India Theistic Conference this year. I feel very proud, indeed, to think that I should be the first woman to preside. I am here to-day as my great father's daughter. My response is feeble. It is my own life which I know speaks for itself.

I hope here at this meeting at least one thing will be decided and, that is, no members of this Conference shall ever speak disrespectfully of any religion or prophets. Our motherland India has presented us with its most precious gifts, Yoga and Bhakti, Dharma and Satya. Let us try to be worthy of it.

We are all one family and worshippers of one True God. Look yonder brothers and sisters, I can see a vision and in this vision I see all denominations have met, all creeds and castes are assembled, all religions are embracing each other. When we shall all become one universal Brotherhood, and Sisterhood we shall then know the golden age the Satya-Yoga has returned. May God grant this All-India Theistic Conference a success. May there be no discord or misunderstanding amongst the members of this Conference.

The Maharanee of Mourbhung then addressed the Conference on the activities of the ladies of the Brahmo Samaj. A number of other ladies also delivered addresses on the educational and other missionary activities of the Brahmo Samaj.

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The Muslim Educational Conference.

The All-India Muslim Educational Conference met on the morning of the 27th December at the Stratchey Hall, Aligarh. Khan Bahadur Nawab Mahammad Mozamalullah Khan Saheb, President of the Reception Committee, delivered the welcome address in Urdu, in which, delivered the welcome address in Urdu, in the course of which he gave a short history of the aims and objects of the Conference. He concluded with the observation that the object with which the great Sir Syed Ahmed Khan started the Conference now thirty years ago was being fulfilled. The President, the Hon. Mian Muhammad Shafi, then delivered his address.

He spoke at some length on the necessity of the expansion of elementary education among Indian Mussalmans, on the strengthening of the bonds of union between Hindus and Mussalmans by a more vigilant study of Urdu, the *Lingua Franca* of India, and on the need for more scholarships and funds for Muslim educational advancement and finally wound up with an appeal alike to the Government and to his co-religionists to co-operate in bringing about the long longed for Muslim University. Touching the low percentage of Muslim literates, he pointed out :

> What, then, are the existing conditions obtaining in this country in the three stages of education and what are the problems arising therefrom which the Government and ourselves have to face? On the 31st March, 1915, there were 50,579 scholars on the rolls of the various Colleges in this country, of whom only 5,426 were Mahomedans. The total number of students in Secondary Schools on the same date was 1,097,922 of which 203,306 belonged to the Moslem community. And of 5,447,850 scholars reading in Primary Schools, our co-religionists numbered 1,136,156. It may here be noted that these figures include both boys and girls and do not include scholars reading in special schools or private institutions." It will, thus, be seen that while Moslem scholars constitute less than one-ninth of the entire body of students receiving University education, their number in Secondary and Primary Department is approximately one-fifth of the total school-going portion of our population. Bearing in mind the fact that the Moslem community constitutes, roughly speaking, a little over one-fifth of the entire population of India, these figures obviously disclose so far as Moslem education is concerned a highly unsatisfactory state of things in the higher rungs of our educational ladder.

He then paid a warm tribute to the educational activities of H. H. the Nizam and H. H. the Begum of Bhopal.

A number of resolutions were then passed, among which was one expressing the hope that there would be a real educational advancement during the regime of H. E. Lord Chelmsford.

Burma Muslim Educational Conference.

While the Christmas season in India was busy with Conferences, Burma was by no means idle. The Burma Muslim Educational Conference opened on the 27th December at Moiktila, Hajee Esuf Bhymeah, of Rangoon, presiding. Delegates were present from Rangoon, Moulmein and several other parts of the Burmese province. A resolution on Muslim loyalty was unanimously passed. In the course of the presidential address, Haji Esuf Bhymeah dwelt on the educational state of Burma so far as his community was concerned, pointing out that 70 per cent. were illiterate, and that only a few thousands out of five lakhs of Muhammadans in Burma were receiving education. Another lamentable feature, to which the President alluded, was that the Mussalmans of the province had not yet realised the necessity of having a college of their own. The speaker also dwelt upon the necessity of teaching Urdu in higher schools and colleges without which, he thought, the Mussalmans of Burma would go astray from the right track of national progress.

Other important matters touched upon were the appointment of a Muslim Deputy Inspector of Schools and Deputy Inspectress, and the Burma University. Dealing with the latter, he advocated the election by the Government of two members from Upper and Lower Burma separately for the Senate and Syndicate, and provisions for an Oriental Faculty on the model of the Oriental section of the Punjab University.

The Urdu Conference.

The Urdu Conference met at Lucknow on the 29th December under the chairmanship of Nawab Prayal of Patna and concluded its sittings on the third day. Donations were promised for the preparation of an Urdu Encyclopædia.

A Hindu Editor of a Hindustani paper, at Lucknow, suggested to the Conference the desirability of creating a special platform for the discussion of Urdu literature, in order that Hindu lovers of Urdu might also co-operate with the Mahomedan advocates. As it was, the Conference was considered more or less an offshoot of the Mahomedan Educational Conference, and the speaker urged that there should be a separate organization for the discussion of a common subject like the advancement of Urdu literature. The Conference accordingly appointed a committee to enquire and report on the suggestion.

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The Anglo-Indian Empire League.

The Eighth Annual Conference of the Anglo-Indian Empire League met at Jhansi, on December 28th, with the Hon. Mr. J. H. Abbott, President of the League in the Chair. In the course of his presidential address, he pointed out after welcoming the delegates :—

The past year has been an epoch-making period in the history of the Anglo-Indians, because it saw the raising of an Anglo-Indian force. The fact that the given number of recruits had not yet been raised did not militate against the success of the scheme or prestige of the community, as the sanction came at a time when thousands had already responded by enlisting in British lists. The fact that the railways and the Government departments did not find it convenient to spare men should not deter the League from making special efforts to secure the number still required. A concrete example of success attending their efforts was, that the first Anglo-Indian battery is now in Mesopotamia.

Mr. Abbott then dealt with the question of volunteering and invited the Conference to pay special attention to that question. He then referred at some length to the community's representation in the Imperial and other Councils. And, lastly, he strongly advocated the scheme for an Anglo-Indian hostel at Allahabad. The scheme was not one, he said, that concerned the League and the Association only : it was a matter of much concern to the Anglo-Indians in general throughout the Indian Empire. In conclusion, he expressed his pleasure at the presence of several representatives of Anglo-Indian Associations from Calcutta and Allahabad with a view to bring about their amalgamation, as they were all alike moved by common interests and common aims.

The second day's proceedings began with the passing of an important Resolution amidst much enthusiasm and cheering. After considerable debate, the following Resolution was passed :—

That the Conference strongly urges the immediate amalgamation of the League with all other existing Anglo-Indian organizations throughout India and Burmah, and that practical steps be taken forthwith to give effect to this resolution.

This was followed by a number of speeches touching the social and educational improvement of the Anglo-Indian community. Among the subjects that engaged the attention of the Conference were : free and compulsory primary education, technical education, scholarships for the deserving, the establishment of hostels, and the proper utilization and improvement of the charity fund for educational purposes. It was also resolved to institute a Death Benefit Fund. Finally, a committee consisting of members from various centres was formed to prepare a scheme to encourage, increase, and maintain the League membership.

The Conference continued its deliberations on the 30th also, when Mr. J. H. Abbott was re-elected President of the League for the sixth year. Mr. Abbott then spoke on the necessity for a change in the present volunteer system. Other speakers also severely criticised the inadequate manner in which recruiting is being done in India, and after a debate on the compulsory service question, it was resolved to adopt the following Resolutions, which were duly wired to H. E. the Viceroy :—

(1) That, in the opinion of this Conference, it is desirable that compulsory military service be introduced for Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans with as little delay as possible. (2) That, in the opinion of this Conference, the present volunteer system is inefficient and inadequate to the military needs of the State and the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European communities, and it is desirable that a system of compulsory military training be submitted for it.

The main objects of the League were then fully discussed, and it was agreed that among the wants of the Anglo-Indians were : adequate representations in the various councils ; primary and technical education for the poor ; the introduction of the boy scout movement among the community, and greater facilities for social brotherhood among the members.

The Indian Christian Conference.

The All-India Conference of Indian Christians began its sittings at Madras on the 27th December. There were delegates representing the Catholic and Protestant Christians. The Hon. Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E., of Orissa, the President of the Session, made an exhaustive speech, in the course of which he appealed to non-Christian friends for unity, and assured them that the Services of the Indian Christians would always be at their command in any movement which sought the political progress of India within the British Empire. He also insisted on the identity of interests among His Majesty's Indian subjects irrespective of their colour or creeds. He urged on the Indian Christians' specific pride in being first and foremost Indian. Touching this question of nationality, he said :—

We are Indians. Indian blood runs in our veins; Indian history, Indian traditions, are the springs from which we draw our inspirations, our hopes for the future greatness of India are built on the glorious achievements of ancient India. Ostracism is only a form of national emasculation. We shall continue to work as we have done in the past. We shall grow in numerical strength by admitting the depressed classes, and thus form

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a body politic national in its character. We shall do our best to give the fair sex her exalted position as the mother of the nation. We shall continue to afford every facility for intermarriage between the several portions of the Indian population, and thereby fuse the different races into one powerful nation. The offsprings of these intermarriages will not be known as Bengalees Mahrattas, Punjabis or as Brahmins and Kayasthas, but they will be known as Indians. Thus, the Indian Christian community, which at present counts among its members 4 millions, will prove the nucleus, around which will gather one-fifth of the world's population, and form one nation—a nation which had a glorious past and is destined to have a more glorious future. Let me assure our non-Christian brethren our humble services will always be at their command in any movement which seeks the political progress of India within the British Empire. The guiding principle of our communal life has hitherto been and will alway be "peace on earth and goodwill towards mankind."

The present Session was also notable in one important respect, viz., the union of the Catholics and Protestants of India as Indian Christians. The Bishop of Mylapore urged that the proceedings of the Conference should by no means be given a religious aspect and that there should be no prayers during the Session lest there should arise any feeling likely to mar the identity of the interests of all Christians irrespective of minor doctrinal differences. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai spoke at some length on the importance of the Indian Christians acting together, as a whole, in the protection and promotion of their temporal interests. He said that for Catholics, this decision of the All-India Council was an event of far-reaching importance.

Reports of the secretaries and the treasurer having been adopted, the question of the practicability of an All-India Christian daily paper was then mooted. It was, however, claimed as impracticable for the present.

Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai spoke also on the value of co-operative societies for Indian Christians and urged that at a very moderate estimate, they should have at least 5,000 societies. The Lord Bishop of Madras and Mrs. Whitehead also spoke on the need of co-operative unions for the benefit of the depressed classes and suggested some practical methods of redemption from economic distress.

Papers were then read on the law regarding Indian Christians and their present legal disabilities by Professor S. C. Mukerji of Bengal; technical and industrial education of Indian Christian youths by Dr. L. L. Joshi of Bombay; and Indian Christian nationality, by Mr. David of the United Provinces.

The Rajput Conference.

The Twentieth Session of the Rajput Conference was held in the grand shamiana specially erected in the precincts of the Hon. Mr. Haque's residence, at Bankipore, on the 27th December. The Maharaja Bahadur of Dumraon, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered an instructive address, in the course of which His Highness emphasised the value of higher English education in India and primarily for the Kshattriyas. He welcomed the delegates in a graceful speech and alluded to the war in the following words :—

> There is a soul of goodness in things evil, and the war has thus given the people of this country in general and the Kshattriyas in particular one more occasion to manifest their innate and enthusiastic loyalty to the person and throne of the King-Emperor. I therefore fervently appeal to the Rajputs of Behar to offer themselves in large numbers for enlistment in His Majesty's army. I also appeal to the Government to give the Beharee Rajputs greater facilities in enlistment.

This was followed by the Presidential Address delivered by Lieutenant-General H. H. Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, who reciprocated the sentiments contained in the welcome address. His Highness referred to India's devotion to the cause of the Allies, and urged that Rajput chivalry should be dedicated to the cause of the Emperor. He deplored the lack of educational facilities for Rajputs and urged that with sufficient culture they could lead the masses aright. The aim of the Conference, said His Highness, was by no means political but essentially social and educational. To this end he urged his fellow-religionists to work and labour with unceasing devotion to King and country. His Highness urged that the Ruling Princes should be invited to participate in the affairs of the Maha Sabha :

> If the Rajput Ruling Chiefs at this juncture hold aloof and do not extend a helping hand to their poorer brethren, how can they expect that when the community has advanced, as it undoubtedly must and will advance, the same respect, honour, reverence and esteem will be shewn to them as at present? I make, therefore, an earnest appeal to them to aid us by their countenance and support in the efforts we are making for the betterment of our community by educational and other means, in order that the Rajput community may not lose irretrievably that which it formerly held, but has to a great extent now lost—I mean its position in the front rank of civilisation.

His Highness concluded with a reference to the work of His Honor Sir James Meston in connection with his satisfactory compromise about the course of the Ganges at Hardwar.

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The All-India Khatri Conference.

In the course of the address delivered by Dewan Bahadur Amar Nath, Minister of the Kashmir and Jammu State, as President of the All-India Khatri Conference at Lucknow, he said after an expression of loyalty to the King-Emperor and to the cause of the Allies, that the Conference was organised and inaugurated in 1900 under the auspices of the late Sir Baba Khem Singh Bedi and the late Rai Madan Gopal. The President regretted that only ten sessions had been held altogether and urged his compatriots to renew the life of the Conference from this the eleventh session. Touching the aims and scope of the Conferences, he pointed out :—

No definite pronouncement appears to have been made so far as to the aims and objects which this Conference has in view. These can, of course, be gathered from the various resolutions adopted by the Conference in previous sessions, but a clear knowledge on this point is absolutely necessary to avoid the possibility of misconception which is prejudicial to united efforts. I would, therefore, suggest that the amelioration of the social, material and educational condition of the Khatris, which would appear to have been implicitly accepted as the primary aim and object of the Conference, may now be clearly and authoritatively laid down as such for general acceptance.

He then enumerated the various reforms needed for the betterment of the community and suggested intercommunal dealings among the many subdivisions of that caste. He then referred at some length to the education of boys and girls, suggested the establishment of a widows' Home in the manner of Prof. Karve's Home and appealed for funds for organizing such schemes for their amelioration. In conclusion, he objected on behalf of his community to the restrictions and prohibitions that bar their admission into the Indian army. He recalled the military glory of the ancient Khatris and urged the Government to allow his compatriots the privilege of service and sacrifice in the cause of the Empire. He concluded :—

We cannot do a greater service to our community than by compiling an authentic historical record of its past. The best way to do this will be to engage a scholar of repute, who has already published, or is engaged upon, original work on some period of Indian history, preferably during the last two centuries. He may be offered a handsome salary, and if the right man could be found, the work would, I have not the least doubt, be extremely useful, for nothing makes a stronger appeal to the imagination of a race or community or exert greater influence on its practical life than a history of its glorious past, of which we Khatris can, I think, be justly proud.

The Bhatia Conference.

The Third Session of this Conference was held on the 24th December at Lahore. There were about forty delegates from Bombay, including Sir Damodar Thackersey, about fifty from Sind, fifteen from the Frontier Provinces with a sprinkling of Bhatias from the United Provinces and Bengal. The Proceedings began with prayer and an address of welcome from Rai Saheb Dr. Heeralal, when H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab was also present. On the motion of Sir Vitaldas Damodar, Rao Bahadur Dewan Assardas Gotaraj, of Shikarpur, took the chair and addressed the Conference. He urged that there must be an adequate safeguard for the Hindu Religion against the assaults of other competing creeds. He said :—

It cannot be denied by anyone that there is a very great desire on the part of non-Indians, especially the Christians, to spread their religion in India. We have all been complaining of the evils of such an arrangement, but, with the exception of the Arya Samaj, so far as I know, no other community has taken any appreciable steps to fight a battle and resist the invasion. There is no doubt that we have got learned individuals in our community, but it is essentially necessary that there should be specialists—Doctors of Divinity—to face the criticisms of preachers of other religions. By this arrangement, not only shall we be spared time and worry to follow the economic requirements of our life, but keep our religion and community safe from outside assaults and invasions.

Telegrams of sympathy from H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir and other notables were read.

In the two succeeding days various Resolutions pertaining to the welfare of the community were passed, notably several touching the social and educational advancement of the Bhatias. The Conference advocated the establishment of scholarships for boys and girls and the continuation of classes for women. It also expressed its appreciation of the gift of Rs. 6½ lakhs by Seth Curchondas Nath, for founding a school for Bhatias at Bombay, and the Law and Medical Fund founded by the late Seth Gokaldas Tejpal, and emphasised the need of placing the management of these endowments in the hands of Bhatias themselves as far as possible. Other resolutions referred to the need for founding technical scholarships for Bhatia young men. A resolution was passed, praying for the modification of the Punjab Land Alienation Act, and another suggesting the compilation of a history of Bhatias. With thanks to the Lieutenant-Governor for his kind interest and presence, the Conference came to a close.

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The All-India Hindu Conference.

The third All-India Hindu Conference met at Lucknow, on December 25, under the presidency of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E. In welcoming the delegates to the third Session, the Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K.C.I.E., Chairman of the Reception Committee, began with an explanation of the scope and aim of the Hindu Sabha movement. He said :—

Self-preservation is the first function and foremost duty of everything that breathes. Nay, further, every particle of even inanimate matter resists all efforts to break it. How much more it is then the paramount duty of the great and important Hindu community to preserve its solidarity and to resist all attempts made against its hard-earned growth and progress.

This over, the President spoke on the necessity for such a Sabha and enunciated the work that lay before it. He denounced the principle of separate electorates in the Legislative Councils or Municipalities and urged that no franchise should be regulated by racial or religious considerations. He then referred to the apathy of the Government towards social and religious reforms and said :—

On social and religious questions, the Government take little or no interest. This is of course proper from their point of view. But when the Government becomes truly national, socio-religious questions will become recognized fields of activity for Government as may be seen from the legislation adopted in Mysore and Baroda on the question of infant marriage. But the fact of our having an alien Government now throws additional burden on the community as it will have to look after its social evolution and the adjustment of social institutions to changing conditions. These functions the Hindu sabha will have to exercise even on a larger scale when self-rule has been given to India composed as it is of different races and creeds. It is thus that the question of having a Hindu Sabha becomes all important.

The Conference then decided to pass certain resolutions regarding the position of Hindus in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, District and Local Boards and in the Post-War Reforms, and particularly with reference to separate electorates given to the Muslims. The President wrote to the Congress Secretary :—

I think we will be failing in our duty to the Indian National Congress if we were not to inform you that if you consult only the Muslim League representatives and not the Hindu Sabha representatives in your deliberations on the above questions, you will not be doing justice to the great Hindu community. We do feel that our views and sentiment, are not and cannot be fully represented by those Hindus alone who happen to be there as members of the All-India Congress Committee.

On the 26th morning, the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, as Chairman of the Joint-Committee of the Congress and the League invited the representatives of the Sabha, who sent fourteen delegates to attend the joint Conference deliberations on the 27th evening. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao explained the position of the Sabha and requested the Congress Committee to arrange for a Conference between the Moslem League and the Hindu Sabha. As no such interview could be arranged at once, it was decided to postpone the consideration of the question, and the Deputation withdrew with the assurance that they did not press the point then and there and that their object was merely to explain their situation to the Congress and the League and that the two bodies should recognize their position.

The Theosophical Convention.

The forty-first anniversary of the Theosophical Society was held at Lucknow, on December 28, when Mrs. Annie Besant, the President, gave a comprehensive review of the Society's activities in the various parts of the world. She complained about the serious attacks on the religious liberty of the Theosophical Society and "the consequent suffering of its members from official persecution." Referring to the world-wide organization of the Society, she said :—

Forty-four new Lodges have been chartered, as against thirty-one last year. We have, of course, no reports from the belligerent enemy countries; nothing from devastated Belgium; for the second time there is no report from Finland, except from one independent Lodge. The Australian mail is so irregular that we hope for reports from Australia and New Zealand before we go to press; the Netherlands report has not yet arrived, nor those of Cuba and Norway. I am leaving out this year the enemy countries as the figures we have probably bear no relation to the realities, thus we omit Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bohemia, reducing the national societies to 19. The numbers in Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Cuba, Finland, Belgium and Norway are given as in last year, for, though we know the number of new members, we do not know how many have died or have resigned; these will all be understated. Altogether in the 19 national societies, there will be something over 28,000 members.

But the educational activity of the Society, she pointed out, was even more significant than its work in the direction of religious advocacy. The Theosophical Educational Trust has a college for boys and one for girls, and no less than twenty-five schools are under its immediate management. Four more, we are told, are in the making. In all there are 4,577 students—3,463 boys and 1,114 girls, with a staff of 237 teachers. Mrs. Besant also delivered other lectures on various aspects of theosophical work in India.

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The Kayastha Conference.

The Twenty-sixth All-India Kayastha Conference was held at Allahabad, on the 24th December and was attended by a large number of delegates and visitors. Mr. Gulzari Lal, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates and outlined the work before them. Dr. Sir Rash Behari Ghose, the President, drew attention to the decline in the number of Kayasthas and reminded the community of the necessity for devising ways and means for arresting such decadence. He then exhorted them to take to industrial and commercial pursuits and said :

You must overcome your aversion to these pursuits and recognise the dignity of labour. We must move forward with the advancing tide of progress, casting aside all our traditional prejudices. We must reform the present system of education and give it a practical turn which can alone enable us to play our part in the ever-growing struggle for existence. If we want to solve the bread problem, we must pay greater attention to scientific and technical education, which will eventually lead to the industrial regeneration of India.

He then touched upon the various questions of Social Reform for the advancement of the community and rightly concluded with a word of warning against the breeding of communal jealousy and hatred in these days of sectional conferences :—

You will pardon me if I venture to give you one word of warning. While we must steadily proceed on the path of reform, we cannot be too careful in avoiding unnecessary friction and unpleasantness. We must expect honest difference of opinion and learn to tolerate, nay, respect them. Care must also be taken that the feelings of other communities are not embittered by arrogant assertions of superiority or by raking up controversies which will not add an inch to our stature. We must have noticed with interest the growing self-respect amongst all castes and classes in India, and I tell you frankly I would not have taken any part in this Conference if I thought that it would stand in the way of that upward movement. Mutual hatred and jealousy must give place to mutual sympathy and regard, and we must all work in the cause of social regeneration in a spirit of friendly co operation. The great danger of all sectional movements lies in the breeding of jealousy and strife, and we must steer clear of these rocks in our career of useful reform.

The following are among the more important Resolutions that were passed at the Conference :—

(1) "That in order to encourage commerce and industary among members of the community, this Conference urges the establishment of a Technical Class in the Kayastha Pathsala to impart instruction in those subjects." (2) "That this Conference urges upon the community the importance and necessity of female education and abolition of Purdah system as the foundation of all social reforms."

The All-India Temperance Conference.

The thirteenth Session of the All-India Temperance Conference was held on the morning of the 27th December in the Congress pavilion at Lucknow. It was presided over by the Hon. Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma of Madras. There was a large attendance of delegates and visitors. In the course of his speech, the President pointed out that the ideal of the temperance reformer should be abstinence. He then referred to the policy of Government in regard to the drink problem and showed that that policy was based on a fundamental misconception of facts. He pointed out how the drink habit is not only injurious to the physical, moral, and intellectual stamina of the people but is in absolute conflict with the injunctions of the great religious tenets of the Indian people. He appealed to the Government to take up remedial measures to wean the people from the clutches of drink. He also exhorted the people to realise the danger of drink and abstain from the obnoxious habit. In conclusion, the President formulated a number of suggestions to minimise the consumption of alcohol, among which may be mentioned the following :—

That licensing boards should be immediately constituted in the capital cities and other large centres of population.

That the number of shops should be steadily reduced; in so far as such reduction may not lead to illicit consumption or resort to other deleterious drugs.

That the Bengal rule should be strictly adhered to, and that the experiment of removing shops to sites outside municipal areas be tried on a large scale.

That the fixed fee system be given a larger trial in select areas. That preachers be appointed to preach in the vernacular to the classes affected.

That the opening hours of shops should be advanced so as to render it difficult to indulge in drink before starting work for the day, and that shops be closed at sunset, at any rate, in all rural areas in the beginning.

That no drink should be sold to Indian women, or minors.

That duty on foreign liquor be raised.

That the sale of drink under Municipal or governmental control on the ticket or analogous systems may be tried in select areas, where public sentiment is not opposed to it.

The Conference ended with the passing of various resolutions, embodying suggestions similar to those enunciated by the President.

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SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

[EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES AND SPEECHES AT THE CONGRESS AND THE MOSLEM LEAGUE.]

The Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain.

In my opinion, statesmanship demands that Great Britain should announce to the people of this country that a Self-Governing India is the goal of her policy and grant us a substantial instalment of reform after the war, as a step towards that goal. Representative Government should be made a reality by the fullest control over civil affairs being given to the elected representatives of the people whose decisions should be binding on the Executive. Indians should no longer be debared from an honourable participation in the defence of their hearths and homes, but should be given every opportunity developing their martial spirit. The slow deterioration which is taking place in the manhood of the race is one of the saddest results of British rule in India, and steps should be taken to repair the injury as early as possible. It is also essential that in any scheme of Imperial Federation, India should occupy the same position as the Self-Governing Dominions. The Memorandum submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy, by our elected representatives, although not a complete statement of our demands, proceeds on these lines and the same principles underlie the scheme of reform which has been prepared jointly by the All-India Congress Committee and the Muslim League Reform Committee and which will soon come before you. But these reforms, which fall far short of Colonial Self-Government, cannot satisfy India for all time to come and in any legislation undertaken to give effect to them; it should be provided that full responsible government shall be conferred on her within a generation.—*From the Welcome Address to the Congress.*

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The Hon. Mr. A. C. Muzumdar.*

Call it Home Rule, call it Self-Rule, call it *Swaraj*, call it Self-Government, it is all one and the same thing—it is Representative Government. The idea is not a new one, nor is it the revelation of any evangelist. As far as I am aware, the idea dawned upon the people in 1882, when the agitation on the Ilbert Bill first revealed to the people the helpessness of their situation. A *National League* was then formed and a burning pamphlet called the *Star in the East* was issued, which was written in a style and language which, if employed at the present day, would have surely stranded the writer in serious difficulties. Lord Ripon fully anticipated the demand when, in his famous Resolution of January 1882, he told the people that "local self-government must precede national self-government." Although the first Indian National Congress passed no resolution directly bearing on the question, the notification under which it was called into existence clearly stated that one of the objects of the future assembly was "indirectly to form the germ of an Indian Parliament which, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institution." And Mrs. Annie Besant in her admirable book, *How India Wrought for Freedom*, has pointedly referred to the utterance of the Grand Old Man of India, which clearly foreshadowed the coming demand of the Indian people for Self-Government. Ever since then the idea worked and matured itself when, in the brilliant session of the Congress in 1906, it found an emphatic and unequivocal pronouncement from the very same patriarch of the Indian political world in his trumpet-call for *swaraj*, which has since then stirred the Indian mind to its utmost depth to find the true remedy which it had so far sought in vain. A generation has passed away, but a generation has risen whose sole and whole-hearted demand is nothing short of Self-Government as the sovereign remedy for the present unsatisfactory situation. A cry has, however, been raised that we are not yet fit for Self Government. * * *

From the Congress Presidential Address.

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Gentlemen, we are roundly charged with revelling in "extravagant hopes" and indulging in "unrealisable demands." But we have long refused to profit by the very friendly and eminently practical suggestions of those whose only claim to be regarded as the *Statesman* or *Englishman* consists in the proud names which they have, like the "bogus medical degrees," assumed for themselves. We do not judge the great British nation by specimens of this kind who do no honour to the English name. . . .

Let us recall to-day only a few of the many assurances that have been given to India by some of the responsible ministers and men who are now guiding the destinies of the Empire.

The *Times*, the leading organ of conservative opinion in England, has been struck with the unexpected demonstration in India and frankly admitted that the Indian problem must be henceforth looked at from a different point of view. "On our part," says the great journal, "when we have settled account with the enemy, India must be allowed a more ample place in the councils of the Empire." Both Mr. Montague and Mr. Roberts, as Under-Secretary for India, have from time to time expressed themselves in no uncertain voice as to the correct lines upon which the Indian administration requires to be revised and modified. Mr. Montague's honest interpretation of Lord Hardinge's Despatch of August 1911, is well-known, while Mr. Roberts speaking from his place in the House of Commons has frankly acknowledged that with the intellectual classes in India this outburst of loyalty is a "reasoned sentiment based upon considerations of enlightened self-interest," and has at the same time asked the British public to alter "the angle of vision" in their perspective of the Indian problem. Following the *Times*, the *Review of Reviews* has, in one of its latest numbers, fairly admitted that "India to-day occupies a higher place in the Empire than ever before and has materially advanced her claims towards Self-Government, and it is inevitable that, after the war, her outstanding demands should receive the most sympathetic considerations."

"We have," the *Review* adds, "made promises of Self-Government to Egypt, and it is inconceivable that we should deny the same privileges to India. At present India is not pressing her claim but patiently awaits her just due not as a reward but as a right which her conduct has shown her worthy of possessing."

Lord Haldane, who till recently occupied a commanding position in the Cabinet, said :—

The Indian soldiers were fighting for the liberties of humanity as much as we ourselves. India had given her lives and treasures in humanity's great cause, hence things could not be left as they were. We had been thrown together in the mighty struggle and had been made to realise our oneness, so producing relations between India and England which did not exist before. Our victory would be victory for the Empire as a whole and could not fail to raise it to a higher level.

Then at a recent meeting held at Guildhall, at the instance of the Lord Mayor, Mr. Asquith, the Premier, and Mr. Bonar Law, the erstwhile leader of the Opposition, and both now united in coalition ministry, have given a pointed pledge for the readjustment of India's position in the councils of the Empire after the war is over. But to quote the words of Mr. Bonar Law, why the thing should not be done "while the metal was still glowing red-hot from the furnace of the war" and the promised rewards of India's comradeship and co-operation should be all relegated to the indefinite future and not one of them even shadowed forth in the present programme of the Imperial Government, seems to be inexplicable. Quite recently, Lord Chelmsford is reported to have said that "the war, by giving India an opportunity to show its practical importance to the Empire, had stirred Indian aspirations for developments politically and economically. It would be his endeavour to secure a practical response to this new desire for progress." His Lordship is said to have added :—"My task is to guard India from cramping influences of undue conservatism equally with unpractical revolutionary tendencies."

Now, are these men of less authority, foresight and responsibility than the members of the Indian bureaucracy or its exponents in the Anglo-Indian Press who are ever so loud and positive in denouncing our claims? Or are these assurances all a hoax intended to delude the Indian mind? We positively refuse to accept any such view which would be a gross calumny on the great British nation. We have much greater confidence in British statesmanship which may have blundered in many places but has failed nowhere. Gentlemen, we indulge in no gloomy anticipations; but we shudder to contemplate the serious effect which the non-fulfilment of these pledges is likely to produce in the minds of the Indian public. . .

As loyal subjects of His Majesty, we, of the Congress, deem it our duty to tell all whom it may concern not to treat the Indian problem after the war as lightly as some irresponsible and mischievous critics are evidently disposed to do. Already a subdued note of the scrap of paper has been raised in certain quarters. The Charter Act of 1833, the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 and the two gracious messages of King Edward VII and

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George V still remain unredeemed, and it would be no wise statesmanship to add to the burden of unredeemed pledges. England has been drawn into the vortex of a titanic struggle for the deliverance of Belgium and Servia. God grant, she may come out with her brave Allies completely triumphant in her heroic efforts. She has, however, a much greater stake in India, and India has a much greater claim to her consideration. Let us hope she will not fail to be at least as just as she is generous.

After the war is over, a complete readjustment of the Empire will have to be made ; all its component parts will have to be co-ordinated and harmonised with one another and with the parent state. India alone cannot be left out of this programme. She must be admitted into common and equal partnership with colonies on terms of equal rights and obligations of the Empire, enjoying equal laws and equal rights of British citizenship throughout that Empire. The collar of a Dependency should be removed from her neck and the coronet of an autonomous Self-Governing State placed upon her head. What a glorious federation it would then be, more glorious than that of the Roman Empire or of any that the world has yet seen.

The Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah.*

Is India fit for freedom ? We, who are present here to-day, know full well that from the Indian standpoint there can be but one answer. Our critics would probably challenge our conviction. Our only reply to them would be to go forward and put the matter to the proof. After all, what is the test of fitness ? If we turn to history, we find that in the past, only such people have been declared to have been fit for freedom who fought for it and attained it. We are living in different times. Peace has its victories. We are fighting and can only fight constitutional battles. This peaceful struggle is not and will not be wanting in the quality of vigour and sacrifice, and we are determined to convince the British Empire that we are fit for the place of a partner within the Empire, and nothing less will satisfy India. . . .

The first and the foremost question that requires to be put at rest is, that the position of India in the Empire should be defined in the most unequivocal terms. It should be made clear by the Government in an authoritative manner that Self-Government is not a mere distant goal that may be attained at some future indefinite time, but that Self-Government for India is the definite aim and object of the Government to be given to the people within a reasonable time. That should be the aim and object of the reconstruction and reformation of the present constitution of the Government of India, and immediate steps should be taken after the War to introduce the reforms towards that end in view both by the Government and the people.

Reading the signs of the time it appears that the claims of the Overseas Dominions, such as Canada, Australia, and even South Africa, *viz.*, to allow them a voice in the declaration of war and the making of peace and the Imperial Foreign policy if they are to bear the responsibilities of the Empire cannot well be resisted and it might follow that an Imperial Parliament may be constructed and established. England, Scotland and Ireland have their separate Parliaments for the purpose of managing their internal and domestic affairs such as the Dominions already have. Sir Joseph Ward, addressing the meeting of the Insurance Institute at Gresham College only last month, said that :—

> **In the future reconstruction of the Empire, there could not be any interference with local authority and though an Imperial Parliament was a long way off, they might now work for some effective Imperial Council and that before an organic Parliament was possible, there must be devolution in Britain to pave the way for a federal legislature overseas. The Dominions had no right even to a minority voice as to whether the nation should go to war or what the peace terms should be.**

He quoted Mr. Asquith's speech at the 1911 Imperial Conference, in which the Prime Minister stated that "an Imperial Parliament scheme would impair the authority of the British Parliament." Sir Joseph added:

> **Since then, there had been a great evolution of opinion on the subject. Mr. Bonar Law had declared as a result of the war the time was coming when the Overseas Dominions would share in the Government of the Empire with Britain. He hoped that before the war ended, some *modus vivendi* would be established.**

In the political reconstruction, India, the largest part of the Empire, cannot possibly be allowed to continue a dependency as an adjunct to England, Scotland or Ireland, or to be ruled and governed by the Dominions. Hitherto the responsibility, the control and the supervision of India has been vested in Great Britain. The question naturally arises, what will be the position of India if an Imperial Parliament with full representation of the Dominions is constituted ? Is India to have new and additional masters ? Is India to be

* From the Presidential Address to the Moslem League.

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ruled jointly by England, Scotland, Ireland and the Dominions? Are we to be handed over to this Imperial Parliament and to be thus ruled and to be governed by the Colonies? Are we not to have a status or *locus standi* in this Imperial Parliament? I feel sure that I am expressing the opioion of the entire educated people of this country that India will never allow herself to be relegated to such an intolerable position. Indeed, she does not want a change of masters nor additional masters. If an Imperial Parliament, such as indicated above, is established, India's right should be recognised and her voice in that Imperial Parliament must be fully and properly secured and represented by her own sons in the Councils of the Empire.

The Hon. Syed Nabi-Ullah.

The All-India Moslem League stands to-day for two principal objects, namely, for the safeguarding of the political position of Mussalmans and for co-operation with the other communities for the attainment of Self-Government or Home Rule.

It has given considerable relief to all of us to find that the responsible Hindu leaders in all parts of India realise the Moslem standpoint and are ready to offer all reasonable guarantees for the safety of the Moslem political position. With the settlement of this fundamental question involving the fate of India's future, nothing else should remain in the way of a complete Hindu-Moslem co-operation for the supreme end we both have in view. That end, I need hardly say, is United India, alive to her destiny and recoiling from no toil and sacrifice to rise to the summit of her aspiration, *i.e.*, to the position of a self-governing member of the British Empire. Is there a single Mussalman present here to day, nay, is there a single Indian in and outside of this hall, born of Indian woman, whose heart fails to warm up and whose pulse does not beat faster as he gives even a moment's thought to that glorious conception? If there is such a miserable wretch in existence, he is a freak and a monstrosity. For such ideal no effort can be spared, no sacrifice can be too great.—*From the Welcome Address to the All-India Moslem League.*

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The Hon. Babu Surendranath Banerjea.*

Ladies and gentlemen, we are on the eve of a great reconstruction. The world after the war will not be the same as it was before the war. England and India will participate in that reconstruction. The object of the war is to vindicate the sanctity of treaty obligations, to protect the rights of minor nationalities, to uphold the sacredness of scraps and bits of paper. In the same spirit, I submit, we are entitled to hold, that the gracious messages contained in our charters and proclamations should be redeemed and upheld; for the moral law does not work by latitudes and longitudes. It is of univeral application. The latest declaration on the subject of readjustment that we have had is the one made by Lord Chelmsford to an American correspondent. His Excellency observed that the war has stimulated the aspirations of India politically as well as industrially, that it would be his duty to give them a practical form and recognition—now mark the words—to guard them—I am quoting almost the exact language—to guard them against the cramping influences of undue conservation and also against revolutionary tendencies. A noble message nobly delivered. If His Excellency can carry out this message, he will go down to posterity as one of the greatest benefactors of

* The most important Resolution passed at the last sitting of the Congress was the one on "Self-Government for India." The terms of the Resolution were:—

(*a*) That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilisations and have shown great capacity for government and administration, and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British Rule, and further having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to the existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should issue a Proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of the British policy to confer Self-Government on India at an early date.

(*b*) That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards Self-Government by granting the reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League. (For text of the Scheme, please see page 57).

(*c*) That, in the construction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions.

The Resolution was proposed by the Hon. Babu Surendranath Banerjea, seconded by Mrs. Besant and supported by Mr. Tilak and several others, whose speeches are herein reproduced.—[Ed. *I. R.*]

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the Indian people. But, brother delegates, I desire to raise a note of warning. There has been, of late, a tendency to err on the side of caution. A high authority, supposed to be a power behind the throne, speaking in Simla at a public meeting at which the question of post-war reforms was discussed, said that if Akbar had been more cautious and less imaginative, possibly the Moghul Empire in India would have endured till to-day. Prophecy in regard to matters that might have been but were not is a prefectly safe occupation. Might I not be permitted to indulge in the same pastime and say that if Akbar had not followed this bold and courageous policy, the Moghul Empire would not have taken root in the hearts of the people? I am supported by the authority of the historians of Akbar and by an overwhelming array of facts. Mark what happened before the establishment of the Moghul power in India. Dynasty after dynasty followed one another in rapid succession. There were five dynasties within the space of 300 years giving an average life of 60 years to each. Akbar grasped the situation and saw the weakness of it all and initiated a bold and statesmanlike policy, which enshrined him in the hearts of the people and laid broad and deep the foundations of the Moghul Empire. And I am sure that if Akbar had followed any other policy which failed to attract the hearts of the people, the fate which had overtaken the previous dynasties would have been his.

Ladies and gentlemen, Lord Chelmsford has observed that it would be his duty to guard the country against revolutionary tendencies. I think His Excellency may rely with absolute confidence upon the unstinted support of the educated community in this matter. We are not revolutionaries. (Cries of 'No, no.') Revolution is repugnant to our instincts and to our nature. We are the friends of reform (hear, hear), because it is the surest safeguard against revolution. All history proclaims the truth that reforms indefinitely postponed or tardily carried out, or inadequate in their scope and comprehension, prepare the ground for revolutionary propagandas. God grant that this blunder may not be committed in India. We know it was committed in Ireland. We are anxious that the same mistake may not be repeated here (hear, hear). Lord Chelmsford said to the Deputation of the Indian Association—I was a member of that deputation—that reforms would not be rapid. Well, whether they be rapid or slow, let there be no reforms by driblets with a background of mistrust and suspicion. Whatever reform is conceded, let it be whole-hearted, let it be the index of a generous trust reposed in the people, and, above all, let it be adequate to the growing aspirations of India. Any reform that fails to satisfy this test must give rise to disappointment, create discontent, frustrate the object of all reforms, which is to keep pace with an advancing public opinion. I hope and trust that it may be Lord Chelmsford's high privilege to grant us reforms which will satisfy the growing aspirations of the people and be consonant with the scheme which has been formulated and which is now before you.

Brother delegates, there is a widespread feeling all over the Empire that after the war, Self-Government should be conceded to India, or that, at any rate, a definite step should be taken towards it. The difference of opinion between Indian Nationalists and our critics is this: We say we should have Self-Government at once or in the immediate future. They say we must pass through purgatory on our way heavenwards. Mr. Lionel Curtis (cries of 'Shame')—never mind—he is a man who has written several books on the subject. He exercises considerable influence over English public opinion. He may or may not be an opponent of Indian aspirations, but let me try to meet him on his own ground. . . . . In his book "The Problem of the Commonwealth," he says, "The task of preparing for freedom the races which cannot as yet govern themselves is the supreme duty of those who can. It is the spiritual end for which the Commonwealth exists, and material order is nothing except a means to it." The preparation of the races living within the British Empire for Self-Government is, according to Mr. Lionel Curtis, a spiritual end for which the Commonwealth exists, and it is the sole justification for British rule in this country. Material order is a means to that end. All administrative measures are subordinated to this spiritual end which overshadows every other aim and purpose. So far so good; we are all in agreement with Mr. Lionel Curtis. But when he comes to the question of Self-Government for India, he cries out, 'Not yet.' That is an old cry. He says, you cannot have Self-Government now. Why not? Because you have not got suitable electorates. To that my reply is, Had you any electorates in the United Kingdom worth the name before the Reform Bill of 1832. (Hear, hear.) Is it not notorious that there were those pocket boroughs which were openly bought and sold? And yet no

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one questioned the competency of the English people for Self-Government. Had Japan electorates suitable or otherwise when the Mikado conferred parliamentary institutions upon that country? Had the Philippinos any electorates, qualified or otherwise, when the American Republic resolved to concede national independence to the people of the Philippines? The growth and development of electorates is part of the growth and development of free institutions. They are inseparable and linked together. They act and react upon each other and strengthen each other by their mutual interaction.

It is said that we are not fit for Self-Government. We are, forsooth, unfit for self-rule. In the morning of the world, when Europe was sunk in barbarism, our ancestors had those village communities which represent the first beginnings of self-government and which survived the vicissitudes of time and fortune. We are not fit for self-government! Go back to the days of the Vedic Rishis. What do you find? The king was an elected monarch—so says Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjea in his book. And even in the Middle Ages the memory of an elected sovereign lingers in the institutions of the land. Analyse the institution of Islam. What do you find? Islamic society and government are saturated with the spirit of democracy; and the Caliph, the spiritual head of the Moslem world, originally owed his authority, his position and dignity to the choice of the Faithful. There is no community in the world in which the spirit of equality is more visible and more active than that professing the creed of Islam. And yet we are told, we Hindus and Mussalmans are not fit for Self-Government. When shall we be so fit, may I ask? When will the bureaucracy think that we are? (Laughter). And when will that be? Doomsday. (Renewed laughter). There is yet another authority which may give us Self-Government. What is that? The Parliament of England? But it takes a long time to move Parliament. Sir Henry Fowler said on one occasion that every member of the House of Commons was a member for India; what is everybody's business is nobody's business. We have found that from our painful personal experience. Nobody cares for India. England and Englishmen are so deeply concerned in their own affairs, absorbed in their own administration and government that they find it impossible to pay any attention to India. Who then will determine the time when Self-Government is to be conceded to us? You and I. (Hear, hear, and applause.) For nations by themselves are made. (Hear, hear). Enlist on your behalf all the sympathy you can of Englishmen and Englishwomen and of the civilised world; but bear in mind you and you alone are the final arbiters of the destinies of the Motherland. (Applause). Cromwell on one occasion made a memorable remark of which I am reminded at the present moment. On the eve of the battle of Naseby, when a severe thunder storm passed over the encampment addressing his troops, he said, "Keep your powder dry and pray." Pray by all means, but keep your powder dry. Don't lose sight of the material resources which are necessary for success in this world. Spiritual agencies are a mighty factor but the material resources are not to be despised. The salvation of India is to be wrought upon Indian soil by Indian hands, by Indian brains and by Indian agency. (Applause.) Have by all means the sympathies of Englishmen and of the civilised world, but it is you who will determine the great question for yourselves.

Ladies and gentlemen, I don't know whether I have already exhausted your patience. (Cries of 'No, no.') I have a few more remarks to make. Why is it that we want Self-Government? We want Self-Government in the interests of the Empire to which we are so proud to belong. We want Self-Government in the interests of the efficiency of the administration. We want Self-Government for self-protection. And, finally, we want Self-Government for the highest ends of national existence, for the moral and spiritual elevation of our people. I say we want Self-Government in the interests of the Empire. Who knows what will happen 20 years hence? Who knows what strife, what struggle, what difficulties there may be hidden in the womb of the future? Who knows that another war more sanguinary and more devastating than the one which is now desolating Europe may not again break out with all its attendant horrors and cast its shadow upon the fortunes of humanity? Is it not the duty of statesmanship to be forewarned and to be forearmed, to take the necessary measures of precaution against a contingency of this kind? Who had ever dreamt forty years back, after the battle of Sedan, that England and Germany would stand and fight with one another? You talk of the man-power of Germany. But look nearer home. We are as multitudinous as the stars of heaven, as countless as the stars of heaven, as countless as the sands of the sea. I say to the rulers of India, Rely upon us, trust us, and Germany will quail

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before the man-power you hold in reserve in India. (Hear, hear). Marshman says in his history of British India the grandsons of those who fought against Baber became under Akbar the governors of his provinces, the captains of his armies and the ministers of his councils. Let such trust be reposed in us, and England may pause with serenity the mightiest combination that may be formed against her Imperial sway. Self-Government is the cement of the Empire. It has knit together the Self-Governing Colonies in the bonds of an indissoluble union. It has converted hostile Boers into loyal citizens shedding their blood in suppressing a rebellion of their own countrymen against the Empire, which has conferred on them the inestimable gift of freedom. If Self-Government is conceded to us, the same results will follow in this ancient land.

We want Self-Government for the efficiency of the administration. . . . . Sir Henry Campbell Bannermann has told us that good government is no substitute for self-government. I will go a step further and add that in fairly progressive communities, self-government is the only guarantee for good government. . . . Good government is no substitute for self-government, but self-government is necessary for good government, and we claim it for the purpose of good government. . . . .

We want Self-Government for the purpose of self-protection. You might ask—what do you mean by self-protection? At the present moment there is visible on the horizon a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, which, I am afraid, unless timely precautions are taken is destined to assume formidable proportions and bursting upon us may overwhelm us. What is that cloud? It is the prospect of a federal council of the Empire from which we are to be excluded and on which there will be colonial representatives. The Self-Governing Colonies are soaked in colour prejudice. From the Federal Council of the Empire, they will determine the policy and the principles of Indian administration. We must put our own house in order and have self-rule before this dire catastrophe overwhelms us.

We want Self-Government finally for the highest needs of national existence, for the moral and spiritual elevation of our people. Political inferiority involves moral degradation. It is galling to our self-respect. The mind and the conscience of a free man are not the mind and conscience of a slave. A nation of slaves could never have produced a Patanjali, a Buddha, or a Valmiki. We want Self-Government in order that we might wipe off from our brows the badge of political inferiority and uplift our heads among the nations of the earth, so that we may fulfil the great destinies that are in store for us under the blessing of Divine Providence. We want Self-Government not only in our own interests but for the sake of humanity at large. In the morning of the world, on the banks of the Ganges and on the banks of the Jumna, the Vedic Rishis sang those hymns which represent the first yearnings of infant humanity towards the Divine ideal. In the morning of the world, before the Eternal City had been built on the seven hills, we were the spiritual preceptors of mankind. Kashi was flourishing before Babylon. Our past takes us back to the dim twilight of history. In those days, when the world was sunk in primeval barbarism, we were the guides and instructors of mankind. Has our mission been fulfilled? It has been arrested and will have to be renewed, aye, renewed and fulfilled, so that we may rescue humanity from the gross materialism and the perverse moral culture which has heaped the battlefields of Europe with the hecatombs of the dead. But we must be fully equipped before we can adequately discharge this high and exalted function. Self-Government is the indispensable equipment. These are the ideals, the hopes and the aspirations which inspire us in the demand for Self-Government. Our work is not political: it is moral, it is religious. We are therefore irresistible and invincible.

To-day is a red letter day in our history. To-day Hindus and Mahomedans and all ranks of the National party are united on this platform inspired by a common resolve and a common purpose. May the memory of this day be embalmed in the recollections of posterity by the inauguration of a new campaign for the attainment of Self-Government. It is no use our holding a session for three days and then going to sleep for the rest of the year. We must resolve in our hearts and take a vow such as we did in connection with the Swadeshi movement and enter into a solemn league and covenant before God and man that we shall not rest from these labours until we have secured for ourselves the great and inestimable blessing of Self-Government. (Hear, hear, and applause).

INDIAN NATIONAL EVOLUTION. By Amvica Charan Mazumdar. Price Rs. 2. To Subscribers of "I. R," Re. 1-8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

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Mrs. Annie Besant.

You have just heard the scheme of reforms which has been passed by the All-India Congress Committee in Conference with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League. Those reforms are alluded to in the second clause, and you will see that they are meant for a transition period to be passed as soon as possible and to lead up to that change, which is to come with the reconstruction of the Empire after the War—that change to Self-Government of India on a footing of equality with the Self-Governing Dominions. It is to the last clause that I propose to ask your attention. The last clause says that in the reconstruction of the Empire after the War, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions. With regard to that, it is said that you ought not to embarrass the British Government by raising such a question as this in the middle of the War. We are only following the example of the Self-Governing Dominions. We are only taking the advice of Mr. Bonar Law, who advised the Dominions to strike the iron while it was red hot. After the reconstruction of the Empire, the iron will be cold, and where, I ask, is the blacksmith who allows the red-hot iron to cool down before he strikes it to the shape and form he wants?

We hear at this moment much talk about the five nations who are to form a Federated Empire after the War. Where is India? Oh! She is not one of the five. She is a coloured people, and coloured people are to have the right of domination over them by colourless people. Coloured people have only the duty of submission. (Cries of 'Shame.') But that is not the doctrine that this coloured nation at least is willing to accept. We are not uncivilised natives of South Africa, that we should bow our heads beneath the yoke of the five nations. It is not lack of colour that makes clever brains. The Lord Buddha and the Christ were coloured men. All the founders of religion were coloured men. Have the colourless produced a single founder of religion? We will never bow beneath the yoke of the Colonies.

We are told not to spread bitterness against the Colonies. I think the writer of that has begun at the wrong end. Have we excluded the Colonies from India, because they could not talk or write some language of which they knew nothing? Was it this country or was it Australia that passed that Law? Have we said that no North American or Canadian should come to India unless he comes straight from port to port when there is no line of ships that carries straight from one to the other, or has Canada made that law against the Indian people? What is this talk of bitterness? Bitterness is caused by the Colonies and not by India. Let this advice be given to the Colonies and not to India. The Indian had no share in the making of that feeling.

Oh! We are not fit to govern ourselves and we are divided! Are we? We have shown some power of union during the last few years. Our Congress was split into half nine years ago. But we stand a United Congress to-day. Hindus and Muslims had a gulf between them, not in Kashmir where a Hindu Prince rules, not in the Deccan where a Muslim Prince is the Sovereign, but only in the British Raj, and that gulf has been bridged by Muslims and Hindus themselves, and we have linked our hands in love, in trust, in mutual forbearance, in mutal respect, and we stand to-day a united nation that nothing shall hereafter break asunder.

Oh! you are not fit for Self-Government. You are ignorant. Who has the right to cast that reproach at the masses of our people? It was the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale who tried to win free and compulsory education cautiously, carefully, step by step, for he was not an impatient idealist in the world, however much his heart went with impatient idealism. An Indian tried to educate his brethren but who is it that denied it? It was the Imperial Council with its perpetual majority of officials. Does it then lie in the mouths of Englishmen to reproach us with ignorance when the Government would not educate our people and would not help us to do it.

Then they say: "You cannot help yourselves." Did we pass the Arms Act? Did we take away weapons from the hands of our people? Since 1878, there has been no pure-blooded Indian, whether Hindu or Musalman, who could possess arms without a licence, to the gaining of which all sorts of difficulties are attached. Is it India's fault that it is undefended? For thirty years the Congress has asked for the repeal of the Arms Act and for permission to volunteer and to open Military Colleges, and those who have treated every demand with contempt, say that we are not fit to govern ourselves, because we cannot defend ourselves. It is only Home Rule that will enable us to defend ourselves. Until we have Home Rule, we cannot be armed as we should be.

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Oh! it is said there are divisions among you. There are none in England! (Laughter). Before the Great War in 1914, which saved the Empire, the United Kingdom was on the brink of Civil War. Was England then unfit for Self-Government? How far was England educated when the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed? Has England always been so quiet under difficulties? In 1913, were there no strikes paralysing railway traffic and threatening London with starvation, because of the lack of transport, as all men engaged in transport work were on strike, and yet England is fit for Self-Government, and you, quiet and industrious, are not?

As regards the objection, that educated Indians are in a minority: the educated of every country are in a minority, but they are not in so small a minority as the God-given Rulers of to-day. The educated minority know the people, and the English do not. People come here to learn about the Indian Nation. They live in Government camps, and they go about with Government officers. They make friends of those who have murdered India. Is that the way to learn what Indians think? What idea can they get of the village life when they see it under such circumstances.

Then we are told that we are injuring the prestige of the British Nation, and the Press Act is brought down to silence criticism. Have you forgotten that one of the Panjabi papers that described the condition of London was held to have excited hatred and contempt against His Majesty's British subjects, and the security of that paper was forfeited? Sir James Meston may think my language emphatic, I am afraid, but we want emphasis in order to make both our rulers and people understand the intolerable condition of things under which India is living to-day.

India has still love for England. India does not want to break the British connection, but the England she loves is not the steel-framed England of the Press Act, the Defence of India Act, the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and all those horrible enactments of 1818 and 1827. It is not the England of those things that we love; it is the England of Cromwell, of Hampden and Pym, of Milton and Shelley. It is the England that shelfered the threatened life of Mazzini, the England that welcomed Garibaldi, by thousands in her streets as the liberator of Italy, the England that has been sheltering every political refugee, it is that England that we love. That is the England that, despite everything else, we still believe in, but she is ignorant and blinded by the people who come here on superficial knowledge and confirm her in her blunders instead of enlightening her.

England is fighting for her life, and has called India to help her with as much as India is able to give. Oh! India would have given so much more, so many more men, so many more volunteers in order to help England in the day of her need. But England at her peril calls on Indian soldiers to fight for the liberty of Belgium and the sacredness of treaties, and then sends those soldiers back home to find their people still in bondage and treaties disregarded, torn in pieces and thrown aside. That which England fights for in Europe she must admit here. There is only one thing which makes a Nation fit for freedom, and that is the heart to aspire after it, and the will which is determined to have it. England will not give you freedom, no Nation has ever been given freedom, but England will pass an Act of Parliament establishing freedom when she realises that you are in earnest, that you are tired of being played with, that you are determined to be free, and India's loyalty rests on a belief in the old England and not in the English bureaucracy, and her loyalty is the reasoned loyalty of freemen; she has asked for her place in the Empire, and until that is granted, there will be danger in the path of progress.

Mr. Balgangadhar Tilak.

I thank you sincerely for the reception that you have given me on this platform, but let me tell you I am not fool enough to think that this reception is given to me personally. It is given, if I rightly understand, for those principles for which I have been fighting. The resolution which I wish to support embodies all these principles. It is the resolution of Self-Government. It is that for which we have been fighting, for which the Congress has been fighting for the last thirty years. The first note of it was heard ten years ago on the banks of the Hughli, and it was sounded by the Grand Old Man of India, that Parsi Patriot of Bombay, Dadabhai Naoroji. Since the note was sounded, difference of opinions arose. Some said that the note ought to be carried on and ought to be followed by a detailed scheme at once, that it should be taken up and made to re-

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sound all over India as soon as possible. There was another party amongst us that said that it could not be done so soon, and the tune of that note required to be a little lowered. That was the cause of the dissension ten years ago, and I am glad to say that I have lived these ten years to see that we are going to put our voices and shoulders together to push on this scheme of Self-Government. Not only have we lived to see these differences closed, but to see the differences of Hindus and Muhammadans closed as well. So, we have now united in every way in the United Provinces, and we have found that luck in Lucknow. So, I consider it the most auspicious day in the most auspicious session of this 31st Indian National Congress. There are only one or two points on which I wish to address you. It has been said by some that we, Hindus, have yielded too much to our Muhammadan brethren. I am sure I represent the sense of the Hindu community all over India when I say that we could not have yielded too much. I would not care if the rights of Self-Government are granted to the Muhammadan community only. I would not care if they are granted to Rajputs. I would not care if they are granted to the lowest classes of the Hindu population, provided the British Government considers them more fit than the educated classes of India for exercising those rights. I would not care if those rights are granted to any section of the Indian community. Then the fight will be between them and another section of the community, and not, as at present, a triangular fight. We have to gain this from a powerful bureaucracy, an unwilling bureaucracy, naturally unwilling, because the bureaucracy now feels that these rights, these privileges, this authority, will pass out of their hands. I would feel the same if I were in that position, and I am not going to blame the bureaucracy for entertaining that natural feeling, but whatever that feeling may be, it is a feeling which we have to combat against, it is a feeling that is not conducive to the growth of Self-Government in this country. We have to fight against that feeling, and when you have to fight against a third party, it is a very important thing that we stand on this platform united as regards all shades of different political opinion. This is the most important event of the day. When Dadabhai Naoroji declared that "Swaraj" should be our goal, its name was, "Swaraj"; later on, it came to be known as Self-Government and Constitutional Reform, and we, Nationalists, style it Home Rule. It is all the same in three different names. There is the objection raised that "Swaraj" has a bad odour in India and "Home Rule" had a bad odour in England, and hence we ought to call it Constitutional Reform.

I do not care to call it by any name. I do not mind the name, but I believe you have hardly realised the importance and character of that scheme of reform. Let me tell you that it is far more liberal than the Irish Home Rule Bill, and then you can understand what possibilities it carries with it. It may not be complete Home Rule, but it is more than a beginning of it. It may not be complete Self-Government, but it is far better than Local Self-Government. It may not be "Swaraj" in the wider sense of the word, but it is far better than "Swadeshi" and "Boycott." It is, in fact, a synthesis of all the Congress resolutions passed during the last 30 years, a synthesis that will help us all to proceed to work in a definite and responsible manner. We cannot now afford to spend our energy on all the resolutions on the Public Services, the Arms Act, and sundry others. All is comprehended and included within this one resolution.

I would ask every one of you to try to carry out this one resolution with all your effort, might, and enthusiasm and everything that you can command; your intelligence, money, enthusiasm, all must now be devoted for carrying out this scheme of reform. Do not think it is an easy task. Nothing can be gained by passing resolutions on this platform by the simple union of the two races, the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and the two parties, the Moderates and the Nationalists. The union is intended to create a certain power and energy amongst us, and unless that power and energy are exercised, you cannot hope to succeed, so great are the obstacles in your way. You must now prepare to fight out the scheme. In short, I do not care if the sessions of the Congress are held no longer. I believe it has done its work as a deliberative body. The next part is the Executive and that will be placed before you afterwards.

When "Swaraj" was declared to be our goal, it was a question whether it was a legal goal. The Calcutta High Court held it was a legal goal a year afterwards. Then it was a question whether it was legal. Finally, it was decided that it must be carried out, and expressed in such words as would not cast any slur on the bureaucracy which was the master at the time. That, too,

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has been decided judicially, that you can make any criticism in order to further your objects and justify your demand, and that it comes within the bounds of law. So, the goal of "Swaraj" is declared legal, and here you have a specific scheme of "Swaraj" passed by the united communities of the Hindus and Muhammadans. All the thorns in your way have been removed. It will be your own fault if you do not succeed in attaining what is now described in this scheme. This is a very serious responsibility. Do not shirk it but work for it.

The days of wonders are gone. You cannot feed now 100,000 people on a few crumbs of bread as you did in Jesus' day. The attaining of this object cannot be achieved by the wonders of Heaven. You have to do it. These are days of work and incessant labour, and I hope that, with the help of Providence, you will find that energy and those resources which are required for carrying out that scheme. I hope that by the end of 1917, when I expect that the War will be closed, or at least in 1918, we shall meet at some place in India, where we shall be able to raise up the banner of Self-Rule.

The Hon. Mr. Muzhar-ul-Haque.

All my political life I have been of this opinion that our Motherland cannot advance without the unity of Hindus and Mahomedans. Having been of this opinion, I have worked for the attainment of that union, and that has been achieved to-day in this town of Lucknow. I consider it my duty here to mention the name of one who has been the chief instrument of attaining that unity, I mean the name of my revered friend, the Rajah of Mahmudabad. I assure you that he is an asset for India. I hope there will be many like him in my country. May he live long! The time for speechifying and talk has long gone by and the time for action has come. You are talking about Self-Government and Home Rule; and do you for a moment believe that you will get it by talking? Unless and until you make your rulers believe that you are earnest and serious in your demand, you will never get anything. I am sure of it. So my advice to my countrymen is this, try to work now. You must have a propaganda throughout the country, and let our rulers see for themselves that every man, every woman and every child of India is bent on and determined to have self-government.

Sir Dinshaw Petit.

I have taken upon myself to answer the command of our leaders to address you, lest my refusal should be construed into some sort of apathy on the part of the community, to which I belong, towards the just, the righteous aspirations of the people of this country. There cannot be the slightest doubt as to what could be the views of the community which has produced a Dadabhai Naoroji and a Pherozeshah Mehta. It is said by those, who do not like the advancement of the people of this country towards the attainment of Home Rule, that the Parsees under the British Government have been enjoying too many high offices and high posts, that they do not know what they would gain by casting in their lot with the Hindus and the Mahomedans in making this demand. Do not for a moment think that the Parsees, when they are under the Government of Home Rule, will in any way suffer in that direction, but, admitting for argument's sake for a moment that they did, would it be right and sensible to expect that for the benefit of a few thousand Parsees, 320 millions of people should be denied their birthright and their privilege? It is always said that the Parsees are the most loyal community in India. They are second to none in their loyalty to the Crown, and, therefore, it is because they are loyal, they support this movement, because everybody must feel that there is nothing which would contribute more towards the permanency of the British connection in India than Home Rule under British guidance. I shall throw out one suggestion towards a speedier attainment of the objects of this Congress, and it is this—I speak with some personal experience of public life in the Presidency from which I come—that the people who do the greatest harm to our legitimate aspirations are not the people who rule us, but they are unfortunately some of our own people. I know there are people who go to Government House to carry tales. I know there are people in the Legislative Council and in the Municipal Corporation who barter away the rights and privileges of their country and city to get a Khan Bahadur or a C.I.E. It is my advice that we must ostracise such people. If we do not admit them into our clubs, let us see if they will be admitted by their English friends in their clubs. Now, on behalf of my community, I congratulate you on the union which you, Hindus and Mahomedans, have made this time by sinking into oblivion all your little differences. United you must stand, and united you must fall, whether it be for good or for evil.

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Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal.

I can hardly tell you how happy I feel to meet you all, my dearly beloved members of the united National Congress, after an absence of ten long years. These ten years have not gone in vain, and the fruition of our efforts is seen in every word of the resolution that has been placed before you to-day. We divided. The result of that division has been a closer union than had been before between us, and the proof of it is seen in every word of the resolution to-day. We fought, we wrangled, but every fight is justified, not in itself, but by the closer and more organic reconciliation to which it leads, and our fight has in the Providence of God led to more organic reconciliation between all parties, all ideals and all principles that we represented and fought for during the past. Here you have in the resolution the word self-government divested of every adjectival or adverbial or any other phrase to take away its quality or quantity. Self-Government, pure and simple, is the resolution to which our leaders have spoken, to which you have already given your acceptance. It is the first article of the Congress; it is the first article of Indian Nationality; it is the first article of every self-respecting nation, every civilised nation in humanity. It is the first article of every man and woman who feels within himself or herself the call of the Divine. It is the first article of every *yogi*, of every *gnani* and of every *bhaktha*, because Self-Government is the pith and foundation, not only of the life temporal, but also of the life spiritual. Yesterday you passed a resolution from the chair, avowing sincerely and honestly your allegiance to the British connection. It seems to me that the resolution to-day follows as a necessary corollary to that resolution of yesterday, because the only condition upon which British connection with India can be perpetuated is the realisation of the resolution that has been placed before you to-day. This resolution divides itself into three parts. The first part demands that there must be a Royal Proclamation. Why do you demand a proclamation? I do not know that. I will tell you why I demand it. I know there is deep despair upon the face of India at the present time. I have talked to the young. I have met old men of my age and men older than myself, and the one thing that each one and all of them has said to me is, "What is the good of it?" Deep despair and despondency sit upon the face of India at the present time, but not in me. I believe we have a future. I am fully assured that you and I shall be and shall live in our own country, just as every other civilised people in the world are living in their own country. I have no doubt about the future. I see clearly, as I see the grey beard of the President from here, that Self-Government for India is absolutely assured, but my people do not believe it; the old men do not believe it. They say, "What is the good? Let us die in peace." The young men do not believe in it. "What is the good? Let us earn money and leave a generation behind us," and the middle-aged gentlemen say the same.

We want a message of practical hope, a message of objective hope, and, therefore we want this message from the British Crown and the British Parliament to tell us that we shall live in our own country as other people live in their own country; but that will not do. We have had declarations, and we have been disabused of being taken in by politicians' words. We want something substantial and a substantial assurance that this declaration will not go the way of similar declarations in the past. We want the reform scheme placed before the Congress, prepared by the Congress and the Muslim League, to be immediately put into action. That is the second, but that is not all. You are talking of the reconstruction of the Empire, but I want to know what this Empire is without India. Is there a British Empire without India? They talk of man power, the total man power of the British Empire all told of the age from 15 to 35 is something like 11 crores, and 1½ crores of that man power consists of white humanity and 9½ crores of brown and black humanity. What is the British Empire, then, in man power if you leave out the 9½ crores, the youth, the muscle, of India? You talk of brain power. Where is the brain power of the Empire? As it is, we have no opportunity for the exercise of our brains for the application of our intellect, to the solution of the larger world problems of the day. We have no place in the councils of the statesmen. If we had, we might have proved our power as we have already proved it in the Bar, on the Bench, in every walk of life. Where we have had an opportunity, we have proved that the Indian brain is not a negligible quality in the Empire. Why have we only one J. C. Bose, only one P. C. Ray, only one Professor Paranjpye? Not for want of brain-power, but for want of opportunities to realise to the full extent the brain power of our nation. Give us that opportunity, or rather remove the obstacles from it, and we shall take the opportu-

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...y and utilise them ourselves to their fullest ...ntact, and therefore we say that we want this. The third thing is about the reconstruction of ...e Empire. We say impossible, Sir, if India is ...t out; worse than impossible; it will be the ...th of Indian national aspirations on the one ...e end the death of imperial ambitions on the ...ther if India is left out in the construction of ...e Empire. Thirty years ago it might have ...n conceivable to leave India out of the ...perial family. To keep India as a helot, as ...wers of water and hewers of wood to day with ...is new awakened national consciousness, this ...sitive patriotism, throbbing through the heart ...the old and young, the thing is unthinkable, ...nceivable, dangerous, fatal to the permanence ...the British connection. Therefore, we say ...t these three parts of the resolutions should ...ve not only your acceptance, but should com...nd the serious attention of the round table ...d the sequare table and every table on earth.

The Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.

If I was asked to sum up our demand in one ...rd, I would say unhesitatingly that what we ...nt is not so much of reforms as the power to ...rm ourselves. Reforms in driblets, in instal...ents, we have had in the past, and we may ex...t to have them in the future, but they will not ...tisfy the rising and growing aspirations of our ...ountrymen now. Self-respect alone demands ...at like other self-respecting nations of the world, ...e should be allowed a free hand to work out our ...n destiny and that we should not be treated as ...rpetual schoolboys in politics. (Hear, hear.) ...Gentlemen, there are just one or two points which ...I could like to touch upon if you will permit me. ...My time is limited, but I consider that they are ...orth hearing.

It has been said by a distinguished writer, ...whose name has come up before you during the ...last two days, that the real cement of the ...Empire is devotion to the Empire. Granted. ...In this land of spirituality we do not ...need a Westerner to teach us a lesson in devotion. ...(Hear, hear.) But may I be permitted to ask ...whether it is possible for any human being to be ...devoted when there is no response to that devo...tion. (Hear, hear.) Devoted to England we have ...been in the past, devoted to England we shall be ...in the future. But if by devotion to the Empire ...is meant that we should be devoted to the Colonies, ...I, for one, will have no hesitation in saying that ...we will refuse to allow the Colonies to rule over ...us. Let us not mince matters over this. Let ...us be plain and outspoken. To England we have been devoted, we are and we shall be, but India will not be so shortsighted and so foolish as to allow the Colonies to have a finger in her pie.

Gentlemen, the next point that has been urged against us is, that we have not got the capacity to rule ourselves. When was the discovery made, may I ask? Until at least 60 or 70 years ago before England took over directly the control of affairs in India into her hands who were ruling us? We ourselves. Is it really intended to be said that during the last 60 or 70 years since the control of affairs in India has passed into England's hands, that we have lost all capacity? If the answer is 'yes,' I say the discredit is to those who have deprived us of the capacity. I venture to submit with all respect and with all sincerity that we have not lost the capacity for Self-Government. Witness the Native States of Hyderabad, Baroda, and Mysore. Who is ruling them? Our own countrymen. It really comes to this, that so far as the power of initiative is concerned, so far as the scope for talent is concerned, that is denied to us here, and it is not denied to the people in the states like Hyderabad, Baroda and Mysore. Gentlemen, assuming that we have lost something of the capacity, how are we going to recover that capacity? By being denied admission to the inner circles of the Government or by being allowed to commit mistakes and to learn thereby? The answer is obvious.

Now, gentlemen, there is one more objection which I wish to notice and then I will retire. It has been said by that very writer Mr. Curtis, that the one great and supreme objection to self-government being conferred just now on this country is that we have not got sufficiently large electorates. And I may tell you in confidence that I was told personally that if we could show to England that one-fifth of the population possessed sufficient political capacity, then they would not object to our getting self-government. Now, gentlemen, you have got 315 million people in this country—I am very poor in arithmetic—I believe one-fifth of that comes to 63 million. And at the rate of progress we have been making in the matter of primary education, I should think it would take us 400 or 500 years before we get political capacity. (Laughter.) I know, gentlemen, that India is always famous for patience. But the time has come now for us to say definitely and without equivocation that self-government is no longer to us a far-off adorable dream, that we want to achieve it as soon as possible by all constitutional means open to us without mincing matters and without equivocating on that point,

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Let it not be held to us as an ideal to be reached within 100 years or 200 years. Of course patience is a great virtue, but, gentlemen, outspokenness too if, I may be permitted to say so, is sometimes a greater virtue. Let us not deceive ourselves, let us not be deceived by others by saying that we are going to be content with these small driblets of reforms. The time for that has gone by. The time has come when England should call upon its statesmen to exercise their higher gifts of statesmanship, to exercise their gifts of imagination, to exercise their gifts of political judgment and feel the political temperature of this country and act accordingly. (Loud applause.)

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

From the very beginning of time it has always been the woman's privilege to have the last word on any subject, and though that last word is sprung on her by the tyranny of the leaders that demand Home Rule, it is to vindicate the readiness of my sex to stand by the men of India in all that concerns their national welfare and honour that I rise to obey the mandate of this tyranny. Many speakers before me, gifted and famous, full of knowledge and full of experience, have laid before you a scheme of self-government, and it is not for me to add words to their practical wisdom. I am merely a spectator from the watchtower of dreams, and I watched the swift and troubled, sometimes chequered, but nevertheless indomitable, time spirit marching on in a pageant of triumphs to the desired goal. If to-day Home Rule is no distant dream, if it is no mere fancy of Utopia, it is due to one thing more than to any other thing, and perhaps you will let me enlighten you so that you may offer your gratitude to the right sources. Less than four years ago in this very city of Lucknow, this city of memories, this city of dead kings, a new hope came to birth, because the younger generation of Mussalmans had seen a vision that made it possible for the leaders of the National Congress to realise within the scope of practicable vision, of practical work, of practical achievement, the national soul. It was my privilege to represent my great community on this occasion. It was the greatest honour of my life that I was invited to speak to this young generation of Islam that had seen this vision of Indian nationality, which succeeded in passing a constitution, whose essential creed was co-operation with the sister community. Four years later, in this very city of Lucknow, you are able to say that you shall have Home Rule. We will not ask for it, we will create it out of our own capacity, out of our inviolable unity, the unity of the Hindu and the Mussalman.

Friends, members of this Congress, citizens of India, who have come from the farthest corners in this great country, I ask you, in the name of that greater nation that is born to-day in the city of Lucknow, to offer your thanks to three men, though it might indeed seem invidious to make distinctions where so many have been earnest, so many have been loyal and co-operating, but it would be, indeed, lacking in gratitude on the part of this great assembly were it not to offer a public recognition of gratitude to three most loyal, most brilliant, most faithful, most courageous Mussalmans. The Rajah Sahib of Mahmudabad, that fearless and independent spirit; Mazharul Haque, and thirdly, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, of whom it was that the late Mr. Gokhale said to me immediately after the last Muslim League in Lucknow, that he is the best ambassador of the Hindu-Muslim community. We are united to-day by the efforts of the Muslim League. We stand united, but united with such strength that nothing from outside, not even the tyranny of colonial domination, shall withhold from us our rights and privileges, withhold from us the liberties that are due, which we claim by our united voice; nothing can prevent us from achieving the desires of our heart, for the final issues are in your hands. The ultimate decision is yours, and who will deny you the birthright of freedom if the millions of India speak with one voice and say, "Ours is the right of freedom; we claim it; we take it; you dare not deny to us the birthright of humanity." Centuries have gone by; the old divisions are healed; old wounds are covered; instead of building our regeneration on hatred and division, we stand to-day building our national future on the secure imperishable foundation of love and united service. Each of us has gained that living consciousness, that it is unity, service for the motherland that constitutes the supremest hope of to-morrow. There is no one so mean, so weak, so selfish, as not to think that in the service of the motherland, his joy is greater than all personal joys; in suffering for her comes the supremest consolation in our personal sorrow, and in her worship is the absolution of sin. To live for her is the most victorious triumph of life; to die for her is to achieve the priceless crown of immortality. Let us then offer our lives unanimously as a tribute at the feet of the Motherland; for as the great Prophet of Islam says, Under the feet of the Mother lies Paradise.

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Mr. Joseph Baptista.

I can assure you that it is not without fear and trembling that I venture to support this resolution. I understand that in this Province the new commandment has been issued, thou shalt not be emphatic—(laughter)—you could be phlegmatic if you like, but not emphatic. In other words, you must not call a spade a spade. That would be too emphatic. You must call it diamonds and hearts. You cannot call Home Rule Home Rule. But if you call Home Rule Self-Government, it is all right. Whether it is all right or all wrong, I prefer to call Home Rule Home Rule. To my great surprise I find that within the past few months Home Rule has become a popular cry throughout the whole country. There are no heretics among us. All believe in the creed of Home Rule. No dissenters, no quakers or shakers. We are all militant Home Rulers. To what is this great change to be attributed and to whom must we be grateful in this great hour of trial? You must give credit to the person who deserves that credit, and I say most emphatically that credit is due to the magnetic personality and dynamic energy of our friend and sister, Mrs. Besant.

Allow me to tell you that so far as the destiny of India is concerned, it is the most momentous and the most transcendent question that can occupy the minds of educated Indians. Believe me that this destiny of India depends upon political principles that are applied to the government of this country. You may be quite sure that that destiny will not be achieved unless we combine the principles of liberty, the principles of nationalism and the principles of federation in the government of this country. The task before us is to rescue India from her present plight and place her on a pedestal upon which we can look with pride and pleasure. What is the present plight of India? Is there anyone who is satisfied with the present position of India? Go outside British India. India is a mere political cipher in the political world. Nobody cares a fig for her and nobody thinks of her. Is that a proper position for 300 millions of people to occupy in this Empire? Within the Empire what do you find? Go to the colonies, the curse of colour. In the South African War, Indians stood by Englishmen and fought beside and shed their blood for them. What is the reward? Exclusion from the country or confinement in isolated places, subjected to regulations so odious that it makes our blood boil. Such is the reward and such is the gratitude of a civilised and Christian country. Coming home, what do you find? The curse of distrust, distrust everywhere, excluded from the army, as you know, excluded from the use of arms by the Arms Act on account of distrust and thereby emasculated, subjected to the Press laws and God knows, to what other laws, as Mr. Surendranath Banerjea said. Apart from that what do you find with a fauna and flora which can produce everything to minister to the comforts of all people and with men who are skilful in production? You have 50 to 60 millions of people pledged to starvation from day to day. (Cries of "Shame.") Is this the structure of the Empire with which you are satisfied? Anglo Indian architects have had a free hand for the last 150 years, and this is the Empire they have produced. I ask you, is there any man with sense or sensibility that can look upon this and say that this is a proper thing for us? Can anyone say that this is a mansion befitting the ancient civilisation and the latent potentialities of the country? Is this not a glorified chawl? This is due not to the men that administer, but entirely to the system under which it is administered. There cannot be the slightest doubt that no improvement is possible unless the centralised system is done away with. At the present moment what are we? We are under a centralised system of government in India, which is after all a mere administrative department of government in England and no more.

Mr. Jehangir B. Petit.

The proposition before you obtains the quintessence of the desires and demands of the Indian nation, passed year after year at different sessions of the Indian National Congress. I have no faith in the so-called change of angle of vision. If the Indian nation is determined to have what is embodied in this resolution, the only way to get it is to show to the Government that the population of this great country is determined at all costs to have it. What is it that secured for South Africa immediately after its annexation its independence and self-government? What is it that secured for the other colonies their independence and self-government? By making administration impossible they obtained self-government. Once you declared your determination in unmistakable terms, Home Rule or Self-Government will not be delayed or withheld from you one day longer.

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The Hon. Pundit M. M. Malaviya.*

When we started in 1885, we reposed great trust and confidence in those to whom Providence had entrusted the guidance of the affairs of India. For the time we began with appealing, with praying, with begging, with entreating. Resolution after resolution has been passed during the last 30 years; it is a written record which nobody can destroy or remove; it is a record showing the patience, the confidence the people of India had in the administrators of India. Their willingness to proceed by gradual steps, almost painfully slow steps, towards envolving a better system of administration. The record of these 30 long years tells us how we have asked not once, not twice, but repeatedly during these so many years. It is now, after an experience of 30 years, that the conviction has sunk into our hearts that those to whom Providence has entrusted the administration of the affairs of India, the members of the Indian Civil Service as well as the members of the British Parliament have failed and sadly failed to respond to the call of reason and justice. I am sorry to say it. I should have rejoiced if I could say in gratitude they had made a response worthy of the members of the great British nation. There has been some response in some small matters and for that we do feel grateful, but the response in all the most important matters has either been wanting or it has been sadly slow. The result of this is, that the conviction has come to us that unless we ourselves have a potent and determining voice in the administration of our country's affairs, there is not much hope for that progress which it is the birthright of every civilised people to achieve.

We have on our record a repetition of resolutions asking for such simple justice as the separation of judicial and executive functions; we have on our record a cry of children for bread; repeated year after year to be given some education; we have on our record the fact that while we have prayed that primary education should be made compulsory and universal, the provision that has been made for it up to this time is extremely disappointing and unsatisfactory. We have on our record that even with the enlarged Councils, when our dear brother Gokhale did make an attempt by introducing a Bill into the Council to make provision for the permissive introduction of compulsory education, that effort was baffled by the solid official majority which sits in the Council, to do no other work than simply to vote against resolutions moved by popular representatives. On the other hand, what has happened to bring home the conviction to us we know. In Russia, there was no self-government until few years ago, but after being beaten by Japan, Russia learnt wisdom and roused herself into consciousness of what the conditions of modern civilisation required. The first Duma that met, I think in 1903, resolved, being conscious that primary universal education was one of the potent causes of building up a people, upon making education universal and compulsory. It introduced a programme of 19 years, during which period it decided that elementary education shall become universal, and in the year 1916, nearly three-fourths of that programme has been carried out, and by 1922, the Russians will have provided elementary education to children of school-going age.

That was the result of power being transferred from a sovereign authority or from a bureaucracy to those who know where the shoe pinches, who feel the need and the effect of unhappy conditions, and who understand how their interest can be best promoted. I have given to you that one illustration among many already given to you as showing the urgent, pressing need of having self-government for the people in order that they may administer their own affairs. Let nobody accuse educated Indians of having put forward a proposal of reform in a light-hearted manner. That reform, so far as the Government is concerned, is supported by the entire people, though there may be some small differences, as unfortunately there are with regard to some details. But so far a Government is concerned for the transferring of the power from the Government to the people themselves, this is a united demand on behalf of India and is made in no light-hearted fashion. This conviction is born after 30 years of self-sacrificing labours in the country's cause, after having held 31 sessions of the Congress in various parts of the country, which involved no small expenditure of time and money and comfort; this conviction is born after the question had been weighed in all possible aspects. The conclusion is forced on our mind that those who have the power are unwilling to part with that power, that those who have the power are unwilling to give the time and the attention to the consideration of your affairs, as the members of the British Parliament are and that conviction once arrived at is not likely to be shaken or departed from.

* Speech made in proposing a vote of thanks to the President of the Congress.

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The reforms which you have put forward do
t represent the maximum that you desire.
ey represent the minimum that is necessary.
there be no misunderstanding about it. There
some very kindly friends who caution us and
sh us to proceed slowly. We have proceeded
ntiously and slowly for 30 years. It does not
in the mouth of any member of the Indian
il Service—there are some very fine generous-
arted men amongst them—it does not lie in
e mouth of any member of the Indian Civil
rvice or any member of the British Parliament
say that Indians are asking for an unreason-
ly large measure of reform to-day, or that they
nt to take a long jump. We do not want to
e a long jump. There are certain conditions
ich determine what is necessary and what is
t. It is the right of every people to govern
emselves. No government can be so good as the
overnment of a people by their own people. That
ing accepted in England, that being accepted
the greater part of the rest of the civilised
rld, with what reason or justification can it be
anced here that we should be content to let
affairs be administered by a few men who,
thout any previous training, without any
owledge of our traditions, or our history, come
this country to enjoy a good salary and to
end a good period of their time in the sunny
mate of our land? How can we expect they will
able to administer our affairs in the way in
ich we can? Objections have been urged, but
ey have been refuted one by one. I do not
nt to detain you by recapitulating them.

I wish and hope and pray that we shall realise
ly the importance of the measures that we have
t forward to-day, and that we shall be prepared
work to bring about their accomplishment. I
pe that we will not be content with an express-
n of our gratitude to our President and ex-
essing satisfaction at the result of this Con-
ess, but that we are determined, as honest,
nourable, manly men, to carry out to do our
re of the duty of promoting these reforms and
ry them into execution. For, remember that
re is no greater duty than is cast upon us to
that these reforms are carried out and granted
an early date. Remember it is not a question
personal character with any one of us. We see
ilions of our countrymen suffering from the
effects of the administrator lacking in one
ection or another to come up to the standard
their requirements. We see that those who
ve the power have failed to do it and what is
re regrettable, do not show any willingness to
respond to their call. I will draw your attention to one other matter only. There is the question of the employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the army. You have proved by the blood our people have shed on the battlefield that you are not inferior to any other community or nationality on the face of the earth in bravery, in devotion, yet the ranks of the army have not been opened to our people. So also with regard to the Indian Civil Service. A Commission was appointed, a report has been made and it was presented to the Government. It seems to be so ugly a production that the Government have hesitated long to put it before the public. Now when that is the state of affairs, you cannot hope to bring about healthy, necessary reforms unless you get power into your own hands. That is the conviction borne in upon us by these 30 years of labour, and I hope you will do all that is necessary to carry this conviction into effect. When you do so, this great gathering of the Congress will be remembered always as the one Congress where this decision was arrived at, and you will always associate in your mind with the success of the Congress the arduous, the strenuous, the patient labours of our esteemed President, who has guided our deliberations for these four days.

The Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar.

From the day of the birth of the Congress, the demand for control over our own affairs, the demand for Self-Government has been the most important, the most vital and essential demand of the Congress. When you sent deputations to England of men going from the Congress, the main thing which they had to represent, on which they had to elicit the help of the British people, was that, as we were British subjects, we ought to be given all the rights of British citizenship. Equality with the self-governing parts of the Empire has been our demand from the first. In the beginning as we had to make a beginning, we had to ask for the introduction of the principle of representation and election in our Legislative Councils and for the expansion of their rights and the enlargement of their numbers. Nobody deluded himself with the belief that a few members or even a large number of members added to the Councils and some expansion of their functions was the goal of our aspirations. That was only the first step of the ladder which we had to mount. There were immense difficulties in attaining to that extent. You know what difficulties were raised in 1890 and '91 for granting that modicum of representation which was subsequently

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granted in 1892, but that was, as I said, the very first step which had to be taken. During all the years which followed, we had to reiterate our demands: we had to ask for further expansions of the Councils and further extensions of the principle of representation and election. Then came what are called the Morley-Minto Reforms, which gave us our existing Imperial and Provincial Councils, but even in regard to that, we were careful to mention that this is only the next step which has to be taken, and very soon after this, further steps will have to be taken. Gentlemen, in the case of individuals and of nations, every individual and every nation has to pass through three stages. The first is the stage of self-consciousness or self-realisation. We had, first of all, to focus our self-consciousness, our consciousness as a nation, and it was for that purpose that the Indian National Congress was called into existence. After that, we had to assert ourselves; we had to say what we are and what we have to be, and after that, as in the case of individuals, comes the further stage of self-control, in the case of nations there is the further stage of self-government. No self-respecting nation can carry on its existence properly unless it is able to control its destinies to be the arbiter of its own fate, and it is that for which we are now making a more articulate, a more practical, a more detailed demand. We were asking for Self-Government; we were called upon to state what it is we wanted; we were told: "There are all these differences amongst you. Even amongst you Hindus, you are not united, and between you and the Mahomedans is an impassable gulf." Well, gentlemen, this Congress has demonstrated to the world, to all our critics, that there is absolutely no difference of opinion amongst either the two large communities or amongst any sections of the Reform Party in India. (Hear, hear.) Now, this proposition, in its first paragraph, asks you to place before the Government our demand, to carry to the Crown our request that His Majesty will be pleased to issue a proclamation assuring to the people of India that they are entitled to have Self-Government given to them at a very early period. (Hear. hear.) That is the first paragraph. In the second paragraph, we put before them reforms which should be carried out immediately, in regard to which there could be no difference of opinion, because they are only legitimate extensions of the principles which have been adopted. They asked us for definite schemes, and a definite scheme has been put forward. They asked: "What will the Mahomedans say to this?" Here, the representative body of the Mahomedans and the Congress Committee have sat together, and they have brought out a scheme to which both parties are equally pledged. This is then our reply to our critics about introducing a practical scheme.

Then we come to the third part which is most vital and important at this time. That is this, that India refuses to be placed on a footing of inferiority to any other part of the Empire.

We say, "as we are an important section, as India is the most glorious jewel in the British Crown, India ought to have a place adequate to her past, adequate to her present, and of equal position in the future. This is what we ask in the third: We refuse to be dominated by any section of any portion of the so-called Self-Governing Colonies or self-governing portions of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) We say that without India, the British Empire will be of very little importance, and in consonance with that importance should be the recognition accorded to us. That is the third portion of the Resolution. But, gentlemen, we cannot carry out all these things that we want, on which our heart is set, on which our future depends, and on which our real self-realisation depends, without our working all the year round for this, not only here talking in the Congress, not only going and speechifying to a few people here and there, but working incessantly all through the year and carrying on the work in England also.

Diwan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar

I propose to consider a few objections that are urged to the grant of Self-Government or any measure of it to the Indian people. Gentlemen, we are taunted with being a coloured people and as such unfit for representative institutions. I would ask which is the greater evil, to have a coloured skin or to have a coloured vision. (Hear, hear.) I am not ashamed to own that we possess coloured skins. We can, however, honestly say that so far as our vision goes, it is altogether unclouded and clear. After all, gentlemen, it was in the just dispensation of Providence that we are a coloured people. If we were otherwise, colour, as Mrs. Besant has said, the effect of that would have been that we should have been where our critics are, elbowing them out and making it difficult for them to be there. (Laughter). After all, gentlemen, is it a fact that the coloured skin unfits for representative institutions? In this connection you will notice that the Lulu, the Hottentot, the Kaffir, the Negro, the Australian

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the Hindu, the Mussalman and the Parsee are all to be in one lump, and they are all coloured people. absolutely no attention is paid to their civilisa- to their culture, and to their inherited ...pment. Gentlemen, what are the facts. You ...d that even a responsible writer like Jeanneflot ...s, that the Negroes were able to develop Self- ...vernment in 50 years to the extent that the ...hite were able to do in the course of five or six ...nturies. You find that the Philippine Islands ...though they came under the domination of ...ople who are prepared to trust them with Self- ...vernment in two decades they are found fit, ...d can it be said of us with the past history ...t we possess on which many previous speakers ...re expatiated, can it be said of us that we are ... dead to all the necessary requirements of ...mocratic institutions that self-government with ...s must mean failure. The experiment which ...as been allowed to be made, the experiment ...hich has been in operation in the Native States, ...as proved an unqualified success, and after all ...en you realise that good government can never ... better than Self-Government itself, there ought ...be no reason whatever why the measure of ...lf-Government that we ask for should be denied ...s. But, gentlemen, there are certain special ...asons that are urged against us. One is, that ...form no one people or one nation but a con- ...ies of different races and different communities, ...ch having its own aims and ideals. Let us ...mine that. Those of us who have been privi- ...ged to take part in the deliberations of the joint ...committee of the All-India Congress Committee, ...d the representatives of the Muslim League ...at composed the session, were not merely to ...fe-guard their rights but to see that their rights ...ere placed upon as reasonable and permanent a ...sis as possible, provided that in doing so they did ...t determine the interest of the whole as a whole. ...w, gentlemen, there you must have noticed that ...ere was a firm determination to assent oneself ...the fullest extent, but that there was at the ...e time also the determination that in doing so ...ch sections of the people should go together and ...uld find their satisfaction not merely in being ...en opportunities to develop themselves but also ...portunities to assist in the development of the ...er section as well. (Hear, hear.) It was a spirit ...reat reasonableness that pervaded the whole of ...deliberations, and we find the result of that in ...magnificent scheme that is now put forward ...your acceptance this afternoon. It is in the ...city to differ and to make our differences heard, it is in the capacity to realise the strength and weakness of those that differ from us that there is the best security that there will be a reasonable conclusion arrived at in the end, that we can say has been the spirit by which both the communities have been actuated. May I point out this? In the physical world you notice that when anything is unstable, then you attach to it a weight which tends not merely to settle itself down but also to make that stable which otherwise has been unstable, and if once you are trusted with responsibility, the very sense of that responsibility enables us to realise our limitation, enables us to rise equal to the task that lies before us, so that we shall be in a position in discharging that task to do it to the good of all. Gentlemen, it is also stated that there is illiteracy among the people. Now before Lord Durham recommended a scheme for self-government in Canada, he found that a great proportion of the teachers can neither read nor write. If in these circumstances you can find a nation fit for self-government, we do not stand in the same predicament of whom whatever else can be said, it cannot be said that our teachers know neither to read nor write; can it be said of us that on account of illiteracy we are unable to have self-government? Then, gentlmen, it is stated that there is the war of masses and classes, that the interests of the educated community are opposed to the interests of the masses so that the educated community cannot be trusted to take care of the masses. Now with respect to this again who have been the best friends of the masses? That we are in a position to realise their needs cannot be denied. Who is it that ask for compulsory education? It is the educated classes. Who were the friends of the co-operative movement? It is the educated classes. Can we think of two levers more powerful to uplift the masses than universal compulsory education and the spread of co-operative movement among the people. Gentlemen, there is only one word more I wish to say and I shall be done. Dr. Sapru has told us how we look upon the Dominions participating in the control of our affairs. I unite my feeble voice to the emphatic expression that we made our strong and resolute determination not to allow the Dominions to take part in any concerns in which we might be involved, by every means in our power that can be open to us so long as they continue to be what they are.

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The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma.

We ask for provincial autonomy in domestic matters with a central legislature armed with extensive powers and completely dominating all domestic concerns, with an executive armed with extensive powers subject to the will of the Imperial Parliament as it exists at present, and if there should be a revision, with India as a partner, as an equal partner, in every sense of the term with the Self-Governing Dominions of the Empire. A question then naturally would be, are we fit for it? Are we asking for reforms along lines, lines along which we have not experimented in the past. Turn to past history, turn to medieval history, turn to modern history, all history alike tells us that Indian peoples with rulers of their own race have been able to rule countries far more extensive than the Indian Empire of the present day; for those rulers have been holding sway over Khandahar and Ceylon and other vast colonies which the genius of our ancestors created first in times past. Was this domination only for short periods? No; for long centuries, for periods longer than that of any empire, modern or past. Then comes the question, have we still capacity? I assure you, gentlemen, that the skill and capacity, though dormant in us, are not yet completely dead. If you read history aright what does it tell us. We see a large number of autonomous States linked together by loose federal tie, paying tribute and acknowledging the supremacy of the central authority of the government to the Maharajadiraj, Sultan, or Emperor. Our Maharajadiraj, Sultan or Emperor is the British Imperial Majesty. Our autonomous States are the Native States of India and the provincial governments which we create under our scheme with self-governing powers. The central authority is the Government of India, and the Viceroy is the deputy of the Maharajadiraj. The central authority is armed exactly as the old Emperors were armed with a council of elders. They are given by our scheme advisedly vast powers over the military and over the national army, which has to be created under our scheme. Gentlemen, have we weakened the British power? If the Resident of a Native State with the British power at his back can keep government going, cannot our Governors with two Executive Councillors, nominees of his, with the British power at his back, rule a Province? We have provided for democratic institutions. The Allies say that they are now engaged in crushing Prussian military despotism, that the future safety of mankind lie in the increase of democratic institutions and we have provided for them. Gentlemen, we have not weakened the British power in any the slightest degree? We have not lost the capacity. Then comes the question, are there not various insuperable difficulties in our way, are there not barriers? They existed in the past, they existed last year in Switzerland and yet there is no difficulty. The religious difficulty is the same. Then I come to the educational test. Now remember, gentlemen, that the number of literate people in India is 18 millions, nearly the same as the total male population of England, and are we to be told that with this literate population we cannot find enough men to rule this country when only an infinitesimal fraction thereof are able to govern India in the best interests of India? Our universities are turning out graduates nearly as numerous as the British universities. Then comes the question: if we are not educationally backward, what is that stands in the way? The colour bar. I hope that the Government will not repeat the supposed mistake and land the Empire in disaster. The true difficulty seems to be that a fear is felt that in a federal commonwealth, India might in a short space of time become the paramount power. That is the real difficulty. But sufficient safeguards may be provided and the day is far off, because it is only in proportion to the contribution to national defences that any State can have representation. We are economically poor, and we cannot, therefore, contribute much, and consequently we shall take a place superior to that of the Colonies but inferior to that of England, and there is no very great danger that we will be able to swamp the rest of the Empire in the councils of the country. Revise the history of the past, review its pages and what do you find? A foreign bureaucracy is always ready to tax people for the sake of the defence of the country, for the sake of protecting its power. But the moment they come to domestic reforms, they do not know where they will be, they do not know whether the vast masses will support them and hence they say they cannot tax. What have you done? We have revised the electorate, broadened it so that no harebrained reformer may go forth with proposals for taxation which would not be supported by the country. It is said that we shall oppress the depressed classes. May I ask whether the Government, British Government, were dissuaded in self-governing South Africa, because the Kaffir and the weak Indian population were likely to be oppressed? Their conscri-

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since were not touched then. Why should it be touched now when it comes to dividing the people of this country? To me the problem is distinctly clear. We cannot afford to efface ourselves economically and from a military point of view with growing China, a growing Japan and growing Russia. Friends of to-day may be enemies of to-morrow, and we cannot have Belgium repeated here. Primary education must be spread and number of reforms must be achieved, and all this can be done only under Self-Government. Therefore it is we ask for Self-Government, and if the Britishers are true to their destiny, they will confer it at no distant date.

The Hon. Mr. Abdul Rasul.*

It is known that England is the most freedom-loving country in the world. It was pointed out in another place how all political refugees of Europe found shelter in England. When England along with other powers advocated the cause of freedom, did England think that India was not as educated as some of the other countries following? Most of you know that England along with other powers advocated Self-Government for the Balkan States. The people of India are better educated than the people of the Balkan States. Are we less educated and advanced than what Japan was fifty years ago? When Self-Government was granted to the people of Japan, we find that even the negroes in Siberia have Self-Government. The wording of our resolution is most moderate, and reforms that we now ask for are only steps to a further measure of Self-Government. That is our goal. I hope the Government will not consider our demands extravagant. It has been stated in some papers that after the War, the Colonies would have a large share in the administration of India. I do not know if that is correct or not. We have been ruled by the English people, but certainly we shall object to be ruled by the Civilians who come from the Colonies, which do not treat our people in a way that they ought to, having regard to the fact that the Indians, South Africans, Australians, etc., are all subjects of the same sovereign. We know what our people want better than the Civilians who come from South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and England. I do not mean any disparagement to the members of the Indian Civil Service when I say that in 95 cases out of 100, they do not understand our languages. There is a great deal of misunderstanding about this question of Home Rule or Self-Government. Our rulers and Anglo-Indian editors of papers say that our object is to drive the English out of India. It is not the intention either of the Hindus or the Mussalmans to drive the English out of India. If it is to be a settled fact, that the Colonies are to have control over our affairs, we must insist on having our share in the control of the affairs of the Empire. Do not think that anybody can say that ours is an unreasonable demand. Understand that Mr. L. Curtis, who is here on the dais, has written a book called *The Problem of the Commonwealth*, and that it is also his object that we, Indians, should have a place in the Empire not as Dependency, but as a dominant partner. If so, we welcome the suggestion in his book, but if it is not so, we must strongly object to the Colonies having any share in controlling the affairs of India. The Governor-General said the other day in Calcutta that he would be dishonest if he held out any hopes that our progress would be rapid. I say equally determinedly and equally respectfully that, if our rulers do not grant us reforms, which are so reasonable, yet if we go on appealing and appealing to the British people in spite of what he, Lord Chelmsford said, our progress will be rapid. The English people have been very cautious, but at the same time if we can show to them the justice of our cause, I have no doubt the British public would come forward to grant what we want within a few years. After the Boer War, the British statesmen granted Self-Government to South Africa. When we are shedding blood in the cause of the British Empire, are we to be debarred from having that measure of Self-Government which Boers, who were enemies of Britain, have attained within a few years of the annexation of South Africa? (Loud and continued applause.)

* Speech in moving the following Resolution at the All-India Muslim League:—"The All-India Muslim League, while adopting the scheme of reforms prepared by the Reform Committee of the League and approved by its Council, submits it in conjunction with the Indian National Congress to Government for its introduction after the War as a first necessary step towards the establishment of complete Self-Government in India."

Industrial India. By Glyn Barlow, M.A. Second Edition. Price Re. One. To Subscribers, As. 12.

Lift-Irrigation. By A. Chatterton. Second Edition. Price Rs. 2. To Subscribers. Rs. 1-8.

Essays on Indian Economics. By the late Mahadev Govind Ranade. Price Rs. 2. To Subscribers of the "I. R.," Rs. 1-8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

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INDIA AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

THE Rt. Hon. Mr. Lloyd George, speaking in the House of Commons, on December 19, on the policy of the New Government with reference to the War, made the following important announcement :—

Government felt that the time had come when the Dominions ought to be more formally consulted as to the progress and the course of the war and as to the steps that ought to be taken to secure victory and the best methods of garnering in those fruits. "We propose, therefore, at an early date to summon an Imperial Conference, to place the whole position before the Dominions and to take counsel with them as to what further action they and we should take together, in order to achieve an early and complete triumph for the ideals they and we have so superbly fought for."

It will be noticed that no mention was made in this connection of the part India has played in the struggle; and the absence of any reference to India from so important pronouncement was justly resented in this country. Following this, the Secretary of State for the Colonies telegraphed to the Dominions as follows :—

His Majesty's Government do not contemplate holding a session of the ordinary Imperial Conference, but a Special War Conference of the Empire. Therefore, Government invite your Premier to attend a series of special continuous meetings of the War Cabinet to consider urgent questions arising out of the prosecution of the War and the possible conditions under which, in agreement with the Allies, we should assent to peace and the problems arising out of that. For the purposes of these meetings, your Premier will be a Member of the War Cabinet. In view of the urgency and importance of the subjects on discussion, it is hoped that your Premier will attend not latter than the end of February, or, if he is unable to attend, appoint a substitute.

Subsequently, H. E. the Viceroy received the following *communique* :—

With reference to the announcement made by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons last Tuesday . . . . . To-day His Majesty's Government have invited the Secretary of State for India to represent India at these sittings of the War Cabinet set up for that purpose. I shall be a member.

I desire the assistance of two gentlemen specially selected for the purpose in consultation with you as foreshadowed in Lord Hardinge's speech in the Legislative Council, on September 22nd, 1915. It is hoped that the meetings may take place not later than the end of February.

Though this grudging concession was not very gratifying, public opinion in this country urged that at least the two Indian representatives should be elected by the Non-Official Members of the Imperial Legislative Council, and should, in fairness, be allowed direct representation in the Imperial Cabinet and not merely to assist the Secretary of State. Accordingly, the Lucknow Congress passed the following Resolution :—

With regard to the proposal of the Secretary of State for India, inviting two specially elected representatives from India to assist him in the forthcoming Special Imperial Conference to a series of special and continuous sittings of the War Cabinet, in order to consider war questions and to prosecute the war vigorously, the Congress urges that at least two representatives of India, to be elected by the elected members of the Imperial and various Provincial Councils, should be allowed to represent India directly and not merely to assist the Secretary of State for India.

The All-India Moslem League also submitted a similar Resolution to the Imperial Government. But in spite of the insistent demands for the impartial treatment of India and the Colonies in the Imperial Cabinet, the following *communique* was published on January 22 :—

As already announced, the Secretary of State for India, when representing India at the Special Sitting of the War Cabinet, will have the *assistance* of two gentlemen specially selected for the purpose. In accordance with this decision, the Secretary of State, with the advice of the Governor-General-in-Council, has selected Sir James Meston, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha.

In accordance with a further decision of His Majesty's Government, the Secretary of State for India will also have the assistance of one of the Ruling Chiefs of India. With the advice of the Governor-General-in-Council, he has invited His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir to accompany him, and His Highness has accepted the offer.

Now this business of *assisting* the Secretary of State for India, without the power of actual and direct representation, is rightly denounced in India as derogatory to the dignity of so important a unit in the Empire. However, the choice of Sir S. P. Sinha is unexceptionable. As *ex*-President of the Congress and *ex*-Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, he enjoys in a great measure the confidence of the people and the Government. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir, representing the Ruling Chiefs of India, is an enlightened and progressive prince. Sir James Meston is reputed to be an able and sympathetic financier and administrator, and it is hoped that he will prove worthy of his high office. But India's claim for direct representation is as persistent as ever, and we yet hope that those deputed by the Government of India will be given an opportunity to sit along with the Dominion Representatives on terms of perfect equality, and not merely to assist the Secretary of State.

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TAGORE'S LATEST

BY MR. K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

FRUIT-GATHERING.

THIS volume of poems is a noble sequel to *Gitanjali* and is full of the reposefulness and Godward yearning of a fulfilled life. The keynote of the book* is sounded in the second poem :

My life, when young, was like a flower—a flower that loosens a petal or two from her abundance and never feels the loss when the spring breeze comes to beg at the door.

Now at the end of youth my life is like a fruit, having nothing to spare, and waiting to offer herself completely with her full burden of sweetness.

The poet shows us the Lord's love for those who yield themselves up to Him in a spirit of glad self-surrender : "You are the wise and the great who sit by my Master, but he has taken the foolish in his arms and made me his servant for ever." The readers of the divine *Tiruvachakam* of Southern India will realise how akin this utterance is to that of him "whose words are gems." The poet seeks to realise the infinite beauty and sweetness of God in innumerable ways. He calls aloud to his heart : "The desire of the bud is for the night and dew, but the blown flower cries for the freedom of light : Burst your sheath, my heart, and come forth!" He prays to God to give him the garland of love instead of the jewelled chain of worldly success. He realises how God's message to the soul is as simple as it is sweet. He says, "Your speech is simple, my master! but not theirs who talk of you." God's grace comes like the blessed and gentle rain from heaven and cannot be commanded or forced. "Shake the bud, strike it; it is beyond your power to make it blossom. . . . . He gives it a glance and the life-sap stirs through its veins. At his breath, the flower spreads its wings and flutters in the wind." One peculiar and glorious feature of this book is its use of the sweetest stories and parables in the lives of our saints for the service of beauty and love, and for the revelation of the diviner elements in life. Noble incidents in the lives of Sanatan, Supriya, Narottam, Upagupta, Shrimathi, and Tulsidas are made to yield their full treasure of divine love and wisdom. It is a pity, however, that Tagore has missed the full beauty and sweetness of the story of Satyakama Jabala as expounded by Sri Sankaracharya. The poems about the dew-drop and the lamp have an infinity of emotional suggestiveness in them. They are full of keen and radiant vision and fulfilled faith.

* Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

HUNGRY STONES AND OTHER STORIES.

This consists of thirteen short stories by Tagore. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.) One of the stories, *The Victory*, has been translated by Tagore himself, and seven stories have been translated by Mr. C. F. Andrews. The translations not only bring out the wonderful felicities of style and sentiment in the original but have the accent of the classics of English prose. Tagore's unique supremacy in the domain of the short story is well known, and these stories are full of beauty and power in a remarkable degree. The first story entitled, *Hungry Stones* shows, as Mr. Ernest Rhys well says, "a truly uncanny power in romance". It opens up before our vision a crowded past, full of shadowy figures which are wandering in the land of dreams and which have lived passionate lives while in the land of the living. The second story called *The Victory* takes us the realm of pure romance where a court poet, supreme in his dower of sweetness of emotion and expression, is crowned with the love and praise of the beautiful princess, though he is slighted by the king and seeks release from his sorrow in death.

The next three stories deal with Indian childhood of the old and the new types. The next story called *The Kingdom of Cards* satirises in an original and inimitable way the dull and dead routine of Indian social life. It shows how three strangers got stranded on the shores of the Kingdom of Cards and upset everything and stirred everything into a new life by their *icha* (initiative and and self-willed life). We must not look for any social gospel in a short story, and if any social gospel is intended by it, we must say that it errs by overstatement and exaggeration. *The Devotee* and *Vision* unbares to us the hearts of two noble women purified by suffering and uplifted by a lofty feeling. The *Babus of Nayanjore* is conceived in a lighter vein, and describes the scion of an once prosperous Indian nobleman's family and his simple, confiding nature in a humorous way. The story *We Crown Thee King* is worthy of a special mention. It shows how the influence of the women of India steadies the menfolk, and how in many cases it keeps alive the flame of patriotism in their hearts. In *The Renunciation*, Tagore ridicules some of the Hindu social customs. The *Cabuliwallah* describes how the same human heart beats in every breast. All the stories show wonderful insight into human nature and a never failing natural magic of style,

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RECENT WAR LITERATURE*

BY MR. K. R. SITARAMAN, B.A.

IF there is one result of the war which is bound to be more far-reaching in its effects than any other of its sequelæ, direct or indirect, it is certainly the educative value of the War. It is only a trite observation that there is not a single department of human activity or thought in the remotest corners of the globe, at the present day, which has not been materially effected by the war. The prolific output of literature of all sorts induced by, or directly bearing on, the War in all its phases, to which we are getting accustomed, is only what was to be expected in the nature of things. Serious contributions explaining in precise and terse language the causes of the War and the outlooks of the various nations directly involved; philosophic discourses on the inner problems and vital aspects of human destinies as affected by the War; scientific explanations of military situations and tactics; chatty newspaper accounts of incidents supposed to be historic narratives or episodes of the War; and frothy ephemeral publications which serve no conceivable purpose of any kind; all these equally well represented in the amazing medley of current war literature. Foremost in the rank of useful publications, we would place the Oxford pamphlets, two of which, "The leading ideas of British policy," by Mr. Gerard Collier, and "How we ought to feel about the War," by Mr. A. V. Dicey, are before us. As expositions of the British point of view in regard to the war, and authoritative information regarding the actual facts, these pamphlets are just what the busy man and the man in the street require. In the same category of useful and timely publications of educative value, we would place the pamphlets on special subjects published by Messrs. Fisher Unwin, such as "The American *versus* the German view of the War," by Dr. Prince, and "Alsace under German Rule," by Mr. Helmer.

The unvarnished tale delivered by Dr. Prince, of the incidents of German 'Kultur' in Belgium, as gathered from the accounts of disinterested spectators, is of unique interest and value. The Story of Alsace under German Rule, by Mr. Helmer, himself an Alsatian, is one of the most eloquent testimonies we can have of the results of the imposition of German Kultur on an alien nationality.

The "Kaiser Unmasked," by Frank Mundell is a frank and graphic exposition of the Kaiser's views and moods as evidenced by his own speeches. The picture is one that is now familiar to all.

The "Secrets of the German War Office," by the notorious Dr. Graves, one of its spies, is really a document of great interest.

The "Nation in Arms," by Field Marshall Baron Von Der Goltz, is one of the amazing productions of German military experts, dealing with military tactics and problems in the sternest style of scientific butchery divorced from all merely moral or human aspects. It supplies a page of unwritten history which cannot be found in official bulletins or publications.

"Deeds that will never Die," by T. F. Fraser, are stories of heroism in the war, culled from newspaper accounts and letters received from the theatres of war. "In Hoc Vince," by a Red Cross Nurse, is a touching episode, detailing one of the 'deeds of heroism' in question.

Even a cursory perusal of the various types of war books cannot help leaving in one's mind an indelible impression of the total change in points of view and 'angles of vision' in all matters concerning individuals and communities, the goal of human endeavours, and the destinies of the race. Let us hope that out of the ashes of the present wreck, better mutual understanding of peoples, and in its wake, world-peace, may follow—"all the stronger and more enduring for the purging in this last great human conflict;" and that this war may, indeed, be the war that will end war.

1. Oxford pamphlets, 1914-1915: "How we ought to feel about the War," by A. V. Dicey., D.C.L. "The leading ideas of British Policy," by Gerard Collier. Oxford University Press.
2. "Alsace under German Rule," by Paul Albert Helmer. "The American *versus* the German view of the War," by Morton Prince, M.D. T. Fisher Unwin. London.
3. "The Kaiser Unmasked," by Frank Mundell. London: Tarrold and Sons.
4. "The German Doctrine of Conquest," by E. Seilliere: Manusell & Co., London.
5. "The Nation in Arms," by Baron Von Der Goltz. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
6. "The Secrets of the German War Office," by Karl Graves. T. Werner Laurie, London.
7. "Deeds that will never Die," by J. Foster Fraser. Cassell & Co., Ld., London.
8. "In Hoc Vince," The Story of a Red Cross Flag, by Florence L. Barclay. G. P. Putnam and Sons, London and New York.

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS.

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

The Story of the Indian Mutiny. By Henry Gilbert. London: George, G. Harrap and Co., 1916. pp. 350 : 5/- net.

The publication of this book is particularly inopportune just at this time as it revives the bitter memories of the great rising of the Sepoys against the English soldiers at a time when their descendants are fighting side by side in the Mesopotamian plains and Flemish trenches, and when their mutual attachment and loyalty are probably unparalleled. Nor are the intrinsic merits of the book such as would attract the student or even the general reader, for whom it is presumably intended. We do not find a continuity in the narrative, which takes up the story of the risings in Lucknow and Cawnpore, after finishing the description of the mutiny and its suppression in Delhi and the neighbourhood. Too often the vigour and impartiality of the book are marred by an exclusive attention paid to the deeds of bravery of the revenging Europeans; and the heroic deeds of the Sikhs, who were equally serviceable in the suppression, are given scant regard to. Nana Sahib and Tantia Topi are painted in even blacker colours than usual, though, as in the cases of Omichund and the Black Hole Story, research may bring us startling surprises. General Nicholson and his famous *movable column* of loyal native troops, and General Neill of the Madras Fusiliers, receive adequate treatment, while Canning and the Lawrences, who stood out for moderation and protested against bloody measures of revenge, receive but scant notice. It might be interesting to the reader to know that some of the English soldiers were not guiltless of cruel barbarity, which is usually ascribed only to the mutineers. On page 128, we find the following :—" Next day they were brought out in batches of ten and shot by some Sikh soldiers . . . . Through inadvertance sixty-six had been locked up in a closed room, and of these forty-five were found asphyxiated. The dead bodies of all the mutineers were collected and thrown into a well by men of the lowest caste. 'There is a well at Cawnpore,' said Cooper in his report, 'but there is also a well at Ujnala.' The strong points of the book are the vigour of its description and its close attention to the topography of the battle-scenes, while the style never becomes dull.

7

A Vedic Grammar for Students. By A. A. Macdonnell, M.A., Ph.D. Oxford University Press. (Price Rs. 5.)

Secular scholarship in Sanskrit has been considerably handicapped for lack of suitable books, both of Readers and Grammars. Of late, however, there has been a commendable enterprise in the matter of supplying the want in regard to classical Sanskrit. Professor Macdonnell's Sanskrit Grammar takes an honoured place among recent publications in this line. The work under review attempts to supply the want in regard to Vedic Sanskrit.

Leaving the orthodox school of Vedic scholarship aside, the only accessible work bearing upon this field is the Grammar of W. D. Whitney, which was by design intended to serve the purposes of those who wish to study historical grammar, which implies a working knowledge both of the grammar of Classical Sanskrit and of that of the Vedic. This work attempts to provide that working knowledge for Vedic Sanskrit, as his other grammar does for the classical.

Having been long at work to bring out his standard work of the subject in the Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research, Professor Macdonnell is eminently qualified to do the work. Naturally he took it upon himself to produce this Companion to his Sanskrit Grammar. Though based upon the larger work, it is not an abridgment of that work; but it proceeds upon lines parallel to the Sanskrit Grammar, in order to make comparisons easy. Another feature of this small work is, that it provides chapters upon Syntax, Metre, etc., which make the work complete in itself. We have little doubt that this work meets a want and is bound, with the Companion Reader projected by the author, to advance the study of Vedic Sanskrit among lay scholars at any rate.

The C. L. S. I. Books. Memorial Hall, Madras.

We have received the following useful booklets from the Christian Literature Society for India :— "Edith Cavell"; "Story of Dumban"; "The Supreme Person and the Supreme Quest"; and "Victory or Defeat" (in Tamil); Rev. Mr. Hogg's book on "Christ's Message of the Kingdom," (in English); and the Rev. Lasson's "Prayer" (in Telugu).

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DIARY OF THE MONTH.

December 18. Congress Reception Committee replies to Sir James Meston's warning letter.

December 19. Greek Government issues a warrant to arrest M. Venizelos.

December 20. Lloyd George's great speech in the Commons on the German Peace Offer.

December 21. Bombay Senate condemns Patna University Bill.

December 22. Indian Colonial Society, Madras, deputes Messrs. H. S. L. Polak and G. A. Natesan to proceed to Ceylon to report on the condition of Indian Labour.

December 23. Dr. Ewing addresses the Punjab University Convocation.

December 24. All-India Kayastha Conference meets at Allahabad, Dr. Sir Rash Behari Ghose presiding.

December 25. Joint Conference, at Lucknow, of the Congress Committee and the Muslim League.

December 26. Meeting of the Thirty-first Indian National Congress at Lucknow.

December 27. Meetings of the All-India Temperance and the Social Conferences at Lucknow, and the All-India Christian Conference at Madras.

December 28. Sir James Meston attends the Congress.
The Anglo-Indian Empire League Conference meets at Jhansi.

December 29. The Urdu Conference meets at Lucknow.

December 30. The All-India Moslem League and Indian Industrial Conference meet at Lucknow.

December 31. Sir James Meston attends the Moslem League.

January 1. The Allies' Ultimatum to Greece was handed.

January 2. Turkish massacre in Armenia.
American papers comment on Allies' reply to German Peace Offer.

January 3. Sir Douglas Haig appeals to British Labourites for increasing output of munitions.

January 4. Turkish atrocities on Arabs.

January 5. Lloyd George and Lord Milner arrive in Rome and take part in the Conference of French and Italian Ministers.

January 6. The Viceroy speaks at the Calcutta University Convocation.

January 7. The Allies' Conference record complete agreement as to the prosecution of the War.

January 8. Mr. B. G. Tilak addresses a large audience of over 12,000 at Nagpur, Dr. Gour presiding.

January 9. Pro-German activity in Spain results in the resignation of the Cabinet.

January 10. H. H. The Maharaja of Mysore opens the Indian Science Congress at Bangalore.

January 11. War Loan Meeting at the Guildhall, and the Premier's inspiring speech.

January 12. Allies' replies to President Wilson. Cabinet changes in Russia.

January 13. Russian successes in Riga.

January 14. Text of Belgium's reply to U. S. is published.

January 15. Russo-Roumanian recovery.
British advance east of Loos.

January 16. Dewan Bahadur P. Rajagopala Chariar, C.I.E., succeeds Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar in the Madras Council.

January 17. His Honour Sir James Meston opens the Lucknow Power Station.

January 18. The death of the Earl of Elgin, late Viceroy of India, is announced.

January 19. The Industries Commission examines the last witness at Calcutta and leaves for Madras to-day.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE DAILY MAIL YEAR BOOK FOR 1917. Edited by David Williamson. The Associated Newspapers, Ltd., London.

PERSONALITY. By Lily L. Allen. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

THE JAPAN YEAR BOOK, 1916. By Y. Takenol. The Japan Year Book Office, Tokyo.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA.

YOUNG INDIA. By Lajpat Rai. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA. By the Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Servants of India Society, Allahadad.

CONFESSIONS OF A THUG. By Col. Meadows Taylor. Edited by C. W. Stewart, B.A. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

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An Indian Trans-Asiatic Railroad.

Mr. George Mathers, Assistant Superintendent of the East Indian Railway Company, gives us some interesting figures and data which support the feasibility of a complete overland railway line connecting Paris and Pekin. Writing in the pages of *The Indian Journal of Economics* (September 1916), he gives us a short history of the project which has been in the air ever since 1872, of establishing an overland route by way of Mesopotamia to the East. The recent railway development in China coupled with the railroad schemes in Asia Minor will undoubtedly usher in a new transport era. In regard to the China side of the project, we are seeing the awakening of that nation and their demand for modern land transport facilities. The Germans and the Turks have pretty well provided in their Bagdad Railway Schemes the link between Basra and Scutari; and from Constantinople onwards to London, the railways are well equipped. The sea-route from Shanghai to London is more than 10,000 miles, via Panama more than 13,000 miles, via the United States (i.e., a rail and sea-route) nearly 12,500 miles, and through India and Constantinople to London only 9,108 miles.

The most serious disadvantage, which at present obtains in respect to the overland route, is the variance of the gauges of railways already in existence which will form part of the Trans-continental line. The policy of future construction at least should aim at uniformity of gauge, and in India the standard gauge is the one to be followed. As regards the Indian mileage forming a part of the through trans-continental route, which would require to be converted to the broad gauge, the total would be about 1,000 miles. So far as the lines connecting Baku and Bagdad with Karachi are concerned, there should not be much doubt as to the utility of adopting the Indian broad gauge. It is not perhaps too much to anticipate the early probability of through railroad connection between India and China, considering that the total mileage of those Chinese railways, which have been definitely settled or partially completed, brings Shanghai in closer overland touch with India, leaving only a span of 693 miles between Chengtu and Saidya on the Burmese frontier to be completed, and also considering the prosperity that will accrue from such a project which will tap and supply China's artery of commerce, the Yang-tse-Kiang valley.

As regards the cost of transport in calculation, respect must be paid to the fact that the prospective traffic will be additional traffic to those lines already in existence. The writer concludes that the average cost of carrying a ton over the entire distance would be Rs. 46. And allowing the carriers a profit on the transaction, as well as 40 per cent. on cost to pay interest on capital, we have Rs. 66, as compared with Rs. 61, the cost of transportation through the normal sea-route *via* Suez, and Rs. 78 that of the sea-*cum*-rail route *via* U. S. A. The United States has made and is making ambitious endeavours to establish herself as the greatest carrier in Oriental trade and to divert from the old-world routes the traffic to Europe. The Hawaiian Islands have been acquired by America, and these together with the Philippines have given them an advantage which they have not been slow to make full use of. The great trans-continental railways, as well as the allied steamship lines, built for the Oriental trade by the United States have not failed in their mission, nor have they played their last card. This should be put down, and no better means than the through railroad connecting Shanghai and Europe could be devised to outclass America in this.

After the War in India.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose, of the Iowa State University, writing in the *Modern Review* for January, deplores that while Europe, America and Japan are all busy after strengthening their own national interests both political and commercial, people in India are blind to the opportunity which, he says, has now occurred to enlarge their industrial undertakings and make themselves independent of foreign markets. He says, India must expect to be the subject of aggressive commercial invasion and must get ready for the days immediately ahead of her when peace has come back to earth and Europe resumes once more its task of commerce and industry. He thinks now is the time to get back the Swadeshi movement, and we should adopt every means to mobilise our economic resources on a basis of efficiency. But improvements in general arts, manufactures, agriculture are no longer to be neglected, because they are new, untried or foreign, and whatever is most serviceable, most useful for our purpose must be welcomed with both hands.

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State-Aid for Housing.

Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki, writing in *The Local Self-Government Gazette* (November 1916), suggests some early and practical remedies for the housing problem which is getting more and more acute in all large towns. The State should recognise to a large extent the principle that the development of building land requires to be controlled in the interests of the individual owners as well as that of the community in general. Unless the State or the Municipalities should take up the financing work of the whole thing, the housing of the poor and middle classes could never make any headway. The facilities which the housing of people stands in need of are chiefly cheap land and capital, exemption from taxes and indirect encouragement. Land values ought to be controlled by Government, and the causes which tend to raise the price of land must be checked and gradually eliminated. German experience has shown that Municipal ownership of land has generally kept down the land-values and enabled Municipalities to encourage working-class dwellings by grants of land at concessional rates to co-operative and other public utility societies. Special concessions must be shown to persons desirous of building small buildings either individually or on co-operative lines. Government land must be made available for the smaller class of buildings without any hampering restrictions; the system of levying a higher tax on agricultural land, when used for building purposes, should be abolished; and the periodic revision of assessment of land should not be made applicable to building land. Suburbs must be opened by all possible efforts, *viz.*, the creation of cheap and speedy transit facilities and of new centres of activity there, and security from the dangers of thefts and robberies.

The Town Planning Act of Bombay, recently passed, has recognised the principle that financial aid by the State is necessary for house building schemes. The Resolution of the Bombay Government on this subject confines its activities only to the development of new urban areas, and seems to have ignored the more pressing needs of Bombay City as compared with those of the District Municipalities, and is entirely silent on the questions of the rates of interest on the Government loans and the terms of repayment. It contemplates financial aid through the Municipalities and directly to co-operative building societies.

The rise in house-rents has no small effect on the rise of prices of all the necessaries of life. The housing problem has a many-sided aspect and a far-reaching effect on the life of the people. The experience of foreign countries should teach us to encourage the formation of co-operative building societies whether on copartnership or on individual lines. If the problem should be tackled in the way in which it ought to be met, the preventible causes of death could be eliminated, the sources of numerous diseases could be removed, the dreadful wastage of child-life could be prevented, light and air could be brought into the homes of even the humblest, and a domestic condition for the people could be secured, whereby their health, morals, and character could be improved and maintained.

Sanskrit and the New Renaissance.

The current issue of *The Vedic Magazine* summarises briefly an address given by Principal Vasvani on the utility of a reflective study of Sanskrit in the present times. Sanskrit is the language of grace, of polish, which is the result not of word-pruning, but of profound emotion. It is a language which lends itself easily to music, rich in its capacities, not alone for poetic expression but also for prose interpretation. The study of comparative Aryan Mythology did much to enlighten a sceptic world concerning the unknown splendours of the ancient Aryan life. "But much more is yet to be done in the way of indicating the forms of Hindu race-consciousness; and the linguistic materials supplied by Sanskrit will enrich the world's life with a knowledge concerning the poetry, folklore phlosophy, and religion of the ancient Aryan." The writer goes on to say:

I am one of those who believe in the vital value of the type of civilization based on Nature-communion, that calm spirit which is the secret of Hindu art, that quiet vision which is the quest of Hindu philosophy, that sense of Divine Silence which is the inspiration of Hindu literature, that communion with the Eternal Joy in and through the struggles and successes of life, which is the yearning of Hindu religion—are a piteous need of the fever-smitten world to-day. Greek culture did much for Europe. Reformation was in a large measure but an expression of the New Spirit awakened in Europe by the revival of learning. A greater revival of learning has begun with the modern reflective study of Sanskrit, and this new Renaissance is destined to do more for the world than even the old Renaissance, which began with the fall of Constantinople. Emerson wrote with wondrous insight: "Europe," he said, "has always owed to Oriental genius its divine impulses." And the World-Spirit summons India, summons *the Aryan Parent-nation* to a new spiritual ministry. Therefore, I ask you India's children to turn your thoughts to this ancient language, a language which was a spoken one even in the days of Alexander and Solomon.

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Financing Indian Industries.

The Editor of *The Mysore Economic Journal*, writing in the last issue of his journal, exhorts the Government to take measures to make people understand more clearly the utility of banks and to clearly grasp the patriotism of a banking account. This is the most essential problem that has to be solved now, since European capital will not at all come in appreciable quantities in the near future in order to help in the building up of the nation's industrial life.

Foreign capital was until recently available for this country for the purpose, and much of the European enterprize in the East generally has been largely dependent on it. But for a long time to come it is a question if this help will be forthcoming even for those who have so largely used it in the past. It is fairly certain that it will not in any case be as abundant as it has been in the past. The reconstruction of the industrial life of Europe itself will require so much money that it is likely to absorb all that may be available in the shape of capital in the West. The aid of the United States will probably be sought as much for some time to come in peace time as during the progress of the war by most of the nations of Europe. This being so, it is more than problematical if India will get anything like an adequate part of the savings—or rather what has been left of the savings, if any—of the West for building up her new industrial life. The position is one for very careful attention, as striking ground without sufficient capital has been the besetting sin of most industrial pioneers in India. A remedy must be sought for this, if progress is to be achieved in the industrial line in the years to come in this country.

Hoarding of the real type may still linger in out of the way places in India, but is fast dying out. The purpose of a campaign to attract the small investor in India should be to create that confidence in banks that will insure his taking his money to them and placing it there. Banks still are few and far between in this country. In all Mysore there is only one bank, and it was started only a short while ago. It has still to develop a network of branch offices. What is true of Mysore is true of every other province *mutatis mutandis*. It is impossible to attract the small investor unless you go to his very doors; unless you offer facilities to invest; and unless you demonstrate your superior security and advantages. That is the first part of the work that awaits the industrial development of this land. In Mysore, we have just offered a few facilities to the small investor, but that is not enough. We must educate the masses to a sense of the requirements of the country as well. They must be made to know that money is only a means to an end and not the end in itself. As a first step in this work, we may suggest that those interested in it should make the people understand more clearly the utility of banks and of banking facilities—in fact, of credit machinery generally. It is impossible to secure the co-operation of the people in this matter without their first knowing what you ask of them.

Recent Tendencies in Co-Operation.

Prof. J. C. Coyajee, writing in a recent issue of *The Bengal Co-Operative Journal*, says that the possible tendency in India would be towards the form of contributary unlimited liability, i.e., the system in which where there is a deficit in the engagement of a society to its creditors, this deficit should, after the full payment of the shares, be recoverable by a series of *per capital* levies upon the members up to the full extent of their property, direct proceedings by a creditor against individual members being forbidden. He says it is not advisable for legislation to show undue preference for any particular form of liability. All forms should be permitted by law, so that different parts of the country might adopt the particular form most suited to them, the adoption of any particular form being explained more by the economic situation developed in a particular district. India has hitherto loyally agreed to the system of unlimited liability, and so far that system has not caused any difficulties.

The rule of unlimited liability, which was the only recognised type of co-operation in its infancy, has the advantage of possessing a drastic rigour which appealed strongly to popular imagination. And it was not until 1896, that even a Schulze Congress could venture to pronounce that its members might safely use the path of limited liability. Unlimited liability is to be preferred in the beginning as securing the confidence of depositors and lenders. In Germany unlimited liability alone held the field till 1895. The system of unlimited liability has, however, proved far from popular in many countries, and its adoption would have militated against the growth of co-operation in many lands. And even in those few countries which have gone in for unlimited liability, it appears nowhere except among the basic units. America has opposed a sort of passive resistance to the introduction of this system. Limited liability might be so adjusted as to afford any possible extent of safety to the depositor or lender. The value of the share does not by any means circumscribe the obligation of the member, for the liability might be made a multiple of the share. Unlimited liability might, moreover, conceivably cause hardship to individuals, both debtors and creditors, having all the elements of a chaotic liquidation of debt, and burdening the creditor with successive suits against individual members.

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The Native States in India.

Appearing in the December number of *The Round Table* and probably under the auspices of politicians of the type of Mr. Curtis, is an article which urges that a prominent place should be given to the Native States in the Government and Constitution of the Indian Empire, and says that they are a barometer of the progress of India which no student of its conditions can afford to ignore. The main interest of this article is in the proposal which recommends the selection of a few Chiefs of the best type to assist in the deliberations of the Legislative Councils, Imperial and Provincial. "There is no material in India as good as the best of the Native Princes. They may not possess the glibness of tongue, the forensic abilities, the demagogic virtues of the lawyers, who under existing arrangements find themselves the leaders of Indian opinion. But they know much more of the real India; they are accustomed to the responsibilities of actual personal rule; they realise the imperial position much more keenly; they have had experience of the limitations and shortcomings of the masses, and of their impassiveness and slowness to change; they are much more likely to be actuated by purely impersonal motives; they are, in fact, likely to be quite as valuable counsellors as many who now attain that position."

Another method of utilising the services of, and incorporating the Native Chiefs in the Government, is by an extension of the Conference system in respect of matters of general interest to the Native States. Until 1903, the only occasion on which the Chiefs of India had been called together was the great assemblage of 1877, which was a purely ceremonial Durbar; and the Durbars of 1903 and '11, were of a similar character. Lord Curzon had formed the councils of the Chiefs' Colleges, on which the Native Rulers were invited to meet together and to play a really practical part. In 1913, a Conference of Chiefs was arranged at Delhi to discuss the question of a University for the ruling classes throughout India. A further Conference was convened at Delhi by Lord Chelmsford in last October, and on this occasion the Government of India sought from the Chiefs free and frank advice on questions connected with their States and peoples.

The other phases of their article deal with the advantages and disadvantages of Native State rule. Its arbitrary nature, the dependence on the personality of the Chief, the possibility of a relapse to weakness and chaos with a change of ruler—these evils are counterbalanced by the innate devotion of the people to a personal ruler; and the freedom from departmentalism and the possibility, not of course always achieved, of a more rapid despatch of business. The majority of the Native States are remnants of old India, the residue now fixed and crystallised from the fluid mass of strife and anarchy which flooded the country in the 18th century. Some of them like the Rajputs trace back their history into the mists of antiquity having survived the rude Moghul shocks, only to be nearly overwhelmed by the Mahrattas. Others like Hyderabad are kingdoms carried out for themselves by successful Moghul generals. Others like Gwalior and Indore are the surviving representatives of the Mahratta power. Others like Patiala and Nabha were established on the ruins of the Sikh domination of the Punjab. A few, of which Kashmir and Mysore are examples, have been created by the British Government in accordance with the deliberate policy of the time. Although the degree of advancement of the various States varies greatly, most have by now introduced a reasonable land assessment, based on a fixed demand with fixity of tenure, are ready to organise measures for combating famine, recognise the advantages of education, have established four special colleges for Chiefs, and have approximated towards higher ideals in all departments of Government, especially Police, Medical, Public Works, Irrigation and Finance.

Indian Ladies at Work.

In the current number of *The Theosophist*, Mrs. Besant gives the following details of the work undertaken by several ladies in the newly established Women's College at Benares:—

Miss Arundale settled down in Benares as the head of the women's educational work there. Miss Browning, M.A., is Principal of the College, and Miss Palmer, B.S.C., carries on her best-loved work as head of the school. The Ashrama is in the charge of Shrimati Sitabai Devi, a widow, who has it under her complete control and is an admirable head, while Shrimati Padmabai Devi, one of our best lady workers, gives her help freely and has been very successful in gathering funds for the up-keep of the institution. Miss Arundale tells me that there is now much sympathy with girls' education in the United Provinces, and that people are very much more inclined to help it than they were some years ago.

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Bishop Heber and his Indian Journal.

Mr. Dinshaw J. Kapadia, writing in a recent number of *The Hindustan Review*, brings out the value of Bishop Heber's services to the country, which include his whole-hearted work for the Indian converts of the Protestant Church, as well as his efforts to open the eyes of the East India Company to the gross abuses prevalent at that time in the administration of its servants, and also to the grave disabilities under which the Indian subjects of the Company laboured during the years that he passed in India (1823 to 1826), and he travelled over the whole of the country except the Punjab, making tours of visitation, consecrating churches, administering confirmation to the native converts, establishing schools and colleges and doing other duties connected with his high calling as the 'Lord Padre Saheb of the Feringhees.' His experiences are recorded in his diary and are written in a language at once charming, elegant, precise, and clear, where contemporary generals and statesmen like Malcolm, Elphinstone, Metcalfe and Ochterlony are portrayed in all their real grandeur and efficiency.

The Bishop's peregrinations extended to Dacca, Patna, Buxar, Benares, which struck him 'as more entirely and characteristically Eastern than any which I have yet seen,' Allahabad, Lucknow, Almora on the lower Himalayas, Moradabad, Rampur, Merat and other minor places, Delhi and Agra. The Bishop was much moved by the sight of the Taj Mahal, of which he gives such a description as might be expected by a connoisseur of art. Bhartpur, Jaipur, Ajmere, Neemuch, etc., in Central India next claimed the Bishop's attention, and he gives a brief description of the character, manners, and customs of the Jats, Bhils, and Rajputs. He then entered the province of Guzarat, visited Surat, Bombay, Elephanta, etc., the hill forts of the Deccan, and lastly Ceylon and Madras. The Bishop writes, 'Our visit to Ceylon has afforded us very great pleasure and interest from its agreeable society, the beauty of its scenery, its curiosities, and far above all, from the religious state of the native inhabitants." He did not care very much for the propagation of the Gospel. "With him the Church was before the Gospel, and he was more of a missionary than an ecclesiast." And "it had been from the first his ambition not to be the head of the Anglican Church in India, but to be the first missionary in the East." He kept his proselytising zeal within the proper bounds of moderation, and for this he was blamed by men in his profession.

Women Power.

Major Stuart Stephens, writing in the last issue of *The English Review*, deplores the enormous waste of woman-energy and regrets that the great majority of the female population of the country has not been made by strict compulsion to enter those walks of labour, from which nearly five million males have gone out to the War. And five million female auxiliaries to replace these cannot be obtained without resorting to a systematised German-like organisation, the bedrock of which is conscription for woman-power and the need of which ought to be self-evident to everyone. Conscription might be applied best and most honourably to the profession of nursing, and and this alone would give the fighting forces the proportion of nurses which is due to them, and which they are in sore need of. Again, in agricultural work though there was at first a great rush of girls from the town-centres, soon there was a thorough exit owing to the allurements of well-paid offices open to the sex in Government offices, the fascination of shop-window gazing, the fancied excitement of the munition factories, and the stories of the utterly impossible wages earned therein. In dairy work, in the care of cows, the milking and the rearing of calves, they have done well; as well as in the work on poultry farms and in the management of horses. Women's assistance will be in enormous demand very soon when nearly all the younger men will have been called away to training, and farmers find that labour conditions have become to them a matter of economic life and death. And a voluntary army of women farm-workers *en masse* is inconceivable, save under conscription. There are also many other fields of female industry which require instant systematisation by the State. In domestic service, the professional and middle classes have been delivered over to the tender mercies of an order of woman-kind, to which the setting in of the munitions boom has been a very great attraction. There exists also an urgent need for conscription in the womanising of the ever-expanding Government departments. Another most urgent reason for woman-conscription is, that such a measure would have the effect of curbing the monster wave of shameless immorality that has swept over England since the creation in it of an enormous mass of soldiery; and it would be effective in compelling them to resort to a wholesome, though hard-working, livelihood.

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New Frontiers After The War.

Lieutenant-Colonel A. A. Waddell, the distinguished Indianist, writing to the last number of *The Asiatic Review*, treats us to a few ingenious attempts at recasting the map of the Balkans and Asia Minor after the War. The most authoritative among these prophesiers are, Sir Harry Johnstone, the well-known traveller and East African administrator, and Sir Thomas Holdich, a very good practical expert on the making of scientific frontiers, who in his latest book. "Political Frontiers and Boundary Making" makes a very authoritative and helpful contribution to the question. Holdich confutes the academic idealists who assume that the civilised world has already attained to a cultured eminence, which admits of a purely artificial line of separation as sufficient for the nations. He is of opinion that physical geography should rank first as the basis of political agreements where territory is concerned, and the distribution of races should be only a secondary consideration in separating hostile national interests. According to him, boundaries should follow not rivers but the ridge-divides between the rivers, and in the readjustment after the war what is wanted is not so much a wholesale alteration of frontiers as a re-distribution of the populations within political ring-fences.

Holdich believes that Britain would not gain much territorially except certain easily recognised advantages in the rectification of her African frontiers, and a dominant position in Mesopotamia. Also Hungary would become absorbed in Rumania for good ethnical reasons. In the Balkans and the Near East, non-assimilating peoples should be partially deported and separated from each other in compartments, so arranged that within the limits of any one political ring-fence there should exist one homogeneous nationality. This, he says, could be easily effected by determining the position of the ring-fence and then requesting the nationalists to retire into the dominion assigned to them, or to accept a scheme of nationalisation, which would amalgamate them with the body corporate of the nationality they adopt.

Sir Harry Johnstone has ventured to illustrate by a concrete revised map his scheme of what the map of Europe and Asia Minor is likely to be after the war. It is as follows:—

In Europe, Austria and Turkey, as has been generally presumed, disappear altogether; Austria being partitioned between Germany (which by the way gets Vienna), Hungary and the new State of West Slavia, which includes Bohemia. Poland is resurrected as a national unit, with Dantzig as its port in the Baltic, thus driving in a wedge between Germany and Prussia, to which it is suggested the Hohenzollerns should be banished. Russia takes European Turkey. Italy takes the Tyrol, the Trentino and Trieste; but the Dalmatian shore of the Adriatic is given to Southern Slavia, the glorified Serbia which will stretch also to the Ægean, with its Eastern outlet through what is now Bulgaria proper; while Bulgaria is to yield part of her remaining territory to Rumania, which by the addition of Transylvania is to become nearly double its original size. Belgium is to be given a better strategical frontier on the east at the expense of Germany, and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg is to become a Belgian Protectorate. Only part of Alsace and Lorraine, however, would Sir Harry restore to France, according to a strict racial and linguistic line of district boundaries. In Asia Minor, Russia is given the north half of that peninsula, with a protectorate over Armenia, so that she secures control of the Black Sea and both shores of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. The southern half of Asia Minor is generously given by him to Italy, and only Syria to France, whilst Mesopotamia is to come under British sway. Sir Harry finds no spot whatever, even in Asia, for misguided and erring Turkey, notwithstanding that its Prussian inciters, who perpetrated infinitely greater atrocities, are to be spared an independent kingdom for their Hohenzollerns.

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London
PUBLISHED FOR THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY
BY
THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMEN CORNER, E.C.
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QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE.

The Congress and the Moslem League's Scheme of Post-War Reforms.

The following is the scheme of the Post-War Reforms prepared by All-India Congress Committee in consultation with the Reform Committee of the All-India Muslim League and passed unanimously at the last session of those bodies held at Lucknow in December :—

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.

3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and that the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils.

Provided that Mahomedans shall not participate in any of the other elections to the Legislative Councils.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (*a*) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be provincial.

(*b*) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(*c*) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure, and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(*d*) Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(*e*) A resolution passed by the Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(*f*) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

9. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with the rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II.—PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one-half of the members of Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III.—IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the Mahomedan electorates and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative

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Councils should also form an electorate for the return of Members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

5. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

6. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

7. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

8. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

9. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

10. The term of office of members shall be five years.

11. The matters mentioned hereinbelow shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council:—

(*a*) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(*b*) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

(*c*) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

(*d*) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of Military charges for the defence of the country.

(*e*) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs-duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(*f*) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

12. A Resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council: provided, however, that if the Resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

13. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

14. The Crown may exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

15. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV.—THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India as constituted under this scheme, and subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters, the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V.—THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN COUNCIL.

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished:

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2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two Permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI.—MILITARY AND OTHER MATTERS OF POLICY.

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.

3. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

4. The Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them and the judiciary in every Province shall be placed under the highest Court of that Province.

N.B.—As regards communal representation in Legislative Councils, the following percentages have been agreed upon :—

Mahomedan representation for the Punjab 50 per cent. ; Bengal 40 per cent. ; Bombay 33½ per cent. ; United Provinces 30 per cent. ; Central Provinces 15 per cent. ; Madras 15 per cent. It has also been agreed to, that if in any province two-thirds of a community be against any measure or Bill, it should be dropped by both communities.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA.

Mr. Polak on "Indians in the Colonies."

Mr. H. S. L. Polak, in moving the resolution on Indians in colonies in the recent Congress, said :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—the resolution that I am asked to propose reads as follows :—

That this Congress, reiterating the resolutions passed at the previous sessions of the Congress, on the subject of the treatment and status of British Indians in the Self-Governing Dominions and the Crown Colonies of the Empire, once more puts on record the ever-growing sense of dissatisfaction at the continued ill-treatment of Indian settlers in those Dominions and Colonies, and expresses the earnest hope that as a result of the growing feeling of cohesion among the constituent parts of the Empire due to the present world-wide war, the statesmen and people of Greater Britain will take a more liberal and Imperial view of the status of the Indian settlers in those parts.

Ladies and gentlemen, when, in 1910, India prohibited the further recruitment of indentured labour for the province of Natal in South Africa, a new chapter in the relations of India and the Dominions and the Crown Colonies was opened ; and the page was turned when at the Congress in Calcutta in 1911, I had the privilege of announcing Mr. Gokhale's approaching visit to South Africa. That visit had an enormous influence upon the condition of affairs. Mr. Gokhale's own wonderful personality made an immense impression upon the minds of a large number of broad-minded and public-spirited men in South Africa and even among the unlearned he was described as 'cooly king' (Laughter.) Ladies and gentlemen, you will understand that for the first time it was realized by a large number of people in South Africa that India did not produce coolies alone and that she can produce, if necessary, a king. (Cheers.) Mr. Gokhale's influence did not disappear after his departure from South Africa, for even when in the dark days of 1913 the Indian community passed through a period of trial and tribulation such as has never been hitherto known, there were still large numbers of Europeans in South Africa who deplored what was being done in the name of South Africa, and who either publicly or privately denounced it. And it was made possible by that visit that the settlement of 1914 was effected—a settlement that is to-day in existence and that laid down the lines upon which the Indian community of South Africa was to progress, and not only that but the main relations between India and the Dominions. The two principal points that were settled by that agreement of 1914 were : (1) that in a British Dominion there should not be direct racial legislation ; and (2) that in all matters vitally affecting the interests of the

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Indian community that community should be consulted in some way or another. Now, since the war—the settlement practically coincided with the war—since the war the South African Indian community has felt bound by a kind of self-denying ordnance not to press on the attention of the Union Government certain outstanding matters that were not made the subject of the settlement, for the settlement could not possibly settle every possible outstanding dispute, and amongst these outstanding points, for example, is the prohibition of Indians in the Transvaal to own fixed property in their own names. I mention this merely as an example. Indians have during the last $2\frac{1}{2}$ years confined themselves to making various private representations to the Government and also to offering their assistance to the State in any possible capacity. You may have learnt that they have supplied two double bearer companies for service in East Africa, and many of those bearers have devoted not only their services but their lives to the Empire. (Hear, hear.) Notwithstanding these things, I should be absolutely lacking in a sense of proportion if I were to suppose or lead you to suppose that things in South Africa are in an absolutely perfect condition. I have the assurance of the Minister of the Interior that it is the desire of the Union Government to adopt an attitude of utmost sympathy and consideration for the Indians in South Africa, and that assurance we are bound to take at its full value. But Governments, even in the Self-Governing Dominions, do not always possess the powers that they would like to possess, while they have a knack of disappearing in the melting pot—and we had recently an instance of that. Permanent officials are permanent and some of them are tactless and unsympathetic. Then again we have to reckon with another permanent element in the situation and that is the trading jealousy of a considerable proportion of the European population. For example, nothwithstanding the fact that there is a general idea of give and take in South Africa to-day, there are still Europeans in South Africa who are openly advocating the denial of trading rights to Indians. I know that in the Transvaal not only are fresh trading rights denied but even the existing rights are being refused renewal. I can give you an example of inconsistencies in a Self-Governing Dominion. It is this: the municipalities have had delegated to them power by the Government to issue or refuse to issue trading licenses in regard to the sale of food stuffs, and some municipalities have actually issued to certain Indian traders such licences for their stores in one street of a particular municipality on the ground that these traders were thought proper persons to possess that right and they have refused to the same traders the right to have similar licences for another store in the same municipality on the ground that they were undesirable persons. Inconsistency could go no further. Although I am a South African, at least by adoption, I cannot possibly defend it or explain it.

The South African influence has not been confined to South Africa. It has extended to the neighbouring Portuguese territory. Though there, I am glad to say, under the Republican regime, there has been a decided improvement, nevertheless the economic relations between the Portuguese Government of East Africa and the Union Government are so close and intimate that one never knows when the next turn of the screw is coming. That South African influence has extended still further northwards. If one goes to East Africa to-day, one goes to a country where the Indians are in an overwhelming majority—a country which owes its very existence as part of the Empire to-day to Indian enterprize and which would never have been admitted into the Empire but for the labours and development of Indians themselves, but where a certain number of European settlers have gone and have exercised their influence in a most reactionary manner upon the local administration. You will be astonished to learn that although the Indians there are in such an overwhelming majority, they have not a single representative in the local Legislative Council. I have here a cablegram from East Africa appointing me and Mr. Jiwanji of East Africa to represent them at this Congress which reads as follows:—'We empower you to move a resolution *re*: elective representation of British Indians for the East African Legislative Council in proportion of their numbers, and economic interest.' It is not possible to move and pass a resolution like this at this Congress which is so busily engaged with a large number of other matters; but the point that I want to draw your attention to is this, that the East African Indians, overwhelming in numbers and economic interests though they are, are absolutely prohibited from having any voice in the administration of the country. And what do we find? The moment martial law is proclaimed, the political organisation that they built up in order

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to deal with the grievances was destroyed by a stroke of pen. Mr. L. W. Ritch, who was serving the Indians there, was deported without trial. (Cries of 'Shame'). There are actually in the jails in East Africa to-day gentlemen who did not know really what the charges are, (cries of 'Shame') who are first of all sentenced to be shot and who by the intervention of a high judicial officer have now had their sentences commuted to imprisonment for life. And yet they did not know what the charge was. (Cries of 'Shame.') And they have been convicted by a martial law tribunal. When I myself tried to land in Mombassa when I was coming to India, I found that although my fellow passengers including aliens were permitted to land, I alone was prohibited, and when I enquired why, I was told it was not in the public interest to give an answer. I think an answer must be demanded. . .

The influence of South Africa extends still further. It extends to the neighbouring protectorate of Zanzibar. Up to now Zanzibar has enjoyed a considerable freedom. Indians who are there almost to the complete exclusion of Europeans have had a relatively easy time. But they are simply dreading the day when they will be brought into political association with East Africa and brought under the South African yoke. You will thus understand what has been the effect of the domination of certain elements in South Africa not only upon the vast majority of the people in South Africa, but also upon the people in far distant territories.

And yet we have an agitation promoted in this country to-day by a gentleman who is travelling in this country on behalf of an organization known as the 'Round Table' (cries of 'Shame') and propagating the idea, the political idea, that India should be governed not only by Great Britain but also by the self-governing dominions because they are self-governing. (Cries of 'Never, never.') I myself come from one of these self-governing dominions. I have seen with my own eyes what this self-government means in South Africa. Have I not seen during the last 10 years what has been the position of our fellow-countrymen and my fellow-subjects under a self-governing dominion? Have I not seen what is the position of the native population? Have I not seen actually during this war a widespread rebellion, not by Indians but by Europeans in South Africa? When I have seen these things, then I must admit that although there is almost perfect self-government constituted in South Africa, South Africans as a whole have not yet risen to the full height of self-government, and even supposing they had, that would not entitle them to any share in the government of this country. I must be lacking in a sense of duty if I refrain from referringto a matter that has come to my notice within the last few days since my arrival in Northern India. I mention it because I wish to dissociate myself from the sentiments therein contained very emphatically and publicly. This is a printed document marked 'Private', but I am not abusing confidence because I understand that this document is now being widely circulated. It is addressed by the same gentleman to the 'Round Table' groups all over the world, a document which I hold in my hand but which I do not propose to read. (Cries of 'Read.') No, no. I will read an extract presently. This is a document containing such statements which, as an Englishman, I am ashamed to read and from which I wish to dissociate myself publicly; for I feel the gentleman who has written this document has abused the law of hospitality, and with the connivance of highly-placed Government officials has made it plain that there is a deep laid conspiracy in this country, in which undoubtedly Government officials are taking part, to bring India under the control of the Self-GoverningDominions. I want to read this particular sentence which, I think, gives you some idea of the spirit of the whole letter:—

> We must do our best to convince them (*i.e.*, the Indian Nationalists) of the mischief to their own cause wrought by the deliberate campaign which is on foot here to embitter feeling against the Dominions. The cultivation of hate here, as in Ireland, is the greatest of all the obstacles to freedom, an *ignis fatuus* which only leads men into an ever-deepening morass. But anything we say will be futile unless we have taken the trouble to study their position at first hand. I must make the leaders scattered over India feel that I have been at pains to learn their aspirations from their own lips and to try and understand them. We shall do positive harm if they have reason to say that we offer opinions on questions vitally affecting this vast community without even discussing with Indians what Indians have to say on the subject.

So here you see the pretence of consulting Indian public opinion and then writing their book that was pre-determined. I say that this is hypocrisy of the first order. Bear in mind that this is written by the gentleman who, in the main, was responsible for driving your fellow-countrymen in South Africa into revolt and into agony for a period of eight years. He was the principal official concerned in South Africa with that evil which is called anti-Asiatic legislation. If I were an Indian myself, I should decline to reside inde-

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finitely in an imperial penumbra while my favoured brothers and sisters are basking in imperial sunshine. I have come from one of these dominions. I would certainly never do anything that would arouse any degree of hatred on the part of India against any of the dominions because I believe that such a feeling would be unjust and unwarranted, because there are permanent elements of sympathy in South Africa in favour of the aspirations and ideals of India and in favour of proper treatment being accorded to Indians in South Africa. I have during the last two years made a large number of friends there who before were enemies or at least public opponents in Indian questions. I am confident that they at least would have nothing to do with this propaganda, with any propaganda of this nature, which they would regard as in the nature of a stab in the back. That would be the real answer of the South African democracy. Do not be under any delusion that the sentiments expressed in this document are shared by the real people of South Africa. The democracies of the dominions are not in favour of this. They have not expressed, as far as I know, any desire to participate in the Government of India, because they have their own troubles to deal with. I should like to say before I resume my seat that so long as I have any breath in my body, I at least personally will devote all my energies to combat this evil so far as I possibly can. (Loud cheers.)

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY.

Mr. Horniman on "The Press Act."

Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, in supporting the resolution on the Press Act in the recent Congress, said :—

I only propose to put before you as a working journalist, and as the president of the Press Association of India, a few facts in regard to the reasons or alleged reasons for which this Act is retained on the statute-book and a few facts in regard to the way in which this Act is being administered.

We know that when this Act was brought before the Imperial Legislative Council, the reason for its enactment given to the Council, given to country, was the existence, chiefly in Bengal, of a vast revolutionary activity which the Government had confessed itself unable to cope with. Ladies and gentlemen, that was the reason for the enactment of this measure. I have followed the history of this Act since its very inception, and I am one of those who maintained at the time and I maintain it now, that that reason for the enactment of this measure did not even exist at the time it was enacted. (Hear, hear.) I tell you why. Because the phase of revolutionary activity with which it was enacted to deal—the existence of a certain class of newspapers which were supposed to be and were no doubt conducting seditious agitation by veiled means—that particular class of papers had already, I think I may fairly say, ceased to exist partly by the operation of ordinary laws of human nature, by the operation of the economic factors of business by which you cannot attempt to keep up supply if there is no demand and partly because the ordinary law of the land had already extinguished the chief exponents of that particular phase of journalism in Bengal. I think the Bengal delegates here will bear me out when I say that papers like the *Bande Mataram* and others had already come to grief by the prosecution brought against them under the ordinary clauses of the Indian Penal Code. Therefore, I maintain that when this Act was passed, it was unnecessary for the purpose which was put forward as the justification of its enactment. And it was passed really for very different reasons—not to suppress real revolutionary activity in the press but in order to put into the hands of the executive a convenient weapon for repressing inconvenient criticism which they could not bring under the operation of the clauses of the Penal Code. Well then, ladies and gentlemen, if the justification that was put forward did not exist at the time, very much less does it exist now.

* * * *

Two other points that I want to put before you now are these: The first one is that the safeguards that were promised—the promises that were solemnly made in the Imperial Council—have not been kept and the safeguards did not exist. We were most solemnly assured that there were such safeguards—appeal to the High

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Court, etc.—as would effectually prevent any sort of arbitrary treatment of the press under the Act. We have the deliberate judgments of two High Courts of the country that those safeguards are really entirely illusory. One of the fears expressed by the non-official members of the Council at the time of the passing of the Act, was that it would put a fresh weapon of repression in the hands of the police, and that it must always be a matter of great care before you put any fresh weapon into their hands. In reply to that, Sir Herbert Risley on behalf of the Government of India promised us that the police would not come in at any step in the administration of the Act. Ladies and gentlemen, I say—I am prepared to justify it—I say from this platform, that the police come in at every step. (Cries of 'Shame.') The whole question of the respectability, if I may put it so, of the proprietors of a newspaper or the proprietors of a press rests in the hands of the Criminal Investigation Department. (Cries of 'Shame.') And it is unnecessary for me, speaking to an audience of this character, to elaborate what that means to the character of any man in this country. Those two solemn promises, I say emphatically and deliberately, have been broken by the administration. . .

The third point is the unfair manner in which this Act is being administered as between certain classes of journals. Anglo-Indian papers in this country, with one exception, are allowed to write as they like any sort of vilification of the people of this country. (Cries of 'Shame.') They are allowed to use any sort of language bringing the people of this country into hatred and contempt. (Cries of 'Shame.') But we know, and it is not necessary for me to enlarge upon, what happens to the Indian journals that indulge in any sort of criticism of the behaviour of either race inhabiting this country. I will just give you one instance out of hundreds I could give in order that you may realize the contrast between the treatment of these two classes of journals in India. Mrs. Besant (applause) in her paper *New India* is not allowed to agitate the case of the Indian people in regard to the question of reserved compartments for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. (Cries of 'Shame.') But an Anglo-Indian paper published in Bombay is allowed to publish an article without a word of remonstrance from the Government advocating the use of physical violence as an ordinary factor in the treatment of Indian labour. Ladies and gentlemen, that is a pretty bad example of the way in which the Act is administered, and I can assure you it is not the worst case. I have only given it to you because it came to my mind at the time.* * * There again we have a great contrast in the treatment of one kind of publication and in the treatment of another, and if I may be allowed to just detain you for a minute longer, I will give you another instance of that. (Cries of 'Go on.') In Bombay about a year or two ago, a very talented Gujarati novelist published a novel, in which in the scheme of the novel there was the character of an Indian returned from Europe who attempted—I think I am giving the correct version—to introduce into his community all sorts of Western culture which they did not want. And in the course of the novel, various characters indulged in a good deal of criticism of Western ways of living and Western ways of thinking. That novel—I do not know whether that novel is suppressed on that account—was suppressed, and I think, we may fairly presume that it was suppressed not because the writer expressed his opinions but because certain characters in his book expressed the opinion that Western culture was not desirable in an Oriental land. (Cries of 'Shame.') To-day at the present moment there is appearing in a certain Anglo-Indian journal a serial story—a novel written by an Englishman, written by a member of the educational service of Bombay, the whole tone of which from beginning to end is, if not a vilification of the people of this country, of such a nature as to imbue the readers, ignorant readers, with hatred and contempt of the people of this country. (Cries of 'Shame.') Ladies and gentlemen, the one book is suppressed and the other one is enjoying a flourishing existence in the columns of the European journal in this country.

Apart from the general principle of the freedom of the press, these are the reasons by which we ask for the repeal of the Press Act—first of all because the reasons which were put forward at the time it was passed to justify it did not and do not exist; secondly, because the promises that were made in regard to the safeguards in the Act have been broken; and, thirdly, because it is being administered in an unfair and invidious way as between one class of journals and another, as between one race and another. Ladies and gentlemen, if I have said enough to justify us in asking the Government of India to repeal this iniquitous Act, if I have done that, I am satisfied.

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Hon. Radha Kishan Das on "The Arms Act."

The following is a summary of the speech which the Hon'ble Pandit Radha Kishan Das delivered, in moving the resolution on the Arms Act, on the 28th December at the Lucknow Congress. His Honour Sir James Meston was present when this resolution was moved :—

The famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria of blessed memory, which is rightly regarded by us as the Magna Charta of Indian liberty and which has been ratified by her illustrious successors and by a long line of distinguished statesmen, lays down that equally with our English fellow-subjects we shall be free citizens of the Empire, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. * * * * * *

But the Indian Legislature, in its inscrutable wisdom, thought it fit, in an unfortunate moment in the year 1878, to place on the Statute-Book a measure, which painfully impresses on us the fact that we are not free citizens of the British Empire.

And, then, there is a great anomaly. So long as you live in British India, you are subject to this serious disqualification. But if you live in a Native State in India, you are as free as any one in the rest of the world to keep arms. Does this state of things reflect any credit on British India? I think it is a serious discredit.

Under the Arms Act, no Indian may possess or carry Arms without special license, whereas, Europeans, Eurasians, Negroes, Hottentots or Fiji Islanders may bear arms unquestioned. So long as the Arms Act is in force, could you by any stretch of imagination think that we are treated as equal subjects of the Empire?

Ladies and gentlemen, the Arms Act is a gratuitous insult to the inhabitants of Hindustan, who are not prepared to yield to any other nation, aye, even to the great British Nation itself in their sincere loyalty and deep devotion to their Sovereign.

So far as I am aware, history does not present another example of the complete emasculation of an entire nation in the way in which the Arms Act has emasculated and is emasculating the descendants of the valiant heroes and soldiers of Hindustan.

It has crushed and is crushing our spirit. It has very nearly done its fatal work, and unless it is repealed, without any further delay, the situation would become simply hopeless.

* * * *

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu on "The Arms Act."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in supporting the resolution on "The Arms Act" in the recent Congress, said :—

It might seem a kind of paradox, that I, a woman, should be asked to raise her voice on behalf of the disinherited manhood of the country, but it is appropriate that I, who represent the sex that form the mothers of men, whom we wish to make men and not emasculated machines, should raise my voice on behalf of the future mothers of India to demand that the birthright of their sons should be given back to them, so that the India of to-morrow may be once more worthy of its yesterday. To disarm the children of the soil, the Mussalmans of India, of their legitimate and much valued birthright of wielding arms, to disinherit the martial Rajput and the Sikh of the right and privilege—that coveted privilege and that inalienable right of carrying arms, is to insult the very core of their valiant manhood; to prevent, to-day, millions of brave young men willing to carry arms in the cause of the Empire, is to cast a slur on the very ideas of Empire, and so in your name, unarmed citizens of India, I appeal to the representative of the great Emperor of this great Indian Empire to plead for our rights, to support us in our claims to grant to the children of to-morrow the right that their forefathers of yesterday possessed, and who but a woman shall raise her voice for you, who have not been able in all these years to speak for yourselves with any effect? I come from a city where every man is privileged to carry arms, the African, the Rohilla, the Sikh, and never has it been said in my city of Hyderabad that all these various armed elements have ever been disloyal to the Sovereign Power. Shall not the greater portion of India, British India, take a lesson from that one Native State that knows how to trust the loyalty of its subjects? In the hour of need have we not in our millions, we women of India, sent our sons and our brothers to shed their blood on the battlefield of Flanders and France, Gallipoli and Mesopotamia? And when the hour comes for thanks, shall we not say to them, for whom we fought, when the terror and tumult of hate shall cease and life is refashioned, and when there is peace and when you offer memorial thanks to the comrades that fought in dauntless ranks, and you honour the deeds of the deathless, "Remember the blood of my martyred sons and, remembering, arm India and restore to India her lost manhood?"

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Hon. Paranjpye on the Patna University.

In moving the Reslution of Protest against the Patna University Bill, the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye observed in the course of his exhaustive speech :—

Ladies and gentlemen, the constitution of the present universities, we know, is unsatisfactory. . . . But when we are thinking of amending the constitution of the present universities to make them more liberal, what does the present Patna University Bill contemplate? This bill contemplates starting a university which is a university only in name. It would be a mere department of Government. The present universities, for instance, have the following constituted authorities : First of all at the head of a university is the Chancellor. Under him there is the Vice-Chancellor who is the president of the senate in the absence of the Chancellor and who is to a certain extent an ornamental head of the university. Then there is the senate which is the chief governing body of the university. The senate of the three large universities have 100 fellows, out of whom 80 are nominated by the Government, 10 are elected by registered graduates, and 10 by the faculties ; so that the popular element in the senates really consists of the 10 elected by the registered graduates and to a certain extent of the 10 that are elected by the faculties. But even with that and in spite of the 80 nominations of the Government, our universities, as I have said, are susceptible to popular influence. Then, after the senate, they have got an executive body which is called the syndicate. The syndicate is really speaking a committee of the senate elected wholly by the senate except the Vice-Chancellor, who is its president and the director of public instruction, who under Lord Curzon's scheme has become an *ex officio* member of the syndicate. Before that there was no director of public instruction as *ex officio* member of the syndicate. The syndicate was wholly elected by the senate. The syndicate is then an executive body, and although it is a statutory body under the new Universities Act, it is practically responsible to the senate although, let me say in passing, it has been found to be the gradually extending tendency of the present syndicates that they are trying to usurp more and more power into their hands, and it is a tendency which popular members in the senates are always trying to combat. Well, what does the new University Bill do? The new University Bill tries to solve the old difficulty by giving the whole power to the syndicate. The senate is to be a mere debating club in the new University. The clauses in the Bill distinctly say that the senate is to be a merely deliberative body and that its decisions are not to be binding on the syndicate. The senate, therefore, may possibly be an ornamental body, but it will be a body without a soul.

The Speaker then dealt with the various objectionable provisions of the Bill one after another, and continued :—

Ladies and gentlemen, the grievance is not a provincial grievance merely, although Bihar is first in front of this danger. The future of Bihar, of course, is bound up with a proper University, is bound up with the existence of proper facilities for higher education. The whole future depends on whether they are going to get a University responsive to public ideas and capable of continuous development. But over and above that there is the wider point of view, the point of view of the whole of India. Remember that the five universities and the sixth that is now being started will not do for the whole country for all time. Even a small country like England has got 15 or 16 universities, and Germany has got over 30, and little Italy has got 20 universities. India is not going to be satisfied with 5 or 6 universites for all time to come. For the proper provision of university education, several universities—I was going to say hundreds of universities—are required. Already we are hearing of schemes for new universities for Burma, for Dacca, for the Central Provinces, and our late Governor told us that we were likely to have universities at Poona, Ahmedabad and Karachi. The Madras people are talking of a university for the Andras, a new university at Trichinopoly, etc. There are many other schemes also. Remember that all these universities that are in contemplation are bound to become matters of practical politics sooner or later ; and, therefore, if we allow a reactionary bill of this type to be once placed on the statute-book, the new universities will not contain any of the few liberal provisions that are at present existing in our older universities ; all the new universities will be modelled upon the new Patna University. It is, therefore, a question not only for Bihar and Orissa. It is a very vital question for the whole of India, and it is very important that this Congress should declare its emphatic protest. Bihar has already done its duty. Bihar has recorded its emphatie protest in a special session of the Bihar Provincial Conference. The other provinces ought to follow suit

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and ought to encourage Bihar in her protest, and do all they can to tell the Government that it is not a bill of this nature that we want. The Bihar people wanted a university, but it is as if a man wanting bread was offered a stone and asked to satisfy himself with it. It is not in this way that we want higher education to be encouraged. The Bombay Senate, as I have said, have already recorded their protest. The bill has been sent to other universities, and I hope they will do the same. But a large gathering of the whole country assembled like this ought, I say, to record its emphatic protest. My resolution says that the bill should be so amended as to make it a thoroughly liberal and progressive measure. I myself would rather have said that the bill should be withdrawn, and a new measure, a more liberal measure, introduced into the Council (applause). Remember that our education member is an Indian with thoroughly Indian sympathies, and if we only show our decisive disapproval of the provisions of this bill, I am in very great hope that our protest will be successful, and Bihar will be given a university more worthy of its name and more calculated to further its educational progress. (Loud applause).

Mr. G. S. Arundale on Education.

Mr. G. S. Arundale, in moving the Resolution on Education in the recent Congress, said :—

I think this Resolution is a step towards the final and complete control of India over the education of her children. Behind every one of the clauses of this resolution is one fundamental fact. On the question of Home Rule, you will see written up there : 'good government is no substitute for self-government.' I say with regard to education that good education is no substitute for national education. (Hear, hear.) And this undoubtedly means, so far as I think, that the training of the youth of India must be in the hands of the teachers of their own race. That is of essential importance in the development of reconstruction that is now taking place. Everywhere else but in India this is the cardinal principle. Why should it not be a cardinal principle in India too? And it is in furtherance of that that we are asking you to pass this most important resolution. India refuses any longer to be an educational dependency of Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) India refuses to be an educational dependency of a country which, as Lord Haldane has told us, lags behind many other countries in the matter of educational progress. (Hear, hear.) We want to be in the forefront as once in ancient days we were, and as we shall be in the forefront of the world's education in the near future. (Hear, hear, and applause.) The spirit of our national traditions and the spirit of our national aspirations must everywhere permeate our schools and colleges, and we shall not be satisfied until such spirit is broadcast everywhere throughout the land.

What are the defects of the present system? In the first place, as Mrs. Besant told you yesterday, we have been refused free and compulsory education. Mr. Gokhale made every effort which was possible, but his efforts were in vain. We have, therefore, to say at the outset that if the absence of education stands in our way, it is not our fault. It is the fault of the rulers of the country. That is the primary defect in the educational system, as we have it at present. Then we have that obstructive measure, Lord Curzon's Universities Act of 1904. That and the new Patna University Bill, which we have already spoken about to-day, show that reaction is rather the order of the day than reform, and, therefore, it is all the more necessary that we should lift our voice for truly national education to be spread throughout the country. Then let us take up other defects. Look at the constitution of our Indian educational service. I would rather call it the European educational service. There are so few Indians in it. There ought to be a majority of Indians in that service, not a majority of Europeans as at the present time. Then, again, we all know how young Europeans appointed by an ignorant Secretary of State are sent out to this country to take precedence over those who are far abler and far more experienced than any European at any time could possibly be. We want to abolish it. We don't want men like Prof. Jadunath Sircar and Dr. J. C. Bose to take a second place to young Europeans without the slightest Indian educational experience. Then, take the European professor at the present time. In olden days, a European professor or a European teacher was far better than he is to-day, because it was not so easy to get to England as it is at the present time. Nowadays he can take furlough every year and go to England. In those days he could not go often; he had to be here, he had to identify himself with the interests of the people here, and the result was that he was a friend of the people far more than the present professors are the friends of the Indian people to-day. What we ask of all our teachers is that they should love India above all else. . . .

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Then, we all of us know that the curriculum is entirely overloaded, and the minds of students are being shamefully ill-used. The result is, that the mind has become the master of students instead of being their servant. Everywhere the mind takes the first place and everything else besides mind take the second place or no place whatever. For example, is patriotism taught in the schools as it ought to be? Patriotism among our young men is far too much synonymous with sedition. There are no seditionists among our young men at the present time. They are all patriots, and as patriots they should be treated, and as patriots they would be treated if only Indians had the control of Indian education. Where, for example, is the training of India's youth in the defence of the motherland? We have a resolution on that. What we require is that physical development and proper military training should be given precedence over everything else, even over intellectual instruction, for that comes second as it did in the Code of Manu, to whom our European masters might very well turn for instruction.

Finally,—my time is very short—let me try to suggest to you that you must look with impatience upon the way in which our young men are repressed at the present time. Every effort at self-expression is repressed in the most reckless manner. In Great Britain, the young men at the present time are urged to leave their colleges, are urged to go to the battlefront and to fight for the defence of their motherland. It is unnecessary here that the Indian youth should so be asked; they are still in the fortunate position of being able to go on with their studies. But they ought to be allowed to take an intelligent, suitable, active share in the growth of their motherland, to help her to gain that freedom which is her birthright. I would simply paraphrase the statement of Mr. Tilak, which he made when he was proposing a vote of thanks to me when I lectured on Home Rule recently. He said, "We do not want arguments, Home Rule is our birthright, and we want it. That is all." I say, National education is our birthright, and we want it. (Loud applause.)

FEUDATORY INDIA.

Kashmir Educational Conference.

The Second Educational Conference of the Kashmir and Jammu State was held in the office of the Home Minister, at Jammu, on the 13th, 15th and 16th December. It was presided over by Rai Bahadur Major-General Dewan Bishan Das, C.I.E., Minister in charge of the State Education in Kashmir, who welcomed the delegates again to the Conference after a lapse of a year and quarter since the first Session was held. He referred briefly to the educational activities of the State since they met last, and said that of the thirty subjects on the agenda of last year's deliberations, some of the more important only had been given effect to in the year. He continued:

A number of them, I am glad to announce, have been brought into practice or action. Our second curriculum has been made simpler, the use of vernacular as the medium of instruction is being extended and an inter-school tournament has been started in Srinagar, and thanks to the exertions of my friend, the Rev. C. S. Tyndale-Biscoe, and the energetic assistant inspector for Mohammadan education, Sheikh Hamid Ullah, it has met with complete success. Steps for training lady teachers in our girls' schools by providing scholarships for widows and advanced girls have been taken.

The suggestion for limiting the strength to forty students, and the appointment of trained and better qualified teachers, have not been carried out as yet; and this was due, said the President, to the paucity of funds. He concluded with a reference to His Highness' deep interest in education.

After this, the various subjects noted in the agenda were then taken up, and resolutions were passed after considerable discussion. Various schemes for the improvement and extension of education were adopted. Some of them related to the necessity for extension of primary education, others for the diffusion of religious education. Technical and scientific education was proposed to be combined in the new system of primary education. Education up to a certain standard was to be imparted in the vernaculars. Special attention being paid to physiology and hygiene, geography and Indian history. Physical culture was duly considered. The question of female education was discussed at length. Various committees for different educational purposes were also appointed to advise and carry out the reforms adumbrated in the Conference.

The Conference dispersed with a vote of thanks to the chair.

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Native States and British India.

The Hon. Mr. Ambica Charn Mazumdar, President of the recent Congress, in the course of his address made the following instructive comparison between the Native States and British India :—

India possesses an area of 1,800,000 square miles with a population of 316 millions, of which over 700,000 square miles, or more than one-third of this area, with a population of over 70 millions, or close upon one-fourth, belong to the independent Native States. Now these States are entirely managed by Indian administrators, and it has to be admitted that some of them are marching ahead of British India in certain directions, particularly in respect of education, judicial reforms and industrial development, which are the most sacred functions of a constitutional government. It must be borne in mind that not a few of these distinguished administrators, who have achieved such brilliant results in the administration of these States, are sometimes drawn from His Majesty's subjects in British India. They have shown that if commanded by their Sovereign, they were fit to hold any portfolio in the Government of India. If these distinguished administrators had their lot cast solely in British India, many of them would have in all probability ended their careers as deputy-magistrates, a few as district officers, and fewer still as officiating commissioners of divisions.

Indore Maharaja's Generosity.

It is announced, says the *Tribune*, that H. H. the Maharaja Holkar proposes to make a princely gift of rupees two lakhs out of his privy purse to be utilised in a way which his subjects consider will prove most beneficial to themselves. Last year he ordered the introduction of the scheme of compulsory and free primary vernacular education into the whole State, and in this year's Budget large sums of money have been allotted for the purpose and the services of an eminent and experienced educationist have been engaged. The old Veda Shala has been re-organised into a Sanskrit College to give impetus to the revival of the study of ancient Sanskrit literature. In almost all important towns, Municipal Government has been introduced. Improvement of city water supply has been effected at a huge cost. Legislation for the amelioration of the social conditions of his subjects has been passed, and restriction on intoxication by higher taxation of excisable commodities has also been recently resorted to, to add to the material and moral progress of the people. The present munificent gift crowns these all.

Hand-Loom Industry in Bhopal.

Among the various interesting exhibits at the Baroda Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition, the exhibits of the Ruffikia Weaving Institute of Bhopal, observes a contemporary, attract great attention. These articles were recently exhibited at the Mysore Dasara Industrial Exhibition and were awarded a gold medal. Her Highness the Begum takes great interest in the revival of hand-loom industry, and it was at her initiative that this Institute was started at Bhopal under the supervision of Mr. Brown. Mr. Brown has come to the Baroda Exhibition not only with his exhibits but also with handlooms and expert weavers, who are carying on their works in the Exhibition grounds. Naturally, this practical demonstration proves greatly attractive, and the public attention is directed to one of the old handicrafts which threaten to be forgotten.

The Travancore Government and Ayurveda.

The Government to Travancore are now encouraging the scientific study of Ayurveda in His Highness' territory. There are several Government Ayurvedic schools and colleges in Travancore now, where up-to-date studies are being fast introduced. A passed student of such a college, Mr. K. G. Gopala Pillai, has been just sent to Bengal with stipend of Rs. 40 per month for a course of post-graduate studies under Mahamahopadhyaya Kaviraj Gananath Sen Saraswati, M.A., L.M.S., of Calcutta.

About two years ago, the Government of Mysore, too, sent three passed students of the Government Ayurvedic College, Mysore, with stipends of Rs. 25 per month to each of them, to take similar post-graduate courses under the learned Kaviraj, who can be well congratulated on his all-India fame and great researches in Ayurveda.

Representative Assembly in Kaparthala.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kaparthala has, following the example of certain other Indian States, inaugurated a Representative Assembly in his State. The event, it is stated, "has roused considerable local enthusiasm." The Assembly will consist of the representatives of the three principal religious denominations of the State. The powers at present seem to be very limited; and the Assembly will discuss only such subjects as are officially laid before it. His Highness proposes to extend the privileges of the Assembly, if the results of the first session should prove satisfactory.

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The Swadeshi Movement.

The Hon. Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar said with reference to the Swadeshi Movement in his Congress Presidential Address :—

If the ill-fated Swadeshi Movement had been directed in its proper channel and not checked as an unhealthy growth, the question of the industrial development of India, which has now attracted the anxious attention of Government, might have admitted of a much easier solution. The war has disclosed that, in 1905, the Indian Nationalists declared hostilities not against Great Britain, but against Germany and Austria, and that if the authorities in India had taken a more dispassionate and far-sighted view of the situation, German and Austrian trade in India would have died ten years ago and without a naval blockade. The fault, however, did not lie wholly with the Government, but the people had also to bear a share of the responsibility. However that may be, the question of rebuilding Indian industries out of their ashes is not free from serious difficulties, and unless Government is prepared honestly and resolutely to come forward to make atonement for its past sins of commission and omission, it may never be solved. Much is said about the phenomenal progress of Japan, and Sir Thomas Holland has recently thrown a flood of light upon her industrial development. But what is the secret of her success? Amidst all the disquisitions and speculations, which have gathered round the question, there looms large one fact which can neither be overlooked nor disputed. Japan possesses a National Government, which India does not. In Japan, there is no clashing of interest between the people and the State, but in India, although the interests of the Government may not collide with those of the people, its industrial policy is to a large extent controlled by considerations independent of the interests of India. Gentlemen, I pause here for a moment to thank the Government of the United Provinces which is the only administration that has as yet taken any practical interest in the development of some of our industries.

If, however, for any reason the Government finds itself handicapped in the way of building up new industries on its own account, as in Japan, it can, at any rate, do much to help and encourage such industries. It can add a portfolio of industries to the member in charge of commerce and carry on an investigation through experts as to which industry is best suited to what part of the country, regard being had to the production of raw materials and facilities of communication and labour. Then, as Indian capital starts any business on a sound and substantial basis, the Government may come forward to purchase a portion of its shares in order to secure both an effective control over it and an abiding interest in its success. And, above all, it may guarantee to such a concern a certain rate of profit or dividend for a period sufficient to enable it to stand on its own legs, while it may render no inconsiderable help by becoming its customer for its own purposes. It may also remove all unjustifiable excise duties and grant railway concessions. If the Government will do all this, it will discharge its function as a benevolent State and remove the shyness of Indian capital in an unequal competition with its formidable foreign rivals. If this cannot be done, the Government will be well advised not to waste its money over academic conferences and commissions to serve no other purpose than that of raising false hopes and aggravating public discontent.

Mr. Gandhi on Real Economics.

Speaking under the auspices of the Allahabad University, Mr. M. K. Gandhi said :—

Under the British ægis we have learnt much, but it is my firm belief that there is little to gain from Britain in intrinsic morality, that if we are not careful, we shall introduce all the vices that she has been a prey to owing to the disease of materialism. We can profit by that connection only if we keep our civilisation and our morals straight, i.e., if, instead of boasting of the glorious past, we express the ancient moral glory in our own lives and let our lives bear witness to our past. Then we shall benefit her and ourselves. If we copy her because she provides us with rulers, both they and we shall suffer degradation. We need not be afraid of ideals or of reducing them to practice even to the uttermost. Ours will only then be a truly spiritual nation when we shall show more truth than gold, greater fearlessness than pomp of power and wealth, greater charity than love of self. If we will but clean our houses, our palaces and temples of the attributes of wealth, and show in them the attributes of morality, we can offer battle to any combinations of hostile forces without having to carry the burden of a heavy militia. Let us seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and the irrevocable promise is that everything will be added unto us. These are real economics. May you and I treasure them and enforce them in our daily life.

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Bengal's Home Industries.

Lady Carmichael presided recently over a large and influentially attended meeting held at Government House, Calcutta, for the purpose of establishing an Association for the promotion of home industries in Bengal, with a view to the further development of small cottage industries. Her Excellency, in the course of the opening address, said that it had always been a regret to her that there had been no way of getting cottage industries made known to the people and of helping the workers to dispose of their goods at a fair price. She had been very keen for some time that an opportunity should be given to the people in Bengal to see the smaller or cottage industries. Reasons for encouraging local productions had become very marked since the beginning of the war, for the war had shown how the country was being flooded with foreign goods to the detriment of goods that could be produced here. The war had stopped the influx of German and Austrian goods, and it was, therefore, all the more necessary to help the production of what could be made here before other countries came forward to secure that trade, and that was a further reason for taking some steps now.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted :—

"That this meeting resolves to form an Association for the promotion of home industries in Bengal, to be named the Bengal Home Industries Association, founded by Lady Carmichael, 1916."

A strong executive committee consisting of officials and non-officials was formed, and it was also resolved that a public meeting of the people of Bengal be held at an early date to further the object of the Association.

Indian-Made Sewing Machines.

Messrs. G. M. Bahri and Co., of Ludhiana, are to be congratulated on having chalked out a new line as manufacturers of sewing machines, says the *Tribune* of Lahore. The machines are, it is stated, turned out in the company's own factory at Ludhiana, which employs about 48 men at present. Mr. G. M. Bahri was formerly agent for a German firm of sewing machines for many years, and has now started his own factory. The parts of the machines are chiefly made locally, the exceptions being rubber material, etc., which cannot be had in the country. The average outturn, we are told, is at present only sixty per month, but there is without doubt a vast field for the enterprise.

The Industrial Conference.

The following is a list of papers received for submission to the 12th Session of the Indian Industrial Conference held at Lucknow in December last :—

(1) The early history of co-operative credit, by Babu Sheo Charan Lal, Gwalior.

(2) Paper manufacture, by Mr. Ahmed Hassan, Lucknow.

(3) Paper industry, by Mr. H. D. Singh, Lucknow.

(4) Rusa oil industry, by Mr. H. R. Pitti, Akola.

(5) Glass manufacture, by Rai Saheb Lala Panna Lal, Ambala City.

(6) Importance of modern inventions and discoveries, by Mr. N. M. San, Bombay.

(7) Possibilities of perfume industry in India, by Mr. J. P. Srivastava, Cawnpore.

(8) A few suggestions for improvement in sugar productions in United Provinces, by Babu Muktar Singh, Meerut.

(9) The Swadeshi movement, by Mr. M. B. Sant, Secretary, Industrial Conference, Amraoti.

(10) Plantain fibre industry, by Mr. J. M. Banerjee, Madhupur.

(11) First three essentials of industrial development and need for a business education, by Mr. S. Gill, Auditor, Lucknow.

(12) Value of research, by Dr. Harish Chandra, Ph.D., Dehra Dun.

(13) Insurance drain on India, by Mr. W. T. Halai, Bombay.

(14) Development of minor industries in India with special reference to wood-working industries, by Mr. H. E. Kinns.

Labour and Ceylon Planters.

At a mass meeting in Colombo of proprietors and companies, on the 15th December, presided over by Mr. T. N. Christie, it was resolved, (1) that this meeting is of opinion that the proposed legislation would not effect the desired remedy and earnestly urges Ceylon planters to reconsider the position on receipt of full account of views as expressed at this meeting; (2) that, in the opinion of this meeting, it is desirable that a small Commission from Ceylon should visit Malaya to ascertain facts and enquire into the merits of the labour laws and the position there; (3) that the Ceylon Association be asked to appoint a small committee, to include planters at home to work in co-operation with Ceylon.

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The Uses of Bamboo.

With reference to the bamboo in India, a correspondent sends to the *Statesman* a note mentioning the following uses to which it is put in this country :—

We eat the tender shoot of the bamboo as it first appears through the ground, it makes a most excellent vegetable and greatly improves a prawn curry. Tell your servant to ask for *bans ka role* in the bazar after the early rains.

We make the walls of our houses with bamboo mat and cover the floor with bamboo matting and roof with bamboo shingles. We fence our gardens with bamboo fencing and carry our milk in bamboo choongas. Bamboos supply us with spear, shaft, and fishing rods. The leaves are an excellent fodder for horses and cattle, both green and dry. Masts of small craft are fashioned from bamboo, also oars and punkah poles. Bamboo pulp makes first class cardboard and writing paper. Bamboo is freely used for fuel, and made into charcoal for smithy work is much valued.

The list, adds the correspondent, is by no means exhaustive.

State Aid for Industries.

The Hon. Rai Sitanath Rai, in the course of his presidential address to the recent Industrial Conference, said :—

It is now recognised everywhere that the part which the State can play in the economic development of a country is very great. The old *laissez faire* doctrine gradually lost its hold on the minds of thinkers by about the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and Germany and Japan have recently given the quietus to it. In most of the civilised countries of the modern world, the State does everything in its power to promote national industry. The economic development of Japan has been systematically fostered by the State. Besides subsidising struggling industries, the Government some years ago set up model factories and pioneered many industries which have now become the source of immense wealth to the country. In Hungary, where the conditions are in many respects similar to those of India, the State has rendered immense help to industry. In addition to the maintenance of a protective tariff and the direct support given to indigenous industries by the guarantee that all requirements of the State and public authorities should be supplied by home industries, the Government has made various legislative provisions for the encouragement of industry. The main provisions of Act III of 1907 relate to (1) exemptions from taxation and road dues ; (2) reduced rates for railway transport and concessions in respect of customs and excise duties and of expropriation ; (3) the delivery of industrial salt at a price below that normally charged ; (4) the encouragement of the building of workmen's dwellings ; (5) the development of industry by a guarantee that all public contracts should be placed with Hungarian farms ; and (6) encouragement of industry by direct grants of money. As might be expected, these measures have resulted in a great expansion of production and trade.

Indian Industries.

Replying to a question in the House of Lords, Lord Islington said that the Imperial Institute aimed at being a clearing house for information with regard to raw material produced in the Empire. He emphasised specially that steps were being taken in India to develop raw material. A large representative committee had been appointed for India, charged to enquire into the promotion of inter-imperial trade. It had appointed a special sub-committee to investigate special trades. One of the main objects of the enquiry was to find imperial outlets for products which formerely went to Germany, especially the hides from which the best leather was produced. The committee had made great progress, and was preparing a scheme which, it was hoped, would result in hides being made into leather in this country more largely than before.

Lord Islington hoped that the Government of India would largely contribute, and the Dominions make larger contributions.

Indian Trade Commissioner in London.

The London correspondent of the *Times of India* strongly urges the speedy appointment of an Indian Trade-Commissioner in London, and says :—"Sir William Clark, now head of the Intelligence Branch of the Board of Trade, who suggested the appointment of Mr. Gubbay three years ago, will surely be ready to give all possible assistance. It is understood that the Secretary of State will shortly assent to the proposals made by the Government of India for the creation of an establishment. It is especially needed in view of the re-adjustments which must follow the war, for which preparation should be made. Past failure proves not that the need does not exist, but that it has been met inadequately by the parsimonious arrangements of former years."

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AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Canal Cultivation and Water-Logging.

One of the defects of irrigating lands with canal water, observes a Punjab journal, is the silting up of canals and in some cases water-logging. Various methods are suggested to prevent this, and most of them are naturally costly. In the Punjab, efforts have been made to limit the loss of water by lining the channels. During the year 1915-16, much could not be done in this direction owing to the lack of canal closures on account of the very dry season which required canal water being supplied continuously. Owing to the war and the consequent financial stringency, works of this kind, unless they were absolutely necessary, could not be undertaken even where channels could be closed for a time. In future years, however, canal-lining will, we hope, be carried on until we are in a position to judge of its effects. On the Lower Chenab Canal, measures were taken for the prevention of water-logging by the drainage of certain tracts near Hafizabad. Nearly 7,000 acres of rice lands that were swamps for many years, were, it is said, reclaimed by this process, and it is believed that this work is of a permanent character and will benefit the cultivators.

Shakespeare Gardens.

Shakespeare is above all parties or nationalities. Neutrals or enemies, all can co-operate in paying homage to the genius of so universal a man. It is, therefore, no wonder that the pretty idea of Shakespeare gardens has been taken up with enthusiasm in the United States—so much so that Dr. Edward B. Southwick, Chairman of the Shakespeare Tercentennial Garden Committee, has decided to keep his committee together as a permanent organisation. Shakespeare gardens now flourish in Bridgeport, Connecticut, Demarest, New Jersey, Far Rockaway, New York, Kingston, and last but not least Central Park, New York City, where the first and perhaps choicest of these gardens is to be found. Dr. Southwick anticipates that Shakespeare gardens will spring up all over the United States, and mentioned to an interviewer that there are already two in Bridgeport. One possible reason for the popularity of the idea in America is that it does not offend against neutrality, since Shakespeare is claimed equally by the English and by the Huns.

Sugar Cultivation in Assam.

The Chief Commissioner, of Assam, visited the Government experimental sugarcane farm at Khagrabari, near Nalbari, in the district of Kamrup, recently. It may be remembered, says a contemporary, that three years ago this experiment was initiated, it being considered that the soil in north Kamrup was suitable for the cultivation of sugarcane on a large scale which, if successful, would admit of a considerable enterprise being started in the province of Assam.

Anyone now going to the farm will see a magnificent expanse of 270 acres of sugarcane of the finest quality in full bearing. It has been said in connection with this farm by an expert that Assam is now the possessor of what every country growing sugarcane desires, but not another country possesses, that is to say, a Government experimental sugar industry station working on a commercial basis. The expert, in question, says that our great competitor Java has tried for years to attain this object, as also Mauritius, Cuba, Hawaii, Jamaica, South Africa, Brazil, etc., and that all have failed in what Assam has succeeded.

Improving Indian Cotton.

The future of American cotton, observes the *Pioneer*, is a question of such great importance that we should like to see very rigorous Government control extended to its cultivation. This would involve seed selection, an embargo on cultivation on unsuitable soils, penalties for admixture with inferior varieties and possibly restrictions on the raising of *desi* cotton, where the danger of hybridisation was serious. Such drastic measures, valuable though they would be to producers as a class are, however, impracticable at present. The most Government can do under existing conditions, and the least it should attempt, is to provide a staff strong enough to keep the situation well under control. The Punjab colonist now believes in the Agricultural Department and is willing to accept advice from quarters which a few years ago he regarded as useless. Financial considerations are, of course, the difficulty in the way of indefinite enlargement of staff, but it would not be unreasonable in view of the vast interest at stake to impose a small cotton cess on the area under American cotton from which the requisite establishment could be partly paid.

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Literary.

THE ALL-INDIA ONE SCRIPT CONFERENCE.

The All-India One Script and One Language Conference was held in Lucknow on the 29th December, with Mr. M. K. Gandhi in the chair. Mrs. Besant and the Hon. Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya took prominent part in the proceedings. All the speeches were in Hindi except those delivered by Mrs. Besant and two Madras speakers who also took part in the deliberations of the day.

The proceedings were opened by B. Shyam Sunder Das, President, Nagri Pracharni Sabha of Benares, who in a brief but eloquent speech explained the objects of the Conference, *viz.*, to spread the use of Devanagri Script and Hindi Language for national purposes, and proposed Mr. Gandhi to the chair. The proposal was seconded by Mr. Purushottam Das Tandan, M.A., LL.B., of Allahabad, chief secretary of the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. Mr. Gandhi then took the chair.

The Resolution, of which a translation is given below, was moved by Mahatma Munshi Ramji, Governor, Gurkula Kangri:

> In the opinion of this Conference, it is essential for the promotion of unity and the dissemination of national ideas in the country that a common national script and language should be adopted for use in connection with objects in which the whole country is interested and that the Nagri script and the Hindi language are the most suited for the purpose. This Conference urges the leaders in the different provinces of the country to help in the spread of the use of the Nagri script and the Hindi language in connection with such objects, and with a view to equipping the present and future generations for national work to introduce the teaching of Hindi through Nagri in schools in their provinces.

Mr. Gandhi and all the other speakers referred feelingly to the need of a common language and script, and the large audience of 10,000 people who attended, accepted the Resolution with acclamation.

THE LATE PROFESSOR RANGA CHARIAR.

We deeply regret to record the death of Rao Bahadur Ranga Chariar, M.A., retired Professor of Sanskrit and Philology in the Madras Presidency College and Registrar of Books. In him Madras has lost a scholar of considerable distinction. An account of his life and career and his services to the cause of Oriental research work has already appeared in these columns. We offer our heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family.

BENGAL LITERARY CONFERENCE.

The Tenth Bengal Literary Conference met at Bankipore, on the 24th December, under the presidency of Hon. Sir Ashutosh Mukherjea. There were three thousand delegates and visitors, among whom were about three hundred ladies.

Sir Ashutosh discoursed on "Bengali as National Literature." He believed that the Literary Conference had done much service to the cause of the mother-tongue during the last ten years. The regeneration of the country depended on the culture and improvement of the language, and he invited his countrymen, especially scientists, to write their original papers in Bengali, so that readers of other nations would be obliged to learn that language in order to read the original papers of savants. This would raise the status of the Bengali language in the estimate of the world in the same way that Russian and Greek had been raised. The President urged literary men to sink their differences and join hands for the regeneration of the language.

A Committee consisting of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjea, Principal R. S. Trevedi, Babu H. N. Dutt, Dr. Abdul Gaffur Siddique and Mr. C. R. Das was then formed to draw up articles and the memorandum of Association.

The second day's proceedings began under the presidency of Mr. C. R. Das, with a prayer for the success of the British arms in the war. Mr. C. R. Das, as president of the literature section, read his address dealing mainly with Vaishnav literature. Babu Bejoy Chandra Majumdar, of Sambalpur, president of the history section, dealt with the study of history with special reference to anthropology. Ray Yatindra Nath Chowdhury, of Baranagore, delivered his address as president of the philosophy section. In the afternoon the Conference assembled in its four sections. There were twelve papers read or taken as read. Sectional meetings were held on the third and last day of the session. It was also proposed to publish the presidential address throughout the country among the Bengali-speaking people, and Prof. Jadunath Sarkar undertook to translate the same into English.

AN INDIAN CHRISTIAN ORGAN FOR INDIA.

There is a movement on foot to start a daily newspaper which is to be the organ of the Indian Christian community throughout India. The organ is to be carried on by a business co-operation of all Christians. A co-operative scheme of two thousand shares of Rs. 50 each has been formed.

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Educational.

THE EDUCATION OF THE VAISHYAS.

The proceedings of the Vaishya Conference opened on 23rd December, in Delhi, in a beautiful pandal erected in the Queen's garden. It was presided over by the Hon. Babu Moti Chand, C.I.E., of Benares. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Har Narain Shastri invoked Divine blessings on the Conference, and in the course of his remarks said that the second visit of the Vaishya Conference to Delhi, after a lapse of 18 years, was peculiarly appropriate and would prove auspicious. Rai Bahadur Lala Kanhaiya Lal, Superintending Engineer, offered a hearty welcome to the members and the delegates in a brief speech in the unavoidable absence of the Chairman. The President's speech was delivered in Hindi.

In the course of his address, the President emphasised the importance of education, both male and female, and showed that the backward condition of the Vaishyas was due to illiteracy. He also touched on the need for a serious and well-directed reform in the marriageable age of boys and girls together with an observance of the wholesome rule of Brahmacharya. He quoted facts and figures to show the great need for a well organized system of industrial education. Both he and the Chairman of the Reception Committee were unanimous in their belief that the cause of England and her Allies was bound to win in the end, and that it was our duty to help in the attainment of that purpose in every way, even by enlisting in the army.

Letters and telegrams of sympathy from various gentlemen from all parts of India were read, and the Updeshak and the Joint Secretary of the Maha Sabha presented their reports.

On the second day, various resolutions were passed dwelling on the necessity of curtailing unnecessary expenses on ceremonial occasions and of avoiding some pernicious customs that had crept into the social fabric of the community.

Lala Harihar Narain, of Motihari (Behar), and Lala Chandra Lal, of Naini Tal, proposed and seconded a resolution on the spread of Sanskrit and Devanagri. A clause was further adopted recording the opinion of the Conference, that it was desirable to have compulsory primary education.

THE STUDENTS' CONVENTION.

The first Session of the Madras Students' Convention commenced its sittings in the Gokhale Hall, Y. M. I. A. Buildings, Madras, on Wednesday the 27th December when a large concourse of student delegates and visitors from several Moffusal stations were present. Being the first of its kind in the Presidency, it evoked considerable enthusiasm among the student population. A few of the professors of the local colleges were also on the dais, when Mr. P. A. Subrahmanya Iyer, Head Master of the Hindu High School, read an address of welcome as Chairman of the Reception Committee. The address pointed out the necessity for such an organisation and emphasised the value of co-operation among the widely scattered units of the Madras University. Dr. Sir S. Subrahmanya Iyer, the President, in a stirring speech counselled his young hearers to use the Convention "worthily and well."

Use it, then, this Convention in a noble way, he said, and you may be able successfully to end the ugly feature of school and college strikes that we meet with in these days. You may be able also to find in it an excellent medium for rendering such service to our Motherland as you are capable of, and thus have a channel for your pent-up energy most valuable for our common regeneration. You may also through it check, if only ever so little, the spirit of unhealthy competition between school, and school, college and college. . . . Love your own college by all means, but let not your love be measured by your hatred of other colleges. Serve your own college by all means, but do not try to throw dust on the work of your brother's college. And thus united in this Convention, bound by the ties of love and comradeship, cemented by a lofty patriotism for our glorious Motherland, you may be able—I sincerely pray for it—to introduce into twentieth-century India, full of foreign influences, those ancient ideals which made India what it was—the happy land of a happy people, land of the Gods who loved her dearly and who love and serve her marvellously even to-day.

THE MAHRATTA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The Tenth Mahratta Provincial Educational Conference met at the Old Palace, Satara, on the afternoon of the 26th December, Shrimant Sadashive Rao, brother of the Maharajah of Devas (junior) presiding. There was a large gathering of delegates from the various Mahratta States of Bombay, the Deccan and Central India. The President exhorted his fellow-castemen to avail themselves of the facilities within their reach to educate their backward brethren and to try to ameliorate their present depressed condition by doing away with many evil customs, such as the dowry and the Gosha systems, and drink.

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Legal.

THE BENGAL MUKHTEARS' CONFERENCE.

Babu Purna Chandra Chatterji, of Berhampore, Bengal, presided over the fifth Session of the All-Bengal Mukhtears' Conference, which met at Midnapore on the 26th December. The meeting was attended by delegates representing almost all the districts of Bengal. In the course of his speech, the President said :—

A mukhtear is not the creature of the whims of the modern legislature; he is associated with the legal history of the country from the days of the Moghul Emperors of India. I cannot but admit that mukhtears are classed, as the matter stands at present, not with the recognised legal practitioners but with the ordinary layman who can defend a case simply on the sufferance of the Court. Clause R. of Section 4 of the Criminal Penal Code is really objectionable, as it implies a negation of our professional status even in the face of distinct recognition by the Hon. High Courts of all provinces. My first question is, why should we be placed in the category of "other persons" mentioned in the Code? Do we come to this profession as undefined other persons? Are we not duly qualified? Do we not pass the strictest examination in law? Is not the profession of a mukhtear as honourable as that of the pleaders and vakils? The permissive status of a mukhtear, as defined in the Statute-Book, is, I think, not only an anomaly, but a contradiction in terms—a queer self-contradiction. The legislature requires that a mukhtear must have the permission of the Court to plead for his client. I respectfully make submission that mukhtears should have the privileges of pleaders in conducting cases on behalf of the parties in all Criminal Courts. Also the property of Section 10 of the Legal Practitioners Act must be so amended as to authorize the Revenue agents passed and certificated after the year 1880 to be enrolled in a Munsiff's Court. Under the old Civil Procedure Code, they actually enjoyed the privilege of appearing in the Civil Courts. I find no reason why these powers have been put down.

The following telegraphic appeal was then sent to the President of the Indian National Congress at Lucknow :—

The mukhtears assembled at a Conference, at Midnapore, request the favour of National Congress to take up the mukhtears' cause in removing the permissive nature of Section 4, Clause R. Criminal Procedure Code, enabling poor litigants of the country to engage independent lawyers at a moderate cost.

The Subjects Committee then discusssed various matters appertaining to the well-being of the community, and at the two succeeding days' conferences, Resolutions embodying matters of interest to the mukhtears were also passed.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT.

The Lucknow Congress passed the following Resolution protesting against the application of the Defence of India Act :—

That this Congress views with alarm the extensive use made of the Defence of India Act and Bengal Regulation 3 of 1818, and urges that in the application of the Defence of India Act which is an emergency measure, the same principle should be followed as under the Defence of the Realm Act of the United Kingdom and the same procedure adopted in dealing with persons sought to be proceeded against under the Act; that after arrest a statement in writing of the charges on which the arrest is made or an order of internment is intended to be passed should be handed to the person arrested; that a statement by way of explanation should be taken from an arrested person in writing if he so desires but that statements in the nature of a confession should not be taken except under the safeguards provided in the case of accused persons under the Code of the Criminal Procedure; that as soon as possible and before an order for internment is made after arrest, all papers and statements in connection with the case should be laid before a committee consisting of a lawyer judge of the High Court, a non-official practising lawyer and a judge belonging to the Indian Civil Service for consideration and that proper facilities for legal assistance be afforded to persons arrested under the Defence of India Act; that in the case of proceedings under the Bengal Regulations 3 of 1818, and similar regulations in other provinces, the same procedure may be followed so far as practicable.

That this Congress strongly protests against the unjust orders passed by the Government of Bombay and the Central Provinces and Berar, prohibiting Mrs. Besant from entering the said provinces, and earnestly urges the Government of India to allay public feeling by advising the Governments concerned to cancel the orders in question.

In moving the above, Mr. I. B. Sen pointed out that the Congress was in complete agreement with the avowed objects of the Act which was intended for the prevention of political crimes.

But the difference was about the method by which the Government was trying to achieve the object. Was it needed, he asked, to apply against a gifted lady like Mrs. Besant? She visited Bengal and was now at Lucknow. Had the Governments of Bengal and the United Provinces lost anything by allowing her to come to Calcutta and Lucknow?

In the Conference of All-India Moslem League also a similar Resolution was passed. The Resolution viewed with dismay the present administration of the Defence of India Act and recommended the appointment of an Advisory Committee in every province to consider the case of every person intended to be dealt with under the Act. The Hon. Moulvi Abdul Kasim, who moved the proposition, was very ably supported by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal.

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Medical.

VACCINATION ACT IN ENGLAND.

Compulsory vaccination as a measure of protection against small-pox is being extended to Indian towns. Its effect is believed to be on the whole beneficial. But certain people object to vaccination, and conscientious objectors, it is suggested, should be allowed exemption. In England and Wales, the percentage of children who are successfully vaccinated gradually decreased from 75·8 in 1905 to 48·8 in 1913, and it is stated that more than half the children escape vaccination, and the greater proportion of such children are exempted by a declaration of conscientious objection.

THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE.

The Secretary of State for India has decided that any officer appointed by nomination to the Indian Medical Service, during the present suspension of appointments by competitive examination, shall be allowed to count:—(1) As service for pension, any service rendered by him during the present war as a medical or combatant officer or in a position usually filled by an officer. (2) As service for promotion, any service rendered after 16th July 1915, which counts for pension under (1). The reason for confining the service specially counting for promotion to service rendered after 16th July 1915, is that this condition is necessary in order to prevent officers appointed by nomination during the suspension of appointments by competitive examination from obtaining seniority over those previously appointed by competitive examination.

PLAGUE INOCULATIONS.

A Bombay contemporary suggests that, although a bad plague season is believed to be ahead, the efforts—in large part voluntary—to prevent the spread of the disease will surpass anything hitherto made. The long campaign against prejudice has done much, and the people at important centres of plague infection are flocking in to be inoculated. The laboratory at Parel is hard pressed to keep pace with the demands for inoculation doses. During August, applications were received for 135,000 doses, and during September for 151,000. The rush in October was even greater. One of the cities singled out for mention is Nagpur, where the mill hands appear to be crowding to the inoculation station.

SUB-ASSISTANT SURGEONS' CONFERENCE.

The Eleventh Annual Conference of the All-India Sub-Assistant Surgeons' Association opened at Madras, on the 21st December. It was attended by representatives from Bombay, Poona, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Indore, Gwalior, Agra, Meerut, Lucknow, Calcutta and Burma, in addition to the Madras members. Rao Saheb U. Rama Rao welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Reception Committee, and the Hon. Surgeon-General Bannerman presided.

The Chairman, in his presidential address, said that during his long years of service in India, he had learned to respect and esteem the sub-assistant surgeon as a man who had, in most cases, achieved his present honourable position by hard work in adverse circumstances and who could be relied upon to help in time of need.

He then said that they should be grateful to the Board for the slight increase of pay. "This may not seem a large concession," said the Surgeon-General, "but I counsel you to live in hope of better things to come."

In connection with this Conference, a Sanitary and Scientific Exhibition was organised by the Committee in the grounds of the South Indian Athletic Association. This was the first of its kind organised by the Conference. On the 21st evening, the Exhibition was opened by the Hon. Sir Alexander Cardew, K.C.S.I. Sir Alexander, before declaring it opened, said that Exhibitions of this sort afforded opportunities for meeting their fellows who were working in up-countries and refreshing their memories and studying new things. He said in no subject was he more interested than in medical aid and that though, owing to the war, nothing could be done at present, he assured that they would receive some material benefit in the course of a few years. He then congratulated the Committee for organising the Exhibition which he then formally opened.

On the second and third days, various papers on medical subjects were submitted, while the Exhibition remained open till the 1st of January 1917.

PILLOWS TOO HIGH FOR SLEEP.

"Of all the thousands of patients I have seen in bed, I have never met with one who arranged his pillows hygienically," says an eminent doctor. "All too high, far too high. High pillows curve the spine, bend the neck, and thus prevent the free circulation of blood in the brain. You can never get the full value out of a night's sleep unless you fix your pillow so low that the head and neck are just on a level line with the spine."

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Science.

THE INDIAN MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY.

The first Conference of the Indian Mathematical Society opened on the 27th December at the premises of the Madras Presidency College. H. E. Lord Pentland, Governor of Madras, attended the Conference. Dewan Bahadur R. Ramachandra Rao, the President, said in opening the proceedings, that the Society was started in 1907 with 20 members on the roll. The present strength of the Club, he said, was 165 with its headquarters in Poona, and the objects of the Society are the promotion of mathematical study and research in India. His Excellency, in declaring the Conference open, paid a warm tribute to the members on their efforts to stimulate research work and create a favourable atmosphere for such investigations. His Excellency also spoke of the strong appeal that the Science has always made to the Indian intellect and instanced the discovery of S. Ramanujam, of Madras, who is now a Government scholar in Cambridge. He said :—

It is, at any rate, a science which has always made a strong appeal to Indian intellects, and has received from them important contributions. It is, for example, I suppose probable that to India we owe the decimal notation and the invention of algebra, and India can point to at least one epoch in which it produced a number of brilliant mathematicians and astronomers. Is there any reason why such an epoch should not recur? None that I can see! At the present time a young Indian student Mr. S. Ramanujam (cheers) is studying at Cambridge, whose career, we in Southern India, are watching with keen interest and high anticipations. You know the story of the discovery of his unusual talent, and all here will be glad to hear how entirely he is justifying the efforts, which were made to give it full scope. I shall quote merely one sentence from a letter written from Cambridge by one of the most distinguished mathematicians of the present day : "In him," he says, "India now possesses a pure mathematician of the first order, whose achievements suggest the brightest hopes for its scientific future."

Gentlemen, not a few Indians have earned high distinctions in the Cambridge school. Some of them, I believe, are members of this Society, and they will be able to realise what is required to earn an encomium of this nature. We may be sure, however, that if India is to make permanent contributions to this the most international of all sciences, the creation of a favourable environment is essential. By the provision of post-graduate scholarships and of opportunities for post-graduate research, Madras University is, I am glad to say, doing something to secure this, and will, I hope, when more favourable times come, do more. Your Society, too, can do much, and I heartily wish success to your efforts to foster interest and increase the number of workers in mathematical research.

CLEARING FOG BY ELECTRICITY.

The fact was long ago scientifically established that all dust and fog particles in the open atmosphere are electrified and subject to dispersion or precipitation, but how to clear fog from a street, along a railway, or from the neighbourhood of a ship at sea, and to do it in a manner commercially feasible, has been a matter of serious study for many years. Dr. F. G. Cottrell, who has done so much towards the practical precipitation of dust, smoke, and chemical fumes at large industrial works, says the *Popular Science Siftings*, is now engaged, at the behest of the Smithsonian Institution, in making some important investigations on the subject.

BULBS EXUDE POISON GAS.

Some time ago two stevedores died as a result of unloading a vessel laden with nothing but bulbs, says *Popular Science Siftings*. They were asphyxiated by the carbonic acid gas generated by the bulbs in the hold. That led afterwards to the building of lattice work pillars reaching from the floor of the hold to the deck, these acting as ventilators. A doctor, writing in the *Lancet*, tells of an experience of his in trying to resuscitate two Chinamen, who had gone down into the hold of a vessel laden with oranges, garlic, soya beans, sugar, and rice, and says the respiration of the oranges and garlic, in the absence of ventilation, had replaced the oxygen with carbon dioxide.

EDISON'S WAGER.

It was a wager that set Thomas Alva Edison on the road to fame and fortune. When he was a telegraph operator, much annoyance was caused by cockroaches getting into the tin cans in which the boys carried their lunches. Various methods of getting rid of them were tried but without success, and then Edison made a bet that he would exterminate the foe.

The next day the dinner-cans were piled in a heap, and the wizard surrounded them with a circle of tin-foil ribbon about an inch wide. About a quarter of an inch away he placed a similar circle, both ribbons being upright and then connected them with a battery. Along came the cockroaches. To surmount the obstacles, they had to place their hind legs on the outer ribbon and their forelegs on the inner one. The moment they did so, the circuit was completed, and they toppled over dead. Edison's success made him talked about, and was his real start as an inventor.

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Personal.

THE MORALS OF THE INDENTURED LABOURERS.

Writing in a recent issue of *East and West*, a writer makes the following observations on the morality of the labouring population in the colonies and on the necessary improvement that should be effected.

"The most potent causes of the high rate of suicides among Indian labourers in the colonies are the hardships to which the labourers are exposed, their ill-treatment by employers and quarrels about women. . . . . In the opinion of Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal, 'there is no doubt that the mortality of an estate population compares very unfavourably with that of an Indian village, and that the trouble originates in the class of women who emigrate.'"

As H. E. the Viceroy said, a proper sex ratio ought to be maintained among the emigrants. The existing rule requires that for every 100 men 40 women of over ten years of age must be shipped; and Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal recommend that this ratio should be raised to 50. It is admitted, however, that a mere modification of the sex ratio will not improve the morals of the emigrants. It may ensure more concubines and perhaps fewer suicides. Indeed, even if a ratio of 100 per cent. or an equal number of men and women, be insisted on, the morality of the population may not come up to the standard prevailing in India, if the women who go out from here are not respectable and do not care to live as wives, though some of the evils that now exist may disappear. Many of the young emigrants may prefer to return home after saving a decent amount of money and to marry in India, instead of living with undesirable concubines, or even wives, in the colonies. How to secure the emigration of respectable women only is a difficult problem to solve. It seems that the system of restricting the industrial service of women to three years out of the five years of indentured residence was intended for this purpose, but it has not fulfilled expectations. Moreover, when the system of indentures is itself abolished, the device intended under it to induce respectable women to emigrate will disappear. Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal recommend, in the first place, that no minimum limit of age should be fixed for the emigrating women. If small girls are included in the percentage, efforts will not be made to recruit grown up single women of the undesirable sort. It is probable that the girls will find husbands and thus the percentage of married couples will rise. Secondly, there is no reason why known prostitutes should be allowed to migrate at all. It is scarcely probable that they will turn over a new leaf in the colonies. Thirdly, some special inducements may be offered to married women who emigrate, or a certain percentage of such women may be insisted upon. Lastly, Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal recommend that married quarters should be fenced off and be out of bounds for single men on the estates.

MR. S. RAMANUJAM OF MADRAS.

In another section will be found an interesting appreciation of Mr. Ramanujam's mathematical genius by H. E. Lord Pentland in a recent meeting of the Madras Mathematical Conference.

The following are extracts from the report of Mr. G. H. Hardy, M.A., F.R.S., of Cambridge, to the University of Madras:—

I shall confine myself in this report to the work which Mr. Ramanujam has done since his arrival in England in April 1914, and to work which has been published, or is completed and on the point of publication. I need hardly say that he has in his possession, as he had before he came to England, a mass of unpublished material containing hundreds of most curious and interesting formulas, some definitely proved and others only conjectured. Many of the most remarkable of these results will no doubt be published in due course, as the process of sifting them continues.

It is already safe to say that Mr. Ramanujam has justified abundantly all the hopes that were based upon his work in India, and has shown that he possesses powers as remarkable in their way as those of any living mathematician. His work is only the more valuable, because his abilities and methods are of so unusual a kind, and so unlike those of a European mathematician trained in the orthodox school.

This paper embodies the results of a great delay of Mr. Ramanujam's Indian work. This work was done when he had very little knowledge of the progress made in Europe during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and it was inevitable that many of his results should have been anticipated by European mathematicians, in particular by Hermite, Kronecker, Weber, and Greenhill. None the less, the paper is of the greatest interest and contains a large number of new results.

Mr. Ramanujam's elaborate memoir on 'Highly composite numbers' contains an account of the longest and perhaps the most important connected piece of work which he had done since his arrival in England.

Mr. Ramanujam shows how, by reasoning of an elementary but highly ingenious character, we can obtain surprisingly accurate information as to the structure of highly composite numbers.

Mr. Ramanujam has, since this paper was published, obtained a number of further results of the same kind. The problem is a very peculiar one, standing somewhat apart from the main channels of mathematical research. But there can be no question as to the extraordinary insight and ingenuity which he has shown in treating it, nor any doubt that his memoir is one of the most remarkable published in England for many years.

My account of Mr. Ramanujam's work has been necessarily fragmentary and incomplete. I have said enough, I hope, to give some idea of its astonishing individuality and power. India has produced many talented mathematicians in recent years, a number of whom have come to Cambridge and attained high academical distinction. They will be the first to recognise that Mr. Ramanujam's work is of a different category. In him, India now possesses a pure mathematician of the first order, whose achievements suggest the brightest hopes for its scientific future.

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Political.

THE HOME RULE LEAGUE CONFERENCE.

The first Conference of the Home Rule Leagues was held, on the 30th December, at the Theosphical Convention Pandal, Lucknow, Mrs. Besant, Founder and President of the Madras League, presiding. Among the visitors there were Messrs. Tilak, Khaparde, Belvi, and Karandikar of the Bombay League. The attendance was as large as ever a gathering of young men and old had ever met together before in any important public cause. Mrs. Besant opened the proceedings with a brief statement regarding Home Rule and what it stood for. She made a special reference to the resolution that was adopted the previous day by the Congress on Self-Government for India and the scheme it embraced. Mrs. Besant brought out very clearly and succinctly the four important points which that resolution embodied, namely, elective majorities in the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils, the control of the Councils over the purse, elected Presidents, and the widening of the electorates. She spoke of the Hindu-Moslem unity that was established at this the Lucknow Session of the Congress and observed that unity was the beginning of liberty.

She then requested Mr. Tilak to speak a few words. Mr. Tilak, who was given a very hearty ovation, spoke at some length about one aspect of Indian politics, namely, the Hindu-Moslem problem which has now been solved. The concession which had been made to our Mahomedan brethren in regard to the proportion of Hindus and Mahomedans in the Legislative Council, he said, was nothing too much. In proportion to the concession that had been made to the Moslems, their enthusiasm and warm-hearted support would be greater. He, like Mrs. Besant, before him, urged the audience to active effort to give effect to the resolution which had been adopted by the Congress.

Mr. C. J. Jinarajadasa gave an account of the work of the English branch of the Home Rule for India League, which was established within a week of his arrival in London about June 7,1916. The branch consisted of many Englishmen and women and was taking a keen interest in the work of the League. As part of a propaganda work, they had so far issued six pamphlets regarding India's case for Home Rule. The first of them was circulated widely among the Press in England, and the London *Times* had done them the greatest honor by attacking the League in its columns and giving the widest publicity to India's case. During his stay in England, he had done a lot of lecturing work, visiting important cities in England, Scotland and Wales.

Mr. G. S. Arundale, the Organizing Secretary (Madras League), spoke about the work that had been already done. Since the founding of the League in Madras, on September 2, 1916, the number of members had risen to over 5,000, of whom 1,000 were to be found in the City of Madras alone. There were 300 students as Associates in that city, and he hoped that in other cities also students would join the League in large numbers. The Publication Department had already issued over a lakh and a half of publications. The Home Rule shop in Madras had not only paid its way but left a small margin of profit. There were branches in various centres of India which were doing good work. The Bombay branch contemplated the starting of a Home Rule Reading Room and Library, and the Karachi branch had, in addition, a Home Rule shop. He hoped that by the time we would meet in December next, we would have a hundred thousand Home Rulers. He spoke of the cordial relations that existed between the League and the Poona League, of which Mr. Tilak seemed to be the life and soul, and said that as a guarantee of friendly co-operation, they had a branch of their League in Poona.

Mr. C. P. Ramasamy Iyer, General Secretary (Madras League), said that he looked to the Home Rule League and its branches acting as conciliation boards, which would smooth over the difficulties and differences which might exist between any communities and bring about among them cordial and brotherly relations. However much they might wrangle among themselves at home, it was not desirable that they should bring it into the street.

Mrs. Besant, in winding up the meeting, made some observations and urged those who were willing to join the League, but had not done so, to become members.—*Young India.*

RE: DISALLOWED RESOLUTIONS.

A question from the Hon. Mr. Patel in the Bombay Legislative Council elicited the reply that H. E. the President regarded the publication, by a member of the Legislative Council, of any question or resolution not admitted by him, as a breach of etiquette.

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General.

THE GOANESE CONGRESS.

The Second Goanese Congress was held on the 26th December at Bombay, and was attended by delegates from various Muffasal towns of the Bombay Presidency. Dr. B. Pais, Chairman of the Reception Committee, gave an account of the history of the Goan Union since its inception, welcomed the delegates on its behalf and concluded with a motion that Dr. Dias should be elected President. Dr. Dias delivered an interesting speech, in the course of which he emphasised the value of domestic economy and urged the members of his community to realise the value of unity and co-operation in commercial life. The subjects that engaged the special attention of the Congress were those relating to the social, moral and intellectual advancement of the community.

THE LOHANA CONFERENCE.

At the fourth Lohana Conference held at Bhavnagar, on the 27th December, the following Resolutions were passed :—

That this Conference humbly and respectfully gives sincere expression to its unfailing and unswerving loyalty and its deep attachment to the person and the throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor, under whose benevolent rule disorder and anarchy have been replaced by abiding peace and prosperity and under which we have made brilliant progress, social, industrial, commercial, political and educational; that the Conference offers its hearty prayer to the Almighty for the complete fulfilment of the lofty principles of morality and freedom which have prompted the British Empire to join hands with the Allies in the present titanic world-war, and for the prompt and brilliant success to the British and Allied arms, and it further resolves that their community, which has shared along with others the burdens imposed by the war, is ever ready to offer such further sacrifices as the exigencies of the war may necessitate in the future.

THE UTKAL CONFERENCE.

The twelfth session of the Utkal Conference was held at Balasore, on December 29th and 30th 1916, under the presidency of Raja Srinivas Rajmoni Raj Deo of Mudasa. Resolutions praying for the revival of salt manufacture on the sea coasts of Orissa, the establishment of an engneering college at Cuttack, the amalgamation of the Ooriya speaking people, an Ooriya member on the Imperial Council, the amendment of the Patna University Bill and the advancement of Ayurvedic instruction in Orissa, were adopted.

THE JAIN CONFERENCE.

The Jain Conference opened at Lucknow, on December 27, at the Ajitashram. All local Jains, 150 mofussil delegates and many non-Jains attended. The presidential address by Babu Manick Chand, of Khandwa, discussed several important questions affecting the Jain community. At a general meeting on the 30th, a number of resolutions were passed. Babu Ugar Sen, Vakil, Hissar, offered Rs. 10,000 for education, and Mr. Latthe, of Belgaum, his services. A committee was formed to carry out the scheme. On the 25th, the Jivadaya department of the All-India Jain Association and the Bombay Humanitarian fund held a joint meeting, Mr. Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, presiding. Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Messrs. Vibhakar, Nanavati and Dayachandra Jaini delivered lectures on *Ahimsa*, Humanitarianism and Vegetarianism respectively.

ALL-INDIA ARYA KUMAR CONFERENCE.

The All-India Arya Kumar Conference commenced its sittings at Lucknow, on the 26th December, Professor Bal Krishna presiding. There was a large gathering of delegates and visitors from about fifty different cities in the Province.

Resolutions expressing high admiration of the heroism of Indian soldiers, exhorting young men to help the British Government to take up social service work, to study the Vedic Dharma, to maintain social purity, to open *desi akharas* and gymnasiums, to develop the commercial and industrial interests of the country, and to work on co-operative lines, etc., were unanimously passed.

THE PARSI CONFERENCE.

The Sixth Annual Zoroastrian Conference opened in Bombay, on the 16th December, for discussing and focusing attention on important questions relating to the advancement of the Parsi community. The Hon. Mr. Pheroze C. Sethna, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates outlined the aims and objects of the Conference. Dr. Sir Temulji Nariman, the President of the Conference, then delivered an interesting speech dealing with many questions of vital interest to the stability and progress of the Zoroastrians. He animadverted on social and educational problems and pointed out that their greatest need at the present moment was to preserve the vitality of the community and guard against physical deterioration. He spoke at some length on the sanitary and housing problem, deprecated overcrowding and pleaded for a more scientific system of education for Parsi children.

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.
PUBLISHED ABOUT THE THIRD WEEK OF EVERY MONTH.
EDITED BY G. A. NATESAN.

JANUARY, 1916. No. 1

Vol. XVII.

The Congress Presidential Address.

BY THE HON'BLE MR. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

SIR Satyendra Sinha's address was marked by the earnest and passionate patriotism which we have learned to associate with officials as well as non-officials in Bengal. When he referred to the throbbing pain in the soul of awakening India, or spoke of hope coming where despair held sway and faith where doubt spread its darkening shadow, one not only heard the poetical language of the Bengali, but saw in his eye the fire of the patriot. He touched the hearts of his audience when he affirmed that the government of the people, for the people, and *by the people* was the only form of self-government which would satisfy the aspirations of India. In fact, so complete was the accord between him and the thousands who eagerly listened that every one must have felt that his own thoughts were finding clear and warm expression in such a passage as this:—"Does any reasonable man imagine that it is possible to satisfy the palpitating hearts of the thousands of young men who, to use the classic words of Lord Morley, leave our universities intoxicated with the ideas of freedom, nationality and self-government with the comfortless assurance that free institutions are the special privilege of the West? Can any one wonder that many of these young men, who have not the same robust faith in the integrity and benevolence of England as the members of this Congress, should lose heart at the mere suspicion of such a policy and, driven to despair, conclude that the roar and scream of confusion and carnage is better than peace and order without even the distant prospect of freedom?" When again Sir Satyendra, in manly and deliberate tones concluded with the sentence: "I say with all the earnestness and emphasis that I can command that, if the noble policy of Malcolm and Elphinstone, Canning and Ripon, Bright and Morley, is not steadily, consistently and unflinchingly adhered to, the moderate party amongst us will soon be depleted of all that is fine and noble in human character," the thunder of applause that greeted the last words seemed the symphony of ten thousand eager voices echoing the solemn warning so that it may be heard by all who are concerned.

The part of the address which commanded universal approbation was the one in which the rights of Indians to bear arms and to positions of command in the army were advocated. The Indian case in this respect was put forth with telling conciseness and unanswerable cogency. It was the keen dexterity of a lawyer which found a handy argument in the risks and perils that Indian officers of the Criminal Intelligence Department have to face. Sir Satyendra justly rebuked the maligners of our nation who assert that in the absence of the English neither a rupee nor a virgin would be left in some parts of the country as being, albeit unconsciously, maligners of the British nation as well. He said he could conceive of "no more scathing indictment of British Rule. A superman might gloat over the spectacle of the conquest of might over justice and righteousness, but I am much mistaken if the British nation, fighters now as ever for the cause of justice and freedom and liberty, will consider it as other than discreditable to itself that after nearly two centuries of British Rule, India has been brought to-day to the same emasculated condition as the Britons were in the beginning of the 5th century when the Roman legions left the English shores in order to defend their own country against the Huns, Goths and other barbarian hordes."

It was but natural, and the President of the Indian National Congress should have expected, that his pronouncement on self-government for India would be received with different feelings by different sections of his countrymen. The cautious politicians welcomed it as an attempt to reconcile what is best in the great aspirations of the hour with what is most generous and responsive in the counsels of British statesmanship made by one whose inherent authority to speak on the subject has been enhanced by his having seen the affairs of the Empire, though only for a brief period, from the inside. The more eager spirits, on the other hand, regarded it with mixed feelings. They could not but be thankful that he established on an unassailable basis the claim of the people of India to full autonomy within the Empire both as a birthright and as derived from

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repeated pledges and declarations of Imperial policy. They cheered him to the echo when he interpreted His Imperial Majesty's message of sympathy and of hope as a message of sympathy for political aspirations and hope for their ultimate fulfilment. They were thrilled by his declaration that he believed with the fervour of religious conviction that that wise and righteous policy was still the policy of the great English nation. Such robust and undying faith has inspired the labours of our greatest patriots and is an indispensable quality in those who lead a constitutional struggle. Unfortunately, however, in a great majority of cases it does not survive the first inevitable failures, and it is difficult to say which are the stronger feelings in the country at the present moment—the hopes of a liberal measure of self-rule that have been roused, or the fears that our political status will not improve after the war through the voluntary action of the Imperial Government. If this expression of belief in the righteousness of Britain's policy towards India appeared somewhat romantic to the more eager spirits, his plea for patience and slow and cautious growth came as a bitter disappointment. The parable of the man whose broken bones have been put in a steel frame was a particularly unsavoury pill to them. If we must talk in parables, they sk, is it not possible to conceive of a case in ich the surgeon, for purposes of his own, unduly prolongs the period of enforced rest for his patient?

In what ways exactly Indians are to-day not fit to govern themselves, how the peoples of the various colonies demonstrated their fitness when responsible government was granted them, and what proofs we shall have to adduce in our own time, Sir Satyendra did not say. He took our unfitness for granted. This opinion of his was concurred in, he said, by prominent leaders of the Congress. It is noteworthy that he did not quote, as others did, the language of the first article of the Congress Constitution: "These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a *steady* reform of the existing system of administration* * *." The argument apparently is that Congressmen are precluded, so long as they do not repeal the word *steady* by a unanimous vote of all the provinces, from demanding a large measure of constitutional reform, though it might commend itself to them as desirable. It is possible that the greatest lawyer of Calcutta dismissed the argument as legal pedantry.

We now come to the famous passage in which Sir Satyendra enumerated three possible ways of attaining self-government, dismissed two of these as out of the question for India, and recommended the third as the only safe and practicable way. Now the argument by elimination of possible alternatives, by reason of its conclusiveness in the exact sciences, is often extended, by those that seek effect, to regions of speculation where all the data are generally not known and even those that are known are incapable of precise definition. But the result of such extended application is not always happy. In this particular case one is constrained to say, with all due respect to Sir Satyendra, that he falls into a grievous error. The reasoning requires that the three ways open to us should lead to the same destination: in other words "the priceless treasure of self-government" must in the three alternative cases be one and the same, and the context clearly proves that autonomy within the empire is the intended goal. Now the first way is that of a free gift from the British nation. In rejecting this alternative, Sir Satyendra speaks of it as a vision that "could only be realised if India free from the English could have stood in a tranquil state or in a sphere of absolute isolation." This is independence outside the British empire: who asked for this boon from the British nation? Did ever any political party in India petition the Imperial Parliament for a decree that the British people should immediately withdraw from India and leave her to herself? What has been put forward as India's aspiration is autonomy *within* the empire. This surely it is possible for Great Britain to grant as a free gift. She has done so to several colonies, though none of them can stand even to-day, if cut off from the empire, in a tranquil state or in a sphere of absolute isolation. The second way is that of a conflict with the British power—open war or intimidation by assassination. Open war, if successful, will result in absolute independence. As to those miscreants who throw bombs, it is difficult to say what their political aim may be, if they have a clear political aim—whether to drive the English out of India or only to wrest political concessions from them. The third way, that of increasing fitness on the one side and ready concession on the other, is the only one that is admissible in view of the object to be attained. Here we stand on firm ground. Great changes have taken place, as has been stated in dealing with the first way, in the status of British colonies as the result of peaceful political agitation. Our hopes are grounded on such

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precedents. Sir Satyendra cites French Canada and the Boer Republics as examples of British generosity even in dealing with rebels and enemies. Such examples are dangerous. The perverse student may infer that Britain is generous only when she cannot help it. Let us examine this third way a little more closely. It is to be a prolonged process of growth, during which the people of India are to ask in proportion to their fitness and the British Imperial authorities are to give, when and to the extent that it will be impossible for them to withhold. This is what is known as political agitation or constitutional struggle. The process may conceivably be peaceful throughout. Given unfailing forbearance and good faith on both sides, it is quite a possibility. The one constant business of patriots should be to bring about and maintain this condition of peaceful and happy progress. Sometimes a concession may be too easily granted—the first way. Often, however, the tension between the sides will become severe. A sense of delayed rights will lead to impatience and strong speaking and writing. The reply on the other side will be repression. And this disturbed state of the polity may go on from bad to worse till finally a settlement is reached by the grant of concessions. In such a case one set of chroniclers will describe the event as a boon granted freely and without reference to fitness, while another will boast of having wrested a just right by sacrifice and suffering. In other words, what is called the third way will be found generally to be a combination, more or less difficult to analyse, of the first and second ways. Both Ranade and Gokhale used to say that privileges too easily conferred are not valued or used properly, and that only those are real blessings which are won by adequate sacrifices and sufferings. This is true doctrine without doubt. But every step of popular progress makes the next step easier, and unless history is a profitless study and experience makes no addition to human wisdom, there is reason to hope that political advancement will involve a continually diminishing amount of sacrifice and suffering. Of living empires, the British empire is the one within which it has been proved possible for a government to rise through regular stages from autocracy to the ideal of government of the people, for the people and by the people. As it is the good fortune of India to have come within the British empire, so let it be the glory of that empire to raise India to the fullest height of her constitution by entirely peaceful methods.

The idea of fitness for self-rule requires some clearing up. Those who affirm India's fitness are asked: Are we ready *to-morrow* to start a parliamentary form of government in the provinces and in the seat of federal authority? Can we have the whole machinery in full working order at a moment's notice—party cabinets, resignations of the ministry, appeals to the country and all that? Nobody makes such an absurd claim. When we say that a certain person is fit for the office of Deputy Collector, we do not mean that the moment he is installed he will make an efficient Deputy Collector, but that, if he be given a fair trial in the office, he will in time discharge its duties efficiently and satisfactorily. So in the case of the Indian people. Our contention is that among them there is sufficient material on which to build a structure of self-government. Their intellectual and moral equipment fully justifies their being trusted with responsible government. But existing political institutions cannot be overhauled altogether. Adjustments have to be made with the utmost care. This is a work of several years, perhaps of one whole generation. The probation, therefore, will last longer than till *to morrow*. Let us remember also that political education does not proceed at a uniform pace. During certain periods it takes enormous strides. The last ten years have witnessed in India more progress than has taken place in any fifty years since the English came to India. The next ten years are sure to be marked by vastly greater progress. Nevertheless, the exercise of autonomy will in the first decades lead to serious mistakes and result in heavy losses. Perhaps a few animosities, now held down by superincumbent pressure, will break out in violent forms. But these risks and others of the kind will have to be faced at any time the people of India get real power—whether now or at the end of two hundred years. Shall we face them as we may or leave the hard task to succeeding generations?

One idea of great usefulness which the President of the Congress put forward was that at the end of the war the Imperial authorities should issue a declaration definitely accepting the political goal of the National Congress and the Muslim League. The present writer may be pardoned for quoting a sentence from an article that he contributed to the first issue of "Young India" published on November 17 of last year. "At the end of the war Indian politicians, unless they mean to betray the interests of their country, must press for an undertaking by the supreme authorities, not to be set aside or whittled down in practice like some of the pledges and proclama-

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tions known to the history of this country, that they will adopt suitable measures devised for the express purpose of placing India constitutionally alongside the Colonies." The language in some respects anticipates Sir Satyendra's words. After quoting Lord Hardinge's advice to the Civil Service which contained a promise of India's future "as a true friend of the empire and not merely as a trusty dependent," he proceeded: "Lest there be any among us of so little faith as to doubt the real meaning of those memorable words, or any Englishmen inclined to whittle down the meaning of this promise, I hope there will be an authentic and definite proclamation with regard to which there will be no evasion or misunderstanding possible." The appeal carries peculiar weight as it comes from one who in his own words "has been in the inner counsels of the empire for however short a time." No doubt it will "touch the heart and appeal to the imagination of the people," and therefore we fully trust the President will press the suggestion on the attention of the authorities. To prevent this proclamation, if it should be made, from being disregarded like some former proclamations by the authorites, it is essential that its fulfilment should be safeguarded by the insertion of a time-limit, say of 20 or 30 years. But it is precisely on this question of time that Sir Satyendra would not commit himself, to the great disappointment of his more enthusiastic fellow-Congressmen. He used an abundance of such expressions as 'the steep and weary path,' 'gradual,' 'cautious' and 'patient preparation.' On the other hand, he saw that the authorities would take advantage of the omission of a time-limit and postpone reform indefinitely. But he left the matter there, unable to make up his mind in the only way proper to the case. Mark the balance and indecision in the following passage: "While we admit that the goal is not yet, we refuse to believe that it is so distant as to render it a mere vision of the imagination. We deprecate the impatience of those who imagine that we have only to stretch our hands to grasp the coveted prize. But we differ equally from those who think that the end is so remote as to be a negligible factor in the ordinary work of even present-day administration." Shallow optimism may be dangerous in political affairs; but is not the pessimism equally dangerous which, after so many years of English education and apprenticeship in representative institutions under the peerless guidance of the British *raj*, hesitates to demand that responsible government should be worked up to in the course of the next thirty years?

How excessively and needlessly cautious Sir Satyendra is in his estimate of the political capacity of his countrymen comes out clearly in his treatment of the subject of local self-government. In this sphere a bold and fresh departure would be appropriate, no dire disaster or red ruin need be apprehended. But we see no strong demand, no bold enunciation of policy. It is still only "*more and more* of elections both of members and chairmen, and *less and less* of official control from within." It is quite time to ask that it should be, at least in advanced localities, *all* elections and *no* official control from within. Sir Satyendra recognises that local bodies are a most effective training ground to fit the people for the use of higher political powers. He deplores that after thirty years local bodies are still far from the stage outlined in Lord Ripon's famous resolution of 1882. After saying that the goal of self-government is not yet, he might have affirmed that the day of real local self-government had come. The lesson of autonomy must be learned somewhere: where shall it be if not in the more advanced local bodies?

INDIAN NATIONAL EVOLUTION.

A SURVEY OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

BY AMVIKA CHARAN MAZUMDAR.

It is, as we have said, so crammed with information that we cannot pretend to have done more than scratch the surface. But if we have succeeded in sending any reader of these lines to the book itself we are content. Its perusal is an education.—*India.*

PRICE RS. TWO. To Subscribers of "The Indian Review," RE. 1-8.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., BOOKSELLERS, 4, SUNKURAMA CHETTY STREET, MADRAS

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"BULGARIA'S DEBT TO THE ALLIES."

BY MR. R. M. STATHAM, M.A.,

(*Principal, Kumbakonam College.*)

Neither her debt of gratitude to Russia and Roumania, nor the ties of kinship that link her with Serbia and the Tzardom, nor the interests of the lesser political organisms of which she is one, would seem to have any weight among the considerations that inspire or affect her policy of revenge and rancour. But it should not be forgotten that the sins of the leaders do not tarnish the Soul of the Nation.—Dr. E. J. Dillon.

In the light of Bulgaria's past history it is not surprising to learn that there are many Bulgarian soldiers who are anxious to avoid fighting against either Serbia or Russia, at the bidding of the Teutonic Powers. The present situation in the Balkans is almost entirely due to the intrigues of its Germanic Princelings, and is, in a special way, a vindication of Russia's protest against the election of Prince Ferdinand as King of Bulgaria. Even a very superficial knowledge of the conditions in Macedonia reveals the fact that the interests of Bulgaria as a nation are much more bound up with the ambitions of Russia and Serbia, in spite of old enmities, than with Austrian and Prussian aims for domination in the Adriatic and the Black Sea. It is from a national point of view a wholly artificial position that the nation, which gained freedom by the aid of Russia, Serbia and England, and which so recently raised the strongest protest against the bad Government of the Turk, should be allied with Austria and Turkey against the friends of her country. In the complex past of the Balkans, it is perfectly true there have been many times when Serbia appeared as the national enemy of Bulgaria, and when Russian influence seemed tending more to the fettering of Bulgarian freedom than to liberty; but the Bulgarian people can never forget that without Russia their cause would have perished at the outset, and that without Serbia and the Pan-Slav movement independent existence was well-nigh impossible. Since 1908, the Fox of Bulgaria has led his people into the vortex of World-Politics, pandering to their greed and holding out dreams of Bulgarian domination over the whole of the Balkans and Turkey in Asia. The second Balkan war largely engineered by Austria, should have warned England of the true state of affairs, when unwilling Bulgarian generals led their troops against their most recent allies. There will, it cannot be doubted, be much heart sorrow amongst the Bulgarians when they learn that the tide of success is turning against their new found masters, and that in 1916, even more than in 1913, they will find none to whom they may turn.

Bulgaria's national development has been of sufficiently recent attainment for its history to be fresh in most men's minds. The startling betrayal of Slavonic interests in the Near East comes, therefore, with special disappointment. Even if there had been no treaties to break and no pledges to disregard, one would have thought that Bulgaria's debt to the Allies was large enough to preclude all chances of armed opposition to the Allied cause. The Allied assistance was no doubt greatest at the time of the first Balkan War, but their share in creating Bulgaria dates further back. To those who have watched the rise of Bulgaria with pride it must come as a shock to see the country which freed itself from foreign yokes by self-developed patriotism and heroic sacrifice sold to the Teuton.

Bulgaria, it is true, had to free herself as much from the leading-strings of Russia, in the initial stages, as from the tutelage of Turkey; but Russian opposition in 1885, arising as it did largely from the personal feelings of one man, Tzar Alexander the Third, is not to be compared with the continuous and powerful help rendered by Russia throughout the 19th century.

How very personal was the feeling in 1885 is seen from the following remark of Alexander the Third: "I shall never be the friend of my namesake in Bulgaria." In this connection it is well to remember Russia's patience and toleration. In the words of Dr. Dillon:—

> There is a firm conviction that no reprisals are to be feared from Russia. This belief is grounded on the inexhaustible indulgence shown by the Tzardom to its creature ever since the emancipation. Stambuloff's waywardness, the election of a Coburg Prince, the annexation of Eastern Roumelia, the proclamation of independence, and last, but most significant of all, the refusal to refer the dispute with Serbia to the Tzar's arbitration and the treacherous assault on the Allies, in defiance of the solemn, but quickly-forgotten threat of the Russian autocrat, are so many object-lessons of Russia's constitutional soft-heartedness.

But Russia has not been alone in her patronage of Bulgaria. England and France have been consistently friendly and helpful. It is at least doubtful whether Bulgaria would ever have evolved as an independent kingdom had it not been for the kindly and firm offices of Britain.

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The facts were briefly these:—Freed by the Treaty of Berlin from the worst rigours of Turkish misrule, Bulgaria, under Russian protection, was established as a principality, with Alexander of Battenburg as Prince. Bulgaria owed Russia much for setting her thus far on the road to freedom. But Alexander the Third in his excessive anxiety to keep Russian interests in Bulgaria dominant, misused his trust, and by his high-handed policy evoked, what was most needed for the future of Bulgaria, patriotism and a sense of nationalism. Prince Alexander, at this crisis, showed his spirit by throwing in his lot with his people, and accepted a royal crown as the outward indication of the New Bulgaria. His position was, to say the least, precarious. Russia, through her Tzar, fulminated, and Turkey and Serbia, at Alexander's instigation, seemed likely to oppose the new Kingdom at the sword's point. At this juncture Bulgaria was undoubtedly saved by the firmness and sympathy of England, or, perhaps, it is more correct to say, by the diplomacy of Lord Salisbury and Sir William White.

Has Bulgaria so soon forgotten the invaluable services rendered by England and France at the Conference of Powers which met at Constantinople in the winter of 1885, to consider the new situation in Bulgaria? Whilst Russia, Austria and Turkey demanded the restoration of the old condition of things, England and France were so strong in support of the New Bulgaria that so far from that country having to surrender her newly won freedom her position was consolidated. The short war with Servia which followed still further showed Europe what the new state was capable of. The Conference had dealt Alexander a hard blow, and he retaliated by a personal triumph over the Bulgarian King. Under pressure from St. Petersburg Prince Alexander was kidnapped, and though restored amidst jubilation, he thought that circumstances were too strong for him and abdicated. Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg was elected in his stead in 1887. Russia and Turkey protested. Their protest may be remembered to-day! It is well to remember also that under the terms of the treaty of Berlin, Turkey and Austria ought to have intervened in 1886, to protect Bulgaria from the attacks of Serbia. That they neither of them did so only serves to show what an unstable alliance the present one must be. As the present war in the Balkan area continues evidence is accumulating which reveals the dissatisfaction of both Turkey and Bulgaria with the objects and methods of their Austrian and German masters.

If Bulgaria's debt to England and France for past services is a large one, her debt to Russia is infinitely larger. It is useless for historical critics to point out, as they have done in plenty, that what Russia did was entirely self-interested. Even if such a statement were true it would not alter the undeniable fact that Bulgaria gained her present existence at the hands of Russia. Moreover there is abundant evidence to prove that Russia has, on the whole, been actuated by humanitarian motives. Turk mis-government, Turk treachery, Christian sufferings and the hopes of Slavonic liberty have been the instruments which repeatedly forced Russia into activity on behalf of the Balkan races. One whole century of interference in the Balkans has given Russia far less new privileges and territories than those she has been instrumental in procuring for the smaller nations of the Near East. As far back as 1812, a Russian war with Turkey resulted in the protection of the greater part of the State that is now Roumania. Some eighteen years later another Russian campaign forced the Turk to recognise the independence of Roumania, which at that time consisted of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. In addition to this Greece was recognised as independent, and Russia became the avowed protector of Christian interests in the Balkans. Russia has consistently declared that Turkey was unfit to take her part, as a civilised nation, in the concert of Europe. It has been unfortunate for the freedom of the Balkan people that the other great European powers have not always agreed with her. Turkey's trust in the tolerance of the powers after the Crimean War undid a great part of the ameliratory work of Russia. The Bulgarian massacres in 1875, and the revolt of Serbia and Montenegro in the same year prepared the way for the entry of Russia into one of her most bloody and self-sacrificing wars on behalf of oppressed nations. The results of the War of 1877 were seen in the Treaty of Berlin (1878), the details of which have already been noted.

Bulgaria has not been unmindful of the great assistance rendered by Russia. At the moment when Prince Alexander was celebrating his accession, a Bulgarian Mission was at St. Petersburg engaged in thanking the Tzar for his constant and invaluable help. This feeling of gratitude cannot be dead in Bulgaria. As late as the time of the capture of Adrianople in the first Balkan War, Bulgaria's representative at St. Petersburg is reported to have said: "The victory is the victory of Russia. Long live great Russia." And it is the opinion of those diplomatists and journalists who

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know the Balkans intimately that, even to-day, the Bulgarians as a people are in sympathy with the allied cause. More particularly it cannot be doubted that "the Bulgarian masses are well-disposed towards the Russians and strongly averse [illegible] calculated to injure that generous [illegible] but one of our [illegible]tist," writing in Indian or Anglo-Indian, devotes space to criticising the situation. All agrees, the state of affairs is bad, but all are not equally agreed as to the remedies to be applied.

[illegible] of very able articles appeared in the interference of Russia in the [illegible] of the year 1878, when such suspicion was at its height, the Duke of Argyll wrote :—

> Everything that has been gained for the cause of human freedom to the East of Europe by the Treaty of Berlin has been gained wholly and entirely by the sword of Russia.

How then can we account for Bulgaria's present attitude? It may, perhaps, be attributed, primarily to three causes. The disastrous effect of the second Balkan war. The personal ambitions and intrigues of Tzar Ferdinand, and the absence of any great national leader to voice the Nation's conscience. The second Balkan war left Bulgaria isolated and broken, and intensified her hatred of Serbia. Her old interests in the Slav cause, in the unity of the Balkans and in the protection of Christianity, have all paled before her present passionate desire to obtain reparation for wrongs inflicted on her by the Treaty of Bucharest. Austrian and German influence was successful in the second Balkan war in putting Bulgaria into an entirely false position. A position from which she could neither safely withdraw, as withdrawal [illegible]ablation, nor one in which she could safely [illegible] and [illegible], since to continue would result in the [illegible]in[illegible]ination of true Bulgarian interests. It is unfortunate for Bulgaria, and for the Allies at the present time, that no worthy successor to Stambuloff has yet appeared. Greece, even with Venizelos, has not been allowed to follow her national bent. Bulgaria, without a Venizelos, has perforce dumbly followed her Tzar. There is nothing, perhaps, in the whole war that English people have felt so keenly as the apparent ingratitude of Greece and Bulgaria. They can only console themselves by regarding this aspect of the war not as a betrayal by their friends, but as one more revelation of the innumerable ramifications of German diplomacy, which were essential preparations for the "World War."

The Congress and the Moslem League.

BY MR. SHAMNATH MUSHRAN, M.A., BAR.-AT-LAW.

THERE may be persons here and there who have not been touched by what has happened at Bombay, but to the majority the sessions of the Congress and the League came like a sudden clap of thunder, which has rolled away the wisps of cloud that overhung the horizon. We see better and we see farther. We shall ignore the unworthy comments which will seek to make material out of the rowdy incident at the second meeting of the League and use it to the discredit of that body. That its critics should have nothing else against it is no small matter for gratification. The session has justified our faith in the natural, healthy life of the community—we see that in spite of temporary lapses and fits of waywardness the heart of the great community is sound. All roads of thought in this lead to self-government.

Nothing could have been more interesting or more symptomatic than the two addresses from the chair. The Congress address was what we had expected, our hopes were reserved for the other, and in neither were we disappointed.

It is greatly desirable that an appreciation of our difficulties or a sense of our limitations should moderate the formation of our wishes and the attempt to realise them so far as they do not lie beyond the pale of possibilities. That is not a plea for a lower aim or for invariably having the second best for an ideal. You can forsake the path of sanity on two sides, and the mean has extremes at either end. To be moderate we have to be in step with time and remember that what is moderation to-day may be inanition to-morrow. The pathos of this oversight is that we are obliged to mould the thought of to-day in the language of yesterday, and men have not only to moderate their demands, which is quite legitimate, but also to modify them in expression which is decidedly unfortunate. We half say what we mean, although what we mean is perfectly fair, and we half pursue what we think lest we come face to face with the anomaly of our views: we lose not only the virtue but the sequence of thought.

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We are not to ask for self-government because we are not fit for it. If we analysed this sense of fitness we might come to the conclusion that the standard of efficiency is not so very high, but it would be immoderate to ask for self-government, therefore we must not see what fitness consists in. The question needs a little more honest handling. There is no pretension that India is fit for self-government in the sense in which England or France or Japan is. No country would be if it never began lower down the scale. Nature of there can be no suggestion either that self-government is not to be trusted to people who have come abreast of England or France or Japan. There are some countries in Europe not quite so ahead of us as people might imagine—and there are others elsewhere which are decidedly behind. Peru and Argentine stand clear of leading strings, and yet there is ample material there for a stronger power, if it seized them, to establish their incapacity to look after themselves. The maximum of security there may leave something to be desired but they won't exchange their right to mismanage their affairs for culture and progress under the ægis of another. A great statesman whose name lends honour to the language of England once resorted to the argument that a fur coat though useful in Canada was out of place in India—and so was Home Rule. To ignore the retort that there are places in India where a fur coat might not only be useful but would be indispensable, we do not ask the powers for the luxury of a fur lining. We claim the modest indulgence of having over our shoulders the mantle of Mysore or Travancore.

All this is of course on the assumption that good government is no substitute for self-government—though how far Mysore would yield on the point of good government it is not easy to say. But when Mysore leads, India can follow. Security of life and contentment of the people, the bedrocks on which all bureaucracies base their own justification, afford no compensation for the loss of stature in self-respect and self-reliance. Nor is it sure that ignorance of all design and lack of purpose coupled with an entire absence of share in the moulding of one's life can rightly be called contentment. When others think for us and face our problems, it is a terrible Nemesis which we invite, and no sense of peace can atone for the corroding sense of incompetence. India takes her stand by that view. She has listened long enough to the charge that she is unfit for self-government, and it is with some bitterness that she throws back the charge that she is not being fitted for it. Other cheeks than hers should mount a blush when her incompetence is pleaded as a bar to her claims. Her present fear is that she will never be fit for self-government. It is the tentative effort which leads to the firmer step—and it is neither sagacity nor solicitude which prohibits the novice from [illegible] not alter because he [illegible] that Bulgaria gained her pre-[illegible] existence at the hands of Russia. Moreover there is abundant evidence to prove that Russia has, on the whole, been actuated by humanitarian motives. Turk mis-government, Turk treachery, Christian [illegible] helplessness, it is no relief to the apprehension that our muscles are being atrophied.

It is from this point of view that the President of the League approached the work before him. It is a magnificent tribute to the Moslem community that starting so late in their interest in the affairs of the country they have been able to grapple them with a purpose and a definiteness, which are far ahead of those of their Hindu fellow-subjects. They have set to work with a matter-of-factness which is denied to the workers of the Congress. They have not our indefiniteness of method because they have not the same inexactness of thought. It would be a bold statement that in ten years the League has not traversed the ground that the Congress did in thirty—or that she is in any way less appreciative of our difficulties or less capable of dealing with them. As against us they have greater earnestness and if they do not speak for so many they speak with greater clearness. All credit is theirs, and they have achieved a position from which they can call on us to follow. The pledge of Bankipur was redeemed at Bombay, and the belief was amply justified that the League would come to the view of the Congress from which currents flowing under the surface of our politics had deflected it for a time. The cross currents that still baffle us will be lost in the wide sweep of the flood when the younger generation comes a little more into its own. The diplomacy of age invariably yields to the earnestness of youth and the considerations which convinced the League will soon be as far behind us as the persons who first urged them. Nature is not more insistent on having its way than youthful minds with a healthy and honest outlook feel the desire of self-dependence and self-sufficiency. Young men, whatever their denomination, will realise more and more that the worker is to be lost in [illegible] work and in the race it is immaterial whose [illegible] wins the laurel so long as it gets to the feet [illegible] country.

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THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM IN INDIA.

BY MR. WILLIAM JESSE, M.A.

(Principal, Meerut College.)

THAT education in India is not in a satisfactory condition at the present moment is apparent to everyone. Hardly a day passes but one or other of the leading newspapers, Indian or Anglo-Indian, devotes a portion of its space to criticising the situation. All agree that the state of affairs is bad, but all are not equally agreed as to the remedies to be applied.

Not long ago a series of very able articles appeared in the London *Times*, but, in spite of the obvious fact that the writer had a first-hand knowledge of the educational problems of the East, his criticisms tended to be destructive rather than constructive, and, while pointing out many weaknesses and anomalies, to omit to indicate clearly how those same defects could be best remedied, having regard to the special conditions, both financial and social, of this country.

This latter consideration is, unfortunately, too often ignored by those who have received a Western training. The Englishman, quite as much as the Indian, is very conservative, and is especially attached to that form of up-bringing, which has served him and his forefathers so well. This is particularly the case with those who have been educated at the great public schools and at Oxford and Cambridge, and they, remembering the influence that their peculiar discipline and venerable traditions have had on themselves, sometimes seem to think and act as if no other system could turn out men of character and self-reliance.

Yet even in England everyone is not reared on the same plan. Those whose training has been under the more fluid constitutions of our newer Universities tend to decry the claims put forward by the alumni of the more ancient seats of learning, pointing out—with some show of truth it must be acknowledged—their deficiency in utilitarian teaching, and the too great importance attached to a purely literary education on the one hand, and social life on the other. Those reared under conditions north of the Tweed have a contempt for what passes for education south of it. And, as if these views were not sufficiently bewildering, there are yet others, a smaller number no doubt, who, having obtained their knowledge from the Continent or America, are firm advocates of the particular methods which have proved successful in their own individual cases.

Unfortunately, it does not seem to be sufficiently considered whether, as the pupils are, almost without exception, Indians, it might not be well to try and understand things more from an Indian point of view than we do. It is true that, theoretically, they are consulted, and, in the case of a few leading men, considerable weight is attached to their views, but much more might and should be done to give them a greater 'say' in what so deeply concerns them. There is no time here to go into the difficulties that lie before such a policy. They exist, but are due, I venture to think, chiefly from the natural differences between Eastern and Western mentality, and, fundamentally, both sides have far more, and that the most important, in common than either party suspects. In any case, whatever difficulties there may be, it is absolutely necessary to get the public in sympathy if any real advance is to be made.

Before a doctor seeks to cure his patient, he diagnoses the ailment from which he suffers, endeavours to assign the cause, and then applies the remedy.

Similarly, before any cure can be suggested for our present ills, an effort must be made to determine exactly what are the evils of the system under which we work.

These have been variously pointed out from time to time, but speaking broadly, may be classed as four: inefficiency, unsuitability, inadequacy, and lack of religion.

Let us deal with these one by one, leaving for the present moment any attempt to explain their cause or suggest their remedy.

Let any one who is competent to judge—both from experience as an educationist, and from a knowledge of Indian conditions—examine the syllabus for the ordinary B.A. degree of one of our Universities, and he will be compelled to acknowledge that if a student has passed the test, he should be able to lay claim to a fair general education. Doubtless it is easy to criticise the various courses, now on this ground and now on that, but any one who has had actual experience in their construction knows only too well how much easier it is to point out a defect than to suggest the alternative. Taken as a whole the average "course" is satisfactory, and, if properly studied, should produce a reasonably educated young man. Alas! can we honestly say that the results are in accordance with our expectations? Are our gra-

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duates, when they have finished their college careers fit to take up posts for which their degrees should qualify them? Recently, speaking in the Calcutta University Senate, Dr. Fermor, of the Geological Survey, gave his experience as a member of a certain committee to examine candidates for an appointment as to their educational fitness. Most of these were Calcutta B.A's or B.Sc's. "All those who sat failed to satisfy a single test in their own subject, although they had obtained degrees but a year before. The physicists had forgotten their physics, the geometricians their geometry, the mathematicians their mathematics, and failed in simple addition, and ultimately the candidate selected was one who had not gone through a course of the University education." Let us hope that this is an extreme case, but at the same time there is no doubt that many of our young men select subjects for which they have no real taste, manage by dint of hard work to secure the bare pass mark, and within a short while of obtaining their degree have forgotten practically all they have learned.

The ignorance of what should be regarded as the mental equipment of any educated man is astonishing. The veriest elements of geography, history, and science have only too often been entirely forgotten by the time the youth has reached the higher college classes. The increase in hostel and college common rooms, where leading dailies and weeklies, many of them illustrated, are regularly subscribed for, will, it is hoped, ere long show their effect. Meanwhile this lack of "common knowledge" is an undoubted handicap, both to the young man who wants to become a "leader," and to him who desires to enter into society.

In English the inefficiency of the student is only too apparent. Examiners know well that the quality submitted by the candidates for degrees is far below what it ought to be, and that frequently the writer is quite unable to express his thoughts in simple and grammatical language. As a result the number of failures in these University examinations is large, but under present conditions it is inevitable. The blame does not entirely rest with the student, but until the teaching of English even be very materially improved in the schools little can be done. Much though we may regret the low percentage of passes, it is impossible to hope that it will substantially rise until a candidate is better able to put his ideas on paper. Nevertheless this fact does not do away with the perfectly reasonable complaint that the present state of affairs is unsatisfactory. If so few students pass the comparatively simple examinations which lie before them, it is at least not unnatural to infer that this is due, as much to the inefficiency of the training, as to the idleness of the examinee.

Finally, when we look for the results of our highest teaching we must candidly admit it is woefully disappointing. The general standard of culture has undoubtedly increased, but the number of names of those who have risen above mediocrity is few indeed. Tagore the poet, Roy and Bose the scientists, Tata the captain of industry, spring at once to our minds; as also those of several famous judges and not a few great politicians. But these are few in comparison with the size of India, even allowing for the vast proportion of illiterates. The cry that goes up when a Gokhale, a Mehta, or a Sir Syed Ahmed passes away is undoubtedly a true expression of the deep sorrow that overwhelms the nation, but underlying it is also a note of despair of not being able to find one to take the departed leader's place. This can hardly be regarded as a satisfactory condition of affairs after some seventy years of educational progress in a great country like India. From whatever point of view we look at it we are compelled to agree that, at its best, the results of our policy for the greater part of a century are mediocre, and as a preparation for the battle of life, whether of the individual or the nation, our educational system has proved inefficient.

But education in order to be efficient must be suitable. In the first place, it must have a practical value, and in the second, it must comply with the social and racial habits of the people. Does our present system conform to these conditions?

Without going to the lengths of the condemnation that had been brought against it, it has to be conceded that there has been too great a tendency to slavishly follow the English model, without sufficiently considering the different conditions that obtain in the two countries.

Our British system undoubtedly forms an excellent basis. Indeed, seeing that the English had to introduce a system of some kind and Englishmen had to work it in the first place, it was inevitable that they should advocate that to which they were accustomed. Unfortunately they insisted too rigidly on the similarity, without allowing sufficiently for Eastern idiosyncrasies. An English public school, and a French

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lycée are as different as the poles, although the two countries are only separated by a narrow channel of the sea. How much more likely is it that arrangements, rules, and a discipline that would be admirable in an institution like Winchester may fail dismally in a school in the Punjab or a college in Bengal. Journalists and others who should know better have more than once referred to Aligarh as "the Indian Oxford," and Ajmere Chief's College as "our Eastern Eton." In neither case is there the faintest resemblance, nor under the present social conditions is anything of that nature likely to spring up. There are rumours that schools for Indian lads of the better classes, to be run on public school lines, are being started in Calcutta and Simla. Whatever they may ultimately develop into, they are bound to be something very different from that which is essentially English, and which has been both the admiration and the despair of every other country.

Apart from the religious and caste difficulties, our rigid discipline is utterly out of harmony with the ideas prevailing in the average Eastern household. Many of our difficulties in dealing with students, and the resulting strikes are due to the fact that the Englishman cannot understand that what would be readily accepted at home is sometimes deeply resented out here. We may believe that our ideas are better: it is quite possible that they are. The fact remains that the Indian does not think so, and hence often does not support authority as he should. This attitude is much to be regretted, but it has to be taken into account if any satisfactory work is to be done. In England tradition has given enormous power to masters and senior students. Parents having themselves been brought up under these conditions rarely think of listening to complaints from their progeny, and if they ever do make a remonstrance they cannot hope for much sympathy either from the authorities or the public. Discipline such as exists at Rugby or Marlborough, or at a university college, would in India be bitterly resented as unjustifiable tyranny. It is sometimes forgotten that even in England it is only the so-called upper classes that willingly submit to it, and they do so on account of their patriotism to school or college, and because of tradition. Where these feelings are not so strong, we find symptoms not unlike—though perhaps not so marked—those prevailing in this country.

Secondly, there seems to be a very general consensus of opinion that the present system is unsuitable from a practical point of view. Constant complaint is made that the courses are too literary, and that more attention should be paid to the future calling of the pupils. A more resolute effort is demanded from the Government in forthcoming technical and industrial education.

Much undoubtedly remains to be done in this direction. Things are far from satisfactory, and much time is wasted by youths in learning subjects, which, from the nature of things, can be of no value in after life. Unfortunately the solution of this problem is not a simple one, and is far too wide to be more than referred to here. But, although at first sight our training may seem too literary, it must not be forgotten how absolutely lacking in general education our young men would be were all teaching reduced to the mere improvement of the wage-earning capacity. It must not be forgotten that social conditions are not such as to encourage a good general knowledge. In Europe much is assimilated in the home, from the parent or friend, or in ordinary social intercourse. In India conditions are somewhat different, and the class-room has often to do not only its own work, but that which should have been already completed in the home circle.

Much has been said and written during the past few years regarding the need for technical training. That institutions are very few is perfectly true, but is as much use made of those that do exist as might be expected? It would be interesting to learn more, for instance, of the numbers that apply for admission into the Tata Institute at Bangalore, the courses selected, the standard attained, and the demand for the services of its diploma-holders. Unfortunately sufficient publicity is not given to the work of the college, and very little is known, in Northern India at any rate, of its labours or results. The entries into the agricultural and veterinary colleges have not apparently been satisfactory except where the entrant is practically assured of Government service, and the same seems to be the case with other technical schools.

The causes for this reluctance to enter such institutions as exist require further investigation. It is obviously impossible to expect young men to expend time and money on special training if afterwards they cannot be sure of finding employment, and if young men will not enter, it is useless to further increase the number of schools. It is sometimes forgotten that one who has received a technical education is rarely of much value until he has had further practical training, and at present conditions for such training are not available to any great extent. Fur-

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thermore social customs and the need for being early in a position to maintain a wife and family preclude the more lengthy and thorough course of instruction, with the long wait without adequate remuneration which is the normal state of affairs in the West. Still when all is said and done, matters cannot be left as they are. India demands further technical education and commercial and industrial opportunities; the Government asks for guarantees that that any expenditure will be justified. The result is somewhat in the nature of an *impasse*, but the matter is so urgent that it cannot be left where it is. It surely cannot be beyond the wit of man to devise some line of policy which shall result in turning aside a portion of the present crowd of literates into the channels of commercialism and industrialism.

The third difficulty under which education labours is its inadequacy. Owing to the fact that superior employment, not only under Government, but in any capacity, is practically confined to those who can produce a certificate of having passed one or other of the University examinations, it is almost imperative for every youth who hopes for anything of a post to pass at least the Matriculation or its equivalent. As might be expected the upper classes in the schools and the lower classes in the colleges are deplorably congested. Numbers of new schools have been built, but they have only partially relieved the pressure, and each year matters become more serious. This overcrowding is leading, and has led to a very great loss in efficiency. It is a physical impossibility to give any individual attention to the crowds that throng the lecture-rooms, the inferior students keep down the standard of work, as teaching has necessarily to conform to their level, and the result on the work of the more intelligent is simply deplorable. Yet the insistence of parents that room should be made for their sons is very natural, when we remember this necessity for some University diploma. It is no use blaming them for their supposed indifference to efficiency. While they are waiting for efficiency the opportunities for their particular son are lost. Equally is it unfair on the part of leading personages to put down the demand of Government for improved tuition to an insidious attempt to restrict education. There is urgent need for a free and open enquiry into the means for reconciling these two diametrically opposite views. Improvement will cost money—much money—but it must be found. If the present revenue is insufficient and private enterprise not forthcoming, special taxation will be necessary. In England an educational rate is charged, and it might be worth while to consider whether something similar might not be introduced into India.

As things stand at present the schools and colleges are insufficient in number, and in many the class-rooms are not large enough to hold more pupils, even if such a measure were desirable. Additional rooms cannot be called into existence in the manner of the walls of Troy, and, when they have been provided, teachers must be engaged. The pay given to the schoolmaster is so low that the wonder is that men with any qualifications at all can be got to accept posts, and hence, unless further funds are forthcoming—for the fees of the additional students will not suffice—expansion must founder on the rock of finance.

Lastly, there remains the ethical side of the question. Undoubtedly the Government were right in determining to maintain a strict neutrality with regard to religion. Unfortunately this action has led in practice to the total elimination of religion and religious teaching in all but a few special schools and colleges. Divorced from religion ethics lose their force with the young, and the teacher who can with success substitute 'moral' for 'religious' teaching is practically non-existent. A man of high character undoubtedly exercises a tremendous influence on his pupils and for this, if for no other reason, the miserably low pay allotted to teachers as compared with that of those in other professions is greatly to be deplored.

In India this policy of non-interference is fraught with particularly grave consequences. The Indian, whether Hindu or Mussalman, is nothing if not religious, and to him the action of his rulers, even when he understands its motives, is entirely contrary to his ideas. The Government during the past two or three years has begun to realize the mistake and has endeavoured to remedy it—in part at any rate—but the evil has been working too long to be eradicated easily, and any change of policy is liable to be looked upon with suspicion, or at least with indifference. The benefits that a wider recognition of religion would bring are so great that, in spite of every difficulty and discouragement, its re-establishment should be aimed at, but this can only be done with the fullest co-operation of the people. I cannot do better than conclude by quoting a recent well-known Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Andrew Frazer:—"I am very strong-

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ly convinced that, unless we provide for religious training as well as for secular instruction, we expose the peoples of India to an unspeakable danger. We do more than this. We educate the youth of India in a manner that is strongly distasteful to their parents.

The people of India are naturally a religious people, and they have a strong belief in the influences of religion and of home life. If we fail to give religious instruction, we shall either find the people of India becoming by our influence, and against their will, agnostic and atheistic in their views, and wanting in religious and moral character; or we shall have them full of an altogether unjustifiable discontent with our system of education. . . . . I regard this matter, therefore, as of the very highest importance in respect of the future of India."

BRITISH WOMEN IN WAR-TIME

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH.

THE war is most seriously affecting the lives of British women. Millions of them have stepped into the posts vacated by men who have thrown down the pen, brush, spade, and other tools of trade to join the ranks of the army and to engage in war work. Thousands of them have been called upon to give direct help in various ways, to prosecute the war. You seldom come across a woman who has not sent to the front her husband, lover, son, or other male relative or friend. Some of the soldiers and sailors have already been killed or wounded, and many more of them are likely to be maimed or to lose their lives before the war comes to an end, bringing sorrow to their women-folks and perhaps hardship and perplexity. The longer the hostilities continue and the fiercer the struggle, the greater will be the disproportion between the males and females of Great Britain, where before the present conflict began the women outnumbered the men by about 1,000,000. Great issues, therefore, confront the British women.

It is difficult to compress into a short article a comprehensive account of the far-reaching effects of the war upon women, and of their many-sided activity during this crisis: but I shall attempt to present here a few outstanding points.

I may first consider woman's entrance into avocations in which she was not permitted to engage before the war. I am being constantly surprised by finding women working in new capacities, and nearly always succeeding in whatever they undertake.

THE WOMAN-CONDUCTOR.

The other day I went to town on an omnibus, and found that a woman conductor had taken the place of the man who used to collect my fare and give me my ticket. The woman was quite business-like in manner and smartly dressed. Her boots, however, had high heels—"Cuban heels"—I believe, the women call that particular style. That made me wonder how she would be able to stand the wear and tear of a ten-hour day seven days a week, involving much running up and down the stairs, for the London omnibus is a double-decked conveyance with seats inside and also on the top. The winter in the British metropolis is not unlike our monsoon weather except that it is cold in addition to being wet and slushy. One, therefore, is not at all sure how the women conductors will bear constant exposure to the inclement weather. The British women are however, uncommonly gritty, and they are driven by necessity to take up positions of this description. Although the innovation was introduced recently, I find that it promises to prove a success. I see that women conductors have already discarded high-heeled boots and are wearing sensible foot-gear. Their skirts barely reach to their boot-tops, and will not become wet and muddy at the bottom while they are engaged in the performance of their duties.

There is a strong sentiment in favour of employing women conductors on the London trams. Many complaints are being made about the infrequency and irregularity of the tram service on certain lines, which are attributed to shortage of labour, and which can only be remedied by employing women to take the place of the men who have enlisted in His Majesty's forces. Opposition is being offered by the tram men, who are afraid that the introduction of women conductors may result in lowering their wages. Tram men showed similar hostility in provincial towns, but yielded more or less gracefully when they found that there was no help for it. Women tram conductors have become an ordinary sight in several cities of Great Britain, and everywhere they have proved an unqualified success. London is bound to follow the lead of these cities.

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RAILWAY WOMEN.

Women have taken the place of some of the men who have left railway offices to join the colours or to work in munition factories. It is seldom that one now sees a man acting as a booking clerk at any of the metropolitan stations. Women are being increasingly employed as ticket-collectors. Those working in the last-named capacity have been given a uniform which is most becoming to them, and they are showing great diligence in their work.

A season-ticket holder related the other day that while the men ticket-collectors took it for granted that he had his season-ticket, and did not ask him for it, the women who have taken their place demand to see it at short but irregular intervals. Honest man that he is, he added that the vigilance of the women employes has stopped his forgetting to take out a new ticket as soon as the old one expired, something that he, like many others, was formerly in the habit of failing to do.

One is getting used to having one's luggage carried by a woman porter. Most of them are not required to haul heavy weights, though some of them appear capable of doing so.

I should not be surprised to see women acting as guards, and even as drivers, if compulsory service goes into effect and there is a further drain of men from the railways. The military authorities appear to be considerate and are taking care that recruiting does not dislocate railway traffic.

WOMEN AND TRACTION.

Women are being largely employed on delivery wagons. The lighter types of vans are now almost altogether "manned" by them. There is little doubt that they shall have to be employed also on the heavy lorries, because the shortage of men is greatly dislocating the transport of goods by roads, and, in some cases, is even leaving vans idle.

Women are said to be unsuitable for this class of work. It is, however, being suggested that they should be used as assistants to men-drivers of heavy vans, and thereby free a large number of men who are at the present time acting in that capacity. It was stated in a recent issue of the *Times* that:

"At least one firm in London is satisfied with the experiment of using them as drivers of four-ton lorries. They do not take charge of the machines unaided, and as the task of starting the engine is beyond their strength, the 'cranking' is done by a man who is also carried on the vehicle; . . ."

It is hardly necessary to add to what has been written that women are acting as drivers of some of the taxis, which ply about the town for hire, and of many private motor cars and other vehicles. Many women who formerly employed men to act as *chauffeurs* now drive their own cars.

A PATRIOT WITH ONE LEG.

I know of one case in which a doctor's wife has taken charge of her husband's car and drives him about from house to house when he makes his professional visits to his patients. The case is remarkable because she has only one leg, the other having been amputated some time ago.

The appearance of women in out-door occupations other than those that I have described is also noticeable. Let me give a few instances.

Before the war, men were sent from house to house to read the gas meter and collect the gas rates. Now their place is being taken by women.

Formerly men came to receive orders for dry and green groceries and to deliver them, at present there is a strong tendency to employ women at such tasks. There is a concerted movement to discourage the practice of sending persons to book orders and even to deliver them —the inevitable result of shortage of labour. One notices, in many shops, requests printed in large letters begging customers to take home with them all the purchases that they can conveniently carry. I can cite the case of at least one establishment which refuses to deliver goods carriage free unless they exceed a stipulated amount in value. The same firm, before the war, used to deliver insignificant orders without charge.

From my personal experience I find that the men who used to distribute circulars from house to house and hawk merchandise of one kind or another have nearly all been drawn into the army, or absorbed in trades and industries, and are not such a nuisance as they used to be. The number of women canvassers does not appear to me to have increased very much. This fact speaks eloquently of the urgent demand for women to engage in occupations that supply the necessities of life.

I have seen women delivering milk. They were not employed previously in this vocation: but they may even monopolize it.

I have also noticed women "postmen" delivering letters. There is little doubt that they will be used in this capacity in increasing numbers as

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the war goes on. In any case, the post office is employing a larger staff of women than it did at any other time in its history.

Whereas before the hostilities commenced there were very few women newsvendors, now there are many of them. An enterprising London newspaper has recently given smart uniforms to its women "newsboys."

Women are also working as window cleaners. In some towns they have formed themselves into fire brigades.

Many of the stalwart men who used to stand before the doors of shops and restaurants and were known as "commissionaires," have disappeared and their places have now been taken by women, who open the doors of motor cars and carriages as they come to a halt at the edge of the pavement, hold an unbrella over the customers' heads as they walk across the sidewalk to the door when it is raining, and whistle for taxis when they are required. Women are also being employed to act as messengers and "errand-boys", to deliver messages to firms, and perform similar services.

SCARCITY OF SERVANTS.

Even before the war the number of men-servants in London and other cities and towns in Britain was limited: but now they have nearly disappeared. The few who still remain are usually above or below the military age, being either old men or boys. There seems to be a great scarcity of women servants on account of the great demand for female labour. Many who, before the war, were contented to be in domestic service have gone into factories and shops.

Before the war began the waiters in the moderate priced restaurants and the tea-shops were women, but the high priced restaurants, *cafés* and clubs employed men exclusively, mostly foreigners—Germans, Austrians, French, Italians, Swiss, etc. The Germans and Austrians have been interned, and most of the other aliens have returned to their homelands to join the colours there. During the early part of the war the attempt was made to employ Englishmen in place of the foreigners, but that effort had to be abandoned, as the men were needed for the army and for military work. The number of waitresses, therefore, has increased, and to-day they are to be seen in exclusive restaurants and clubs which in the past disdained to employ them in any capacity.

Establishments which formerly refused to open their doors to women have had to let them in. The banking world, for instance, has had to make this concession. Some time ago I was surprised to see a woman's coiffure projecting above a partition in a bank to which I used to go quite often, and in which I knew women were not employed in the capacity of accountants, clerks, etc. I hear that the bank of England has recently engaged hundreds of women as clerks.

Before the war, women were not employed, to any extent, in the libraries. Now there is probably no library where they do not act as assistants.

SPECIAL TRAINING.

Women have taken the place of men behind the counters of grocery and provision shops. I understand that some of the technical institutes are making a specialty of offering a short course of training, at a nominal cost, to fit young women to take up this line of work.

Women are being engaged in shops at work for which they were not considered fit formerly. They are, for instance, acting as "floor-walkers"—whose duty it is to walk about the shop to superintend the sales-women, and to give information concerning the stock to inquiring customers. Women, before the war, were generally considered incapable of bearing such responsibility. The war may or may not have made the shopkeepers change their views on this subject—I believe it has, to some extent, at least: but it is compelling them to employ women in this capacity. The heads of establishments have also been forced to engage women as "liftmen", and as I have already noted, as commissionaires and "van-men".

Public and private offices are now employing women in larger numbers and in much higher capacities than they did before the war. Women are also being given work in mills and factories for which they were formerly considered unfit. I do not wish to go into details, as they are of a technical nature.

There appears to be a shortage of boy labour. Girls are, therefore, in great demand. One is surprised to see girls in newspaper and other offices opening doors, answering inquiries, running errands, and carrying about papers and parcels.

RISE IN WAGES.

Wages are steadily rising in those trades that supply the necessities of life, or those that are directly or indirectly connected with the war. Both men and women are benefiting from this general rise.

Except in isolated cases, women are receiving lower pay than is given to men for serving the

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same number of hours and performing the same work. Much agitation is being carried on by women leaders to force employers to give the same wages to women that they pay to men: but so far without much effect.

Thus far I have confined my remarks to the subject of the introduction of women in avocations to which they were not formerly admitted, and to the increase of their number in the occupations in which they were engaged before the war. Now I shall write of the patriotic work that women are doing.

A WOMAN COLONEL.

The demands made by the war upon army doctors have been so great that the authorities have had to remove the ban from women doctors. I cannot state the exact number of women who are employed in military hospitals at home and abroad: but I believe it is considerable. I know of at least one case in which a woman doctor has been given the rank of Lieut.-Colonel. I hear that one military hospital is entirely managed and staffed by women.

British women were employed as Army and Red Cross nurses long before the present war: but never before in such large numbers as now. I never go to any public place without seeing one or more women in the uniform of an army nurse. They are to be seen in trams, trains, restaurants, theatres, lecture-halls, here, there, and everywhere.

Some of them look fagged, but tired though they may be, their patriotism never flags. Many among my acquaintances have taken to army nursing during the last sixteen months, and those whom I have not from time to time always show great love for and interest in their work, and deep sympathy and concern for the wounded soldiers.

I understand that a large number of women have expressed their readiness to serve as military nurses on the registration forms that they were required to fill up some time ago. Many titled and wealthy women have offered their services in this capacity.

Rich women are placing their motor cars and carriages at the disposal of the military hospitals for a definite number of hours every day, in order to enable convalescent soldiers to go out for an airing. In some cases they drive the cars themselves. One daily sees conveyances of all sorts loaded with wounded Tommies dressed in hospital clothes driving through the streets and the parks.

Women are also doing ambulance work. I believe they constitute a reserve force and are called upon only in cases of emergency. I often see a woman belonging to an ambulance corps driving about town in a small motor car.

Women are also serving as volunteers. They are called upon to do light work.

Thousands of women are employed in munition factories, making, with their own hands, shells, ammunition and weapons that are being used to defeat the machinations of the enemy. Titled and society ladies are working side by side with their poor sisters, all inspired by patriotism of the highest type.

POLICE WOMEN.

Some women have also taken up patrol (police) work. They go about the streets, especially in the vicinity of liquor shops (public houses as they are called in Britain), and seek to save young and inexperienced women from falling into temptation.

SELF-SACRIFICE IN EXCELSIS.

A noble sense of patriotism is impelling many women to marry blind and otherwise disabled soldiers and to devote their whole lives to bringing comfort and happiness into the lives that have been blasted while the unfortunate men were engaged in fighting for their "King and Country." One occasionlly sees advertisements in the personal columns of the newspapers, inserted by women who are desirous of making such a sacrifice.

Women are distinguishing themselves in affording relief to those who have suffered through the war. Large bodies of Belgian and French men, women, and children, fled during the early months of the war from those parts of Belgium and France that are occupied by the enemy and sought shelter in Britain. Many of them brought money and valuables along with them. Others, however, were not so fortunate, and have had to be taken care of. The British have been very kind to these strangers within their gates. Comfortable homes have been found for them and they have been helped to rehabilitate themselves.

The manner in which British women are behaving during this crisis enthuses even a blase observer. The ingenuity and willing sacrifice with which they are meeting the emergencies as they arise do credit to them. The activity that they are displaying in helping the men to fight, and in carrying on life in spite of the fact that millions of males have been taken away from peaceful pursuits, shows at once their patriotism and their resourcefulness. A nation which is privileged to possess such women is bound to live and thrive.

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How Can England Know More About India.

BY PANDIT SHYAMA SHANKAR, M.A., BAR-AT-LAW.

THERE is an injunction in our sacred code—the Code of Manu—which runs as follows:

> Tell the truth, say what is agreeable
> But do not tell an unpleasant truth.

This is what we should follow under ordinary circumstances. But under special circumstances, we should rather follow the moral maxim: "If you want to injure an enemy, flatter him; on the other hand, if you want to benefit a friend, expose his defects." So please judge me according to this maxim. If I be wrong in my views—and man is liable to err—the error should not be attributed to any motive but friendly.

My subject is:—"How can England know more about India?" But before I take up the *how*, I must explain the *why*, and I must show how little England comparatively knows about India.

THE NECESSITY OF THE KNOWLEDGE.

To put my whole proposition in a pointed way, let me say:—"India and England are necessary to each other for the British Empire and hence the knowledge of each other is imperative to either."

The many comparisons that I shall draw in the course of this lecture* in favour of Germany, may give you the impression that I am a pro-German. Nothing of the kind, and I must tell you straight away at the very outset, that by religion I am a universalist, socially I am a humanist, in international politics, I am for a Federation of the Powers and in Indian politics, I am for a thorough amalgamation of Great Britain and India—an identification of the political and commercial interests of the two great countries based on indissoluble relations. So I lay stress on my statement: India and England are necessary to each other.

This object cannot be accomplished, if England does not know India and England's true interest in India can only spring from a better knowledge. It is on the face of it obvious that you cannot consolidate your interests in any country unless you know the people; their traditions, their genius, their characteristics and their aspirations

* Delivered at the University College, London.

THE EXTENT OF IGNORANCE.

England's ignorance of India is colossal. One in a thousand knows whether India is inhabited by savages or civilized people. One in tens of thousands can tell a Mohammedan from a Hindu. Very few of the members of the Parliament—the Supreme Legislative Body of the Empire—know where the United Provinces are situated and fewer still can say why Benares or Lucknow is famous.

It were well if this ignorance was an utter void or a merely passive element. Unfortunately it is sometimes broken by wrong or partial information which infuses into it an element of distrust, prejudicial regard or hatred. To give you some instances:—

† You are often told what barbarous atrocities the Sepoys perpetrated during the Mutiny. But you are not told what generous protection was extended to the British fugitives by all classes of the gentry and what valuable assistance was rendered by the majority of the Gurkhas, Sikhs, and the Mahratta and Rajput Chiefs, who are still fighting side by side with the British troops—the Rajput Chiefs, whose chivalry and laws of honour date back to pre-historic times and whose ancestors followed a civilized form of warfare which the modern Western nations have not yet approached.

In the epic battle of Kurukshetra, in which all the important princes of India took part, fighting began after morning prayers and stopped at sunset. At night the combatants visited each other's camps and enjoyed reciprocal hospitality. The commander-in-chief of one army, Bhishma, preferred death to using arms against a woman who was fighting as a prince in disguise.

You are sometimes told that an Indian is by nature sly and unfaithful, but you are seldom told that the honour, life and property of the English ladies in India, is not guarded by British soldiers, but lie in the hands of Indian watchmen who generally draw a pay of five or six rupees a month (*i.e.*, about 2 shillings a week).

The newspapers do not fail to report to you the anarchic attempts against British life in India, but they hardly tell you the splendid services

† The ordinary British public,

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done by the Indian officers and police to trace and defeat anarchy. The self-sacrifice of the Indian sepoys to protect English life both in India and in all parts of hostile Asia, has no parallel in the history of the world.

You are sometimes told that the Indians look down upon the English because they do not admit them into their temples, their family, and they refuse to dine with the English. But it is not always explained that they do the same thing with their own people, without regard to rank or wealth.

You have heard it said that the women of India are not properly treated and kept very much in the background. But you seldom know what affection we have for daughters, what dowries we pay at their weddings, how we, as a rule, love our wives and study their happiness and how we *worship* our mothers, who really command us and rule all our family affairs. All our social concerns—weddings, funerals, banquets, etc., are controlled and conducted by our elderly ladies. You may also know that our much-condemned *purdah* is enforced by the ladies themselves. No woman of the Indian gentry is allowed to work for her livelihood and social law demands the protection of every woman. Thousands of years before 1882, when the Married Women's Property Act was passed in England, our married women could legally possess separate property and a widow could claim maintenance from her husband's relations.

The influence that women in India exerted on men's life can be best estimated by a reference to the epics. One particular legend you will find at page 120 of "Metrical Translations from Sanskrit writers by J. Muir." The heroine of this legend, who exhorts her son to "awake to deed of high emprize", is described to be learned and statesman-like.

You are told that the Indians marry many wives, but you are not told that one in a thousand, who has the means to maintain more than one wife, indulges in bigamy. The percentage is so small, that the last census does not trouble about the statistics.

There was about two years ago a pompous announcement about staging at Earl's Court an Indian Show, the object of which was to glorify the fact that the Christians arrived in India to prevent human sacrifices. The organisers did not mean to supplement the show with another scene to illustrate the habits of millions of Indian people who abstain from all kinds of slaughter and many of whom actually live the life outlined by Christ's Mount Sermon, so rarely put to practice in Christendom. Long before Christ, an Indian Emperor (Asoka) sought to make humanity a state religion. You hear of depressed castes or classes in India, but perhaps do not hear that slavery was never recognised by the ancient Indian laws. This is supported by the Greek account to the effect that there was no slavery nor untruthfulness in India.

I can go on giving you further instances of the partial truths that you are told, but I hope these are enough to illustrate that the one-sided stories go a great length towards prejudicing English mind against India and impairing the regard which is otherwise due to our country.

CLASSICAL TRADITIONS.

You cannot know India, unless you study her classical traditions. Although she possesses no regular history of old times, she is a living museum of her own antiquities. The primitive habits of both your and our common ancestors are still preserved in her, although she has passed through many phases of transition.

One who studies the religious and classical lore of India, knows and understands the Indian people better than those who have studied them superficially. Dr. Barnett and Dr. Thomas, who have never been in India, know more about India than many of the retired I.C.S's. Very few of the Indian Civilians take up the study of Indian classical traditions in early years, and they generally come back from India with a skin-deep knowledge of Indian arts, literature and social characteristics. Their education to qualify them for Indian service is so defective that they can never go into these with a true spirit in after years. Even our own Indian students who are trained in England for the Indian Civil Service suffer from the same lack of proper education. The other day an Indian student of Oxford asked me: "How many wives has your Mahárajáh? Does the chap pull his subjects by the nose or has he got any laws?" To tell you the truth I was shocked. He is a Hindu claiming Rajput origin and yet he does not know that the most conservative Hindu Ruler, called "The Sun of the Hindus," the Maharana of Udaipur who traces unbroken lineage from the greatest ruling dynasty of the epic age—has got only one wife and has got a Council called Mahendra Sabha to administer justice strictly according to fixed laws. I am glad that the student failed in his Civil Service Examination, but what astounds me is this, that the

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candidates for the Indian Civil Service Examination need not have any previous knowledge of India at all. Is there not a bitter irony in the fact that with the object of teaching and educating India, you send out Professors who do not know India at all? They may be good scholars of Latin and Greek, but that does not help them in being acquainted with the traditions, social habits, mode of living and mode of thinking of Indian students in their true light. England has been directly associated with India for a long period, yet her literature of classical India is poorer than that of Germany. Consult the British Museum Catalogue and you will find that the bulk of German literature on the soul and spirit of real India by far outweighs that of English. Only a few years ago, the greatest Sanskrit scholar in England was Max Muller, a German; and the greatest Sanskrit scholar in India was Dr. Thibaut, a German. Even America is going ahead of England in her study of classical India and the real spirit of India of to-day. Does it redound credit on ourselves and England? To prepare my thesis for the M. A. examination, I had to do some research work, and my Professor, Dr. Barnett for whom I have the greatest admiration, had to give me notes from the German works of Jolly, for there was no book in English for the required information. I had to read Jolly's "Tagore Law Lectures" prescribed by the University on the subject of History of Hindu Law. When I pointed out to my examiner, Prof. Neill who is happily here in our midst, how confounding and illogical some of the Lectures were, he confessed that the University chose the book because there was no other good book on the subject. What does this prove? It proves a sad lack of interest on the part of England in the study of Indian classical literature, which has got a living influence in India. William Jones, Colebrook, Cowell, Monier Williams, Prof. MacDonnell, Sir Charles Lyall, Dr. Barnett, Dr. Thomas and Prof. Rapson, Dr. Arnold and others have done and are doing splendid work. But is the list of scholars adequate? Are their works studied by an appreciable number of Englishmen? Besides, are our English professors working independently of the many theories, prejudicial to India's ancient glory, forged in the German workshop?

POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

It grieves me to discover that many members of Parliament, which exercises the supreme sovereign power over the whole Empire, betray lamentable ignorance of Indian politics. I have heard some say that India loves to be governed despotically. Evidently they do not know that:—

1. India could never be governed *despotically* in the sense of the sovereign's "word being law." The greatest Emperor of ancient India could not form a complete state in its proper sense, or his state was wanting in legislative power. He could not make laws. The whole of India was under one law, principally embodied in the Code of Manu, subject to modifications made by local customs and juristic interpretations.

(*a*) The King could not be an autocrat, for he was always checked by a council composed of the wisest Brahmans.

(*b*) There was prefect village autonomy which only contributed to the revenue and paid a nominal allegiance to the Sovereign, even in the days of the Mahomedan Rulers.

2. The dynasties for the truly despotic monarchs were swiftly swept away. The Indians are as sensitive to unbounded despotisn or tyranny as any other nation and they never failed to avail themselves of an opportunity to overthrow a purely despotic rule.

3. The proper type of despotic rule that counts towards stability is afforded by Akbar's reign. But the difference between Akbar's administration and the British, is brought out by the following conspicuous facts:—

(*a*) Akbar lived in India and became an Indian.

(*b*) His Commander-in-Chief was a Hindu. His Financial Minister was a Hindu.

(*c*) Although a Mahomedan by religion, he treated wise Hindu and Mohammedan priests with equal respect. He had Hindu courtiers as well as Mahomedan. He took a deep interest in the classical literature of India and was surrounded by Pandits as well as by Ulemah.

(*d*) He held constant durbars at his capital which his vassals attended in regular rotation. The Feudatory Chiefs were given *tázim* (*i.e.* return courtesy).

(Let me say in connection with this that our Emperor's position is the most anomalous. You call him a King and we call him an Emperor. The Chapter of Precedence does not make any room for the Indian Feudatory Sovereigns. The position of these sovereigns, paying homage to His Majesty at a Buckingham Palace Levèe, is not at all defined.)

4. The most prominent feature of a despotic rule was the capacity to mete out swift punishments and swift rewards. The former were

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actuated by local information and the latter neutralised the effects of injustice, if any.

The semi-constitutional system of Government in India cannot encompass these ends. The long drawn processes of litigation ushered in by the British Government and the powers of the Monarch, tied hand and foot by Constitution, can hardly be compatible with the ideals of a despotic Government. So it is useless to talk of despotic methods being employed now in India, when you cannot sacrifice your constitution and make the Emperor a despot in its true sense. The Indian idea of a sovereign is that he can make and unmake not laws, but the fortunes of men or communities. In this respect a petty chief of India exercises more power than our Emperor. The grand effect of His Imperial Majesty's last visit to India was to a great extent undone by some short-sighted politicians at home, who vigorously opposed the measures proclaimed at the Delhi Durbar. They say that they attacked the Ministers, but they forgot that we knew that the Decrees had gone forth from His Imperial Majesty and, when once so, they were above the breath of a question.

To make this awful muddle between a constitution and despotism is the outcome of a regrettable ignorance.

Lord Morley, who is no doubt a great master of Indian politics, said in the course of a speech that self-government for India was like a fur coat for a tropical country. The great statesman forgot that India has got high hill-stations where fur coats are a suitable wear even in the summer. Besides, the English education in India is creating an atmosphere cold enough for a fur coat. The constitutional revolutions in Japan, Turkey, Persia and China should preclude such political prejudices as place a permanent natural disqualification on an Oriental nation.

At this critical juncture when India is looking forward to a preliminary form of Self-Government being on the tip-toe of expectation, the House of Lords flung away the Bill to create a Council for the Government of the United Provinces. No doubt there are some veteran Indian politicians in the House of Lords, but they forget that India of to-day is not the India over which they governed. She is moving fast—very fast since Lord Curzon's administration; and political opinions, formed fifteen years ago, are now out of date. These opinions must be revised every year to keep in touch with the waves of current politics in India.

The British public often hear praises of our splendid I. C. S. I am glad they are now hearing something of our Sepoys. But the most important person, who constitutes the vital part of Indian administration—the Babu—they hear the least of. He sometimes comes to you in caricature, as a comic figure in stories. You read of the 'fearful' Babu in Kipling's "Kim" and many other novels. Yet it is he who makes the administration of the handful of English Civilians in India possible. It is he who makes up for the want of knowledge of Indian affairs and Indian languages. It is he who virtually works the whole machinery of Indian Government. He is nothing but an educated or semi-educated Indian gentleman, who has not yet received the recognition he deserves. Politically he is the most important person, but he is the least known to you and the least studied.

A Bengali Babu is often branded as disloyal and seditious. But it is known to very few here that the person who unearthed the bomb factory in Calcutta and thus saved a terrible disaster to the English population down there, was a Bengali Babu, who, along with many Bengali gentlemen, subsequently lost his life in the suppression of anarchy, and that the most genuine demonstration of loyalty accorded to His Imperial Majesty on his last visit to India came from the Bengali Babu.

ECONOMIC KNOWLEDGE.

India is full of resources which, if fully utilized, would drive away all the poverty of India and England. Her mountains are full of rich minerals and you can use the waterfalls and the tremendous amount of heat from sunshine for power. Yet while you can find hundreds of pleasure-trips and shooting excursions on these mountains, you will look in vain for companies of scientists or prospectors making serious efforts to do something to increase the wealth of India.

We have a copper-mine in our State (Jhalawar). Will you care to know who was first eager to work this mine? A German Company, Smidt & Co.

We were looking for a steel safe at the Army and Navy Stores, Bombay. The safes in store there were not of the best quality which we wanted. The manager, wishing to oblige us, sent us to a German firm where we got exactly the thing we required.

I can multiply examples. But I hope these are enough to show what little England has done to apply science and industry to Indian resources. We have got manganese and iron-ores, but we

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could not profitably work the mines nor manufacture steel works because of German competition. England has not only omitted to send us scientific aid in force, but has also unaccountably ignored India's claim to the protection of her infant industries and trades.

You send out from Oxford and Cambridge graduates with ostentatious Oxon and Cantab titles to teach the Indian students the dainty tales of Tanglewood stories or Jungle Book, Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream", "Tempest", Milton's "Comus", etc., etc. But how many experts have you sent to India to give the Indian masses practical education to earn their livelihood? You know India is mainly an agricultural country. Does "Midsummer Night's Dream" or "Jungle Book" help the Indian students in learning agriculture, horticulture, farming and dairy? England must know that we do not want Greek or Latin scholars, but agricultural, industrial and art experts—not one or two, but in numerical force and with financial strength.

Raw materials come from India to be manufactured in England and are then sent back for Indian consumption. The English financiers must know that by applying their finance and skilful knowledge in India, they would enrich both the countries. They must probe public feeling in India on this subject. This one-sided business cannot go on for long and if they keep on "grabbing" too much they will hold nothing fast.

BUREAU OF INFORMATION.

Through a reliable person, I was informed that Germany has got a bureau of information about India. In England if you want to know anything about India, you have to go to the India Office. Some days ago, I badly wanted to know about rainfall in India and went to the India Office Library for the latest monsoon reports by cablegram. There was nothing there to answer my inquiry. In order to know how many Indian students reside in Great Britain for education, I went to the office of the Educational Adviser, attached to the India Office. I received the information that the information of the offices itself on the subject was very limited.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE.

The solid rock of stability on which the British Government is founded in India, is its non-interference with the religious and social institutions of the country. But ignorance of religious and social customs sometimes leads to unintentional unpleasantness. Let me give you a simple example: we were entertaining about five hundred convalescent Indian soldiers at a base-hospital near New Milton. There was an English conjurer with us, who after producing some cigarettes through "magic", threw among the Sikhs seated in front of the improvised stage. Immediately a commotion occurred and the Sikhs rose to leave with an angry scowl on their faces. I had to interpose and explain to the Sikhs that the offence was not intentional; and when the gentleman conjurer learnt from me that it is against the religion of the Sikhs to touch tobacco, he apologised through me—and that settled the matter.

You perhaps know that the Sepoy Mutiny was due to an ignorance of this character and ended in a terrible calamity which I wish could be effaced from history.

LINGUISTIC KNOWLEDGE.

In bestowing praises, such as on the Indian Civilian, the Indian Sepoy and the Indian Babu, we should not leave out another class of people who deserve special mention:—The *khansamas* (butlers) and *chaprasis* (peons). To them belongs the credit of understanding an Englishman's Hindustani. With a few honourable exceptions the English officers in India speak Indian dialects with accents and grammar which are known only to the above-mentioned wonderful people.

It may be argued that the English have done pretty well without learning the Indian dialects properly, and they can safely do without the mastery of them. Yes, they are quite safe so long as they have the Babus on their sides as interpreters. The English officer is something like a semi-divine being in India to be approached by the masses only through the intermediary priest, the Babu. But as there is a demand for more direct relationship and more active sympathy and co-operation, there must be a reformation in the official Church of India and the priest must drop. The greatest source of a widespread discontentment in India is the despotic police, and the police cannot be efficiently kept in hand unless the officers address directly to the masses and receive first-hand information.

THE SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE.

Perhaps I need not dwell long on the subject: "How can England know more about India," if I have been able to explain to you the necessity of doing so. For necessity is the mother of invention. If you really feel that England ought to know more about India, the means of knowledge will not be far to seek. Where there is a will there is a way. The proper channels of knowledge of

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the country are the schools and colleges, the newspapers, magazines and novels, the stage and the picture palaces. To these I may add personal inquiries. If there is an organised effort made to impart a wholesome knowledge of India through these channels, the prevailing ignorance can be gradually removed.

SCHOOL-BOOKS.

I hold in my hand the regulations of the three most important Universities of Great Britain (namely London, Oxford and Cambridge) for Matriculation, Preliminary Local, Junior and Senior examinations. Nowhere in the courses prescribed by any of these, I find India mentional by name. The languages mentioned under distinct sections are:—

Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Dutch. The London University only adds Oriental languages (including Hebrew). But at the same time, it is apparent that there is no arrangement to examine (and far less to teach) the Oriental languages unless notice is given well in advance.

Under History (London University), we read:—

Ancient.—"The General Course of Greek and Roman History and an outline of the earlier monarchies."

Modern.—"The General Course of English History .... with some references to contemporary history of Europe and Colonial development."

Under Geography: "(*a*) England and Wales; (*b*) Scotland and Ireland; (*c*) Europe, the Mediterranean, the North Atlantic, North America and Greenland; (*d*) the remaining continents."

How can young men acquire any knowledge of India?

We do not want such civilians and professors in India as do not feel interest in the country. This interest can never be created in those who leave it to the last moment to decide whether it suits their convenience or pocket to stand as a candidate for Indian service or not.

The Government must see that a candidate for Indian Civil or Educational Service has, unless under very special circumstances, previously acquired a general knowledge of Indian history and geography, as well as the important traditions and characteristics of the Hindus and the Mohammadens; and the Universities must accordingly make arrangement for the necessary course. I can easily anticipate the many questions that may be raised by way of pointing out the practical difficulties in the way. The most important point is that India has got so many dialects, so many races, castes and sects, that it is next to impossible to pick up one dialect or set of habits and customs for the early education of an English youth. It is quite true, but suppose you are to govern the continent of Europe, would you shrink from teaching your youths as many dialects and popular customs as the continent has? You must remember that Hindustani, Tamil, Bengali, Mahratti and Gujarati, are the dialects of provinces which are as big as Germany, Austria or France, and considering the area of the country, India does not possess too many popular characteristics. The Mahommedans have got only two important sects and the Hindus have a common stock of traditions and customs.

But to start with, I would propose that as an optional substitute for one of the compulsory subjects for the Matriculation or Senior Examination, a subject called "Indian Branch" or "Indian Subject" be introduced with the following syllabus:—

I. Nagari, Persian and Tamil alphabets.

II. Vocabulary of some important Sanskrit, Persian and Tamil words, explaining the literary associations or allusions involved in some of them.

III. Translations from Classical traditions of the Hindus and the Mohammedans in English.

This course may be gradually improved for the B.A. Examination to the following syllabus:—

I. An Elementary Reader in Sanskrit or Persian.

II. Indian traditional history with a fair knowledge of the principal characteristics of Sanskrit and Persian literature.

III. A religious and social survey of India.

Under History and Geography, I would have India specially mentioned.

I would also propose that Hindustani should be substituted as an optional subject for Greek, Latin, or one of the modern languages at the Eton, Harrow and Rugby Schools.

I have talked to the Headmasters of these schools, Dr. Lyttleton, Rev. Ford and Dr. David. They agree with me. Dr. Lyttleton said that he had felt the necessity of introducing Hindustani, but the difficulty was:—

(1) To induce the governing body to appoint a teacher.

(2) To induce the Oxford and Cambridge Universities to accept Hindustani as a

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substitute for one of the compulsory languages.

NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES.

Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore on his arrival in India explained to our countrymen how scanty notice the newspapers in England take of India. He said that when leaving for India, he read the account of a terrible flood in Burdwan District, both in English and German newspapers. While the English papers disposed of the news in a few lines, the German papers devoted columns to it.

Some days ago, I read in the *Daily Mail* of a "Hindu Murderer" of a British soldier—the name given of the Hindu murderer was Abu Abbas. I saw the Editor and asked him to contradict the report as Abu Abbas could never be a Hindu. I did not come across the contradiction in the next morning's paper.

It is far from me to run down the English papers, but I must say I was sadly disappointed to scan the contents of the daily educators of the public of the metropolis of a world-wide Empire. While we in India daily receive through Reuter, all the most important events of the world—the majority of the English public read in their evening half-penny papers (during peace time) nothing much beyond suicide, murder, divorce and bigamy cases, accounts of London gaieties, amusements and sports and slurs on party politics. Certainly they can devote at least one column daily to imperial news of consequence.

NOVELS, DRAMAS, THE STAGE AND CINEMA HALL.

We well know that a novel or a drama will not be a success unless it produces something very out of the common, something sensational or fantastic or grotesque. Similarly a show on the stage or Cinema-film will not take unless it is of the above character. An Aryan character of the East whose virtues and failings are so much in common with those of the Western nature, is never presented in its true and ordinary colours. So it is in vain to look for anything like a true estimate of Indian affairs or Indian character in these, which in my opinion have more influence on national education than the school-books. Sometimes I have been asked to help in the staging of some Indian plays here. Nothing seems to appeal to the theatrical experts here as Indian unless it is extraordinarily mystic or queer. Nothing can be accepted as Indian if it is a common-place Western chracteristic.

I do not object to these, but I seriously take exception to these shows which create and intensify hatred against India coming as they do from authors whose ignorance of India is appalling. To mention one: I saw a Cinema picture entitled "A Hindu's Hatred" in which a snake-charmer was represented to have maliciously caused the death of some European ladies under blood-curdling conditions. Of course the plot was fictitious. To add insult to injury, the author of it called a non-Aryan snake-charmer a Hindu. Another picture presented a diabolical character in the form of a Hindu Raja, who was called Aboulla. These productions by irresponsible authors must be checked by a responsible and wise censor.

PERSONAL INQUIRIES AND INQUISITIVENESS.

I now come to the most serious, but perhaps the most delicate point of my lecture. I really do not know whether to praise or blame the English for their extreme reserve. Of all the peoples, John Bull is the least interfering or boring. In India, he is always a remote and reserved person, who very seldom mixes with the people. The spare hours he gets there, he spends at an English Club or on shikars (shooting) and his furloughs he spends in England. By this process, he saves himself many troubles otherwise quite probable.

But his loss is correspondingly great, perhaps more than his gain. He discharges the duties of his service and then retires from it without being much the wiser about the country in which he lives.

Instinctively perhaps, John Bull is the ablest person in the world, for his genius enables him to meet an emergency with wonderful presence of mind, device and adaptation. He need not fear anything in India so long as he is strictly just, impartial and honest. The Babu works the Intelligence Department faithfully. So he is safe.

But there are a thousand and one pitfalls into which ignorance may lead him and splendid as he is, he will be more splendid still if he be a little more inquisitive and improves his knowledge of the country. The passive virtue of indifference indicates lack of interest and India is daily feeling this lack—so he must show an active interest.

The indifference and reserve prevent the English here from making acquaintance with foreigners and gathering much valuable information which they can easily do by being a little inquisitive.

We can travel hundreds of miles with Englishmen in the same compartment of a train without being spoken to. At Libraries, Common Rooms, Class Rooms, Restaurants, we may sit for hours with Englishmen without opening our mouths to converse. I have been a student of the Middle Temple for three years and of this

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College for two years. But unfortunately, I have not made one friend who is an English student. The loss is decidedly mine and perhaps the fault is mine too. But I hope the authorities will, in future, try to see that there be a little more intercourse between Indian and English students. At the Middle Temple dinners, the Indian students group together in one row and the English in another far from each other. My friend Dr. John Pollen of the M. T. will bear me out. The English must know that we love to be spoken to, and it is no breach of etiquette with us to be inquisitive. If we ourselves show a reserve and apathy, it is only in imitation of or in answer to, the English reserve.

During the last International Historical Conference of which I was a member—who do you think took interest in me? Some German Professors—Drs. Kern, Hofflinger and Meyer whose cards I hold in my hand. While the English Professors smiled at me, these Professors drew me into conversation and pumped me deeper and deeper as to the internal state of Indian affairs. Mind that many English scholars are kind to me. Dr. Barnett, Dr. Arnold, Professor Neill, Dr. Thomas, Sir James Dewar of the Royal Institution, Dr. Walker of the London University, Physiological Research, Mr. Prothero and Professor Rapson, have not only helped me, but have always offered to help me in any possible way. But the difference which I marked between an English and a German Professor is this—while the former requires to be drawn into a conversation, the latter draws you into conversation.

Who do you think took the greatest interest in my Indian songs? It was a German Baron—Baron von de Heydt, whom my Maharaja and I met at the house of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the late Chief Justice of Bengal, in South Wales—as the guest of Lady Jenkins, who is one of the most popular ladies in India and who has done so much to bring India and England together. While the other guests were talking of hills, greens, flowers, fruits, games, etc, etc., the Baron went right to Indian life and evinced a great interest in Indian metaphysics. Since then, he often invited me to his London house to hear Indian songs, which he always admired.

I present this contrast only to arouse our English youths from the indifference and apathy they show towards Indian politics, philosophy and fine arts, etc.

The British Empire is the grandest thing in the world. Never was an Empire founded on such a vast scale and on such a solid basis. The most glorious feature of the Empire is its moral strength and the bond of goodwill. We are proud to belong to this Empire as partners. My friendly appeal to you is this: "Do not let lack of knowledge undermine the fabric of this most glorious Empire."

You ought to know and thoroughly realise that two forces have germinated and are at work against this mighty Empire: one is *political* and the other is *economic*.

It may sound paradoxical to you that India, governed as it has been for ages by foreigners, never felt racial *subordination*. A close study will reveal to you:—

1st:—That the Mohammedans became *politically*, though not socially and religiously, fused among the Hindus.

2nd:—That the Hindus took life more in a spiritual light than material. The Brahman was seldom touched by any government, and he always thought himself to be the highest living being on earth. The poorest orthodox Hindu refused to give a daughter in marriage to, or dine with, the greatest Mohammedan Emperor.

Times are changed now. Material education, economic pressure exerted by international commerce, and the open door of Law to any person against any other, have shaken the spiritual life of India and its social constitution to the very foundation. The sons of Brahmans do not now feel that they are the highest people on earth. An injurious consciousness of belonging to a subject-race is dawning upon them as well as the rest of the younger generation, and you must take a full note of it. The reason why they do not like to be a subject-race you need not go far to seek. Consult your own sentiments and human nature. For the stability of the Empire you should examine the real nature of this feeling and take steps to make my countrymen feel that they are really the fellow-subjects of His Imperial Majesty, not only in letter but in spirit, and it should be demonstrated that to be *loyal* is to be *patriotic* also and *vice versa*.

The second danger comes from the *economic* quarters. Your Economic Unions must extend their narrow circles to embrace India and effect an economic union between the two countries. They may thereby lose something, but their gain will be more.

For this grand end it is your duty to educate England, and reckon on us that we will do our best to educate India.

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Colonial Self-Government: Its meaning and form.

BY MR. N. M. MUZUMDAR, B.A., B.SC. (LONDON), F.R.E.S., BAR.-AT-LAW.

I.—ORIGIN AND GROWTH.

THE Colonies of the British Empire have been acquired by (1) Protectorates assumed over Native States or races, or conceded by their chiefs and recognised by other Powers; (2) the territorial acquisitions of companies chartered by the Crown primarily for trading purposes; (3) conquest; (4) the settlement and colonisation of British subjects. Accordingly, the colonies may be classified as: (1) Protectorates, in which sovereignty is shared by the Crown with the native ruler, and the external relations of which are fully controlled by the Crown, the Protectorates being divided between the Colonial, Foreign and India Offices; (2) Chartered Companies in which the sovereign power is delegated to a company, whose agents administer the government; (3) Crown Colonies and India, which are directly administered by the Crown on the advice of ministers responsible to the British Parliament, and through agencies the details of which vary from colony to colony; and (4) Self-Governing Colonies, enjoying self-government under constitutions granted by the Imperial Parliament.

The history of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire begins with the history of the British Colonies in North America. The mother-country for some time took little interest in the doings of the chartered companies, and the condition of her colonies. But when she had once settled her internal affairs, she began to realize the importance of her possessions in the New World, and began to control them more and more by the Navigation Acts, by a policy to develop mercantile relations. With the subsequent transfer to the Crown of the territories of the companies, the colonies received more or less a uniform system of government, that of a Governor appointed by the Crown, and a legislature with a popular branch elected by the colonists, and possessing the power of the purse. English political traditions determined the form of government for the English inhabitants of the colonies. But administrative control from home could not be reconciled with the fiscal power of the colonists, and could not last as a permanent system. The 18th century was full of conflicts between the Governor sent from home and the colonial legislatures. The colonists would refuse to grant his salary for more than a year, would prevent him from exercising the veto by "taking" measures to supply bills, would pass their own appropriations, and appoint their own officers. The system broke down with the American Revolution and the loss of the American colonies. But with the growth of a new colonial empire the problems had to be faced again. These were solved by the granting of Crown colony administration to some colonies, and self-government to some others. The latter was first evolved in Canada.

In 1791 elective assemblies were granted to the British North American Colonies, and Canada was divided into Upper and Lower, the former wholly English, the latter chiefly French. But with the increase in political power, the racial and economic conflicts soon rendered Canadian public life "a maze wherein all men and all parties had lost their way." An insurrection broke out in 1837, which, however, was quickly suppressed. Lord Durham was sent to restore order. His deportation of two prominent men, without legal authority, provoked the censure of the Home statesmen, and he had to resign. But his Report on the affairs of North America still remains one of the most valuable contributions, and one of the most important documents in the history of British colonial administration that has ever been written. He proposed the union of Upper and Lower Canada, which was carried out in 1840. The defect of the then existing administrative system, he declared, was the conflict between the executive and the representative body. "It is difficult to understand," he wrote, "how any English statesmen could have imagined that *representative* and *irresponsible* government could be successfully combined; (the italics are mine); and further that "the opposition of the Assembly to the Government was the unavoidable result of a system which stinted the popular branch of the legislature of the necessary privilege of a representative body;" that the conduct of the Assembly was "a constant warfare with the executive for the purpose of obtaining the powers inherent in a representative body by the very nature of representative government;" and that "the Crown must . . . submit to the necessary consequence of representative institutions; and if it has to carry on the government in unison with a representative body, it must consent to carry it on by means of those in whom that body has confidence." He suggested a simple remedy—

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ministerial responsibility on the English model, asking the Governor to entrust the administration to members of the Assembly who could command the confidence of the majority in the Assembly; in a word, the Cabinet system, the ministers being responsible to the representative assembly, and the Governor being in the position of a "constitutional" ruler. But it was not at once accepted by the English Statesmen. The traditional commercial motive for possessing colonies had, however, by this time come to an end. And when Free Trade was adopted in 1846, and the Navigation Laws were repealed in 1849, the commercial purpose for retaining colonies had gone completely. Responsible government was given to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada soon after: to New Zealand in 1854; to New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania and Newfoundland in 1856; to Queensland in 1859; to Cape Colony in 1872; to Western Australia in 1890; to Natal in 1893; and to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony in 1906.

But responsible government alone could not remove the existence of provincial feeling in Canada. The Act of 1840 had failed to unite the two Canadas. Federation was inevitable. And the one result of the grant of responsible government to these colonies was the formation of federations in three of the largest groups of colonies in Canada, Australia and South Africa, the initiative in each case coming from the colonists themselves. The British North America Act of 1867 brought together in the Dominion of Canada the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. The Commonwealth Act of 1900 brought together in the Commonwealth of Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland Tasmania, Western Australia and South Australia. The Union of South Africa Act of 1909 brought together in the Union of South Africa, Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony. The process of federation in Australia was less rapid because of the absence of any racial and economic conflicts, and of any great neighbour to accelerate it.

II.—THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

The exceptional importance of the Canadian constitution lies in the fact that in its broad general features it has been the model for the Australian and South African constitutions. The British North American Act of 1867 laid down that the constitution of the Dominion of Canada "shall be similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom." According to it, the Governor-General is appointed by the Crown. Every bill passed by the Dominion Parliament has to receive his assent. He may either give it or refuse it, or withhold the bill for the signification of the Royal pleasure. As regards bills passed by the provincial legislatures of the Dominion, he is in the same position as the King in Council for the self-governing colonies. For executive purposes he appoints a Privy Council. The actual executive power is, however, vested in a Cabinet which is a committee of the Privy Council, and which as in present consists of the First Minister, the Secretary of State, the Ministers of Trade and Commerce, Militia and Defence, Railways and Canals, Marine and Fisheries, Inland Revenue and Mines, Finance, Agricultire, Customs, Justice, Public Works, Interior, and Labour, and the Postmaster-General—fifteen in all.

THE LEGISLATURE.

The Legislature consists of a Senate (the Upper House) and a House of Commons (the Lower House). The Senate consists of 87 members nominated for life by the Governor-General, 24 each from Ontario and Quebec and the remainder from the other provinces. The Governor-General can nominate not more than 6 members to overcome a deadlock. There is a property qualification for Senators of 4,000 dollars, and they are paid 2,500 dollars a year. They must be at least 30 years of age. The Speaker of the Senate is appointed by the Governor-General. The House of Commons consists of 221 members elected for 5 years. Quebec has 65 members and the other provinces elect according to their population in this proportion, the allotment being revised every 10 years after the census. The members are elected by the provinces whose legislative assemblies supply the franchise. The franchise varies in the different provinces, but in most of them it is manhood suffrage. The leader of the Opposition in the House is paid 7,000 dollars a year. Money bills must originate in the Lower House, and must be preceded by a recommendation from the Governor-General

POWERS OF THE LEGISLATURE.

The Dominion Parliament has exclusive legislative powers in all matters except those specifically delegated by the Constitution to the provincial legislatures. Whatever is not specifically assigned to the provinces is reserved to the Dominion. Its most important powers are those relating to trade regulation, postal service, currency, coinage, banking, navigation, defence, laws relating to

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crimes, bankruptcy, copyrights, marriage and divorce, naturalisation, and native affairs. In agriculture, immigration and quarantine affairs, the Dominion and Provincial Legislatures have concurrent legislative powers. The Dominion Parliament can amend the Constitution only in minor matters like regulating the electoral machinery, varying the quorum of the Senate, the number of members (reserving the proportionate representation of the provinces); altering the salary of the Governor-General; or establishing a new province. Other changes in the Constitution can only be brought about by an act of the Imperial Parliament, as for instance, the proposed extension of the life of the present Dominion Parliament beyond the prescribed term of five years.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

The Provinces are under the Dominion Government as much as the colonies in general are under the British Government. The Governor-General appoints the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces on the advice of his Ministers, and on the advice of his Ministers also he may exercise a veto on provincial legislation. But the Provinces possess responsible government and are self-governing units within the self-governing dominion. The Lieutenant-Governors are appointed for 5 years, and their salaries are paid by the Dominion Parliament. They are assisted by Executive Councils varying in number, from 4 in Alberta to 16 in Manitoba, and consisting usually of the heads of the chief departments, who must moreover possess the confidence of the majority in the Provincial Legislatures. The Provincial Legislatures consist of one House only, viz., the Legislative Assembly, except in the case of Quebec and Nova Scotia which have two Houses, a Legislative Council (the Upper House), and a Legislative Assembly (the Lower House). Most of the legislatures are elected on manhood suffrage. The powers of these legislatures are confined to the subjects specified in the Dominion Constitution, the chief being the alteration of their own constitutions, direct taxation within the province, local works, general civil law and education. Bills passed by the provincial legislatures require the assent of the Lieutenant-Governor, and may be disallowed within a year by the Governor-General, or may be reserved by the Lieutenant-Governor for the Governor-General's pleasure.

III.—THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

It was little more than 15 years ago that the Australian Colonies forwarded Home a scheme of federation, after it had been drafted and redrafted, corrected and revised in Australia, had received the sanction of the various colonial parliaments of the country, and had been approved by a plebiscite of the people. The Commonwealth Act was passed in 1900, and on the 1st of January 1901, the Australian Commonwealth was proclaimed. The underlying principle of the federation is the same in the case of Australia as in that of Canada, viz., that of uniting the several colonies under a single government for certain purposes, such as the abolition of internal custom duties and the establishment of a single fiscal area, the organisation of a general system of posts and telegraphs, of defence, and of matters in which uniformity of legislation and unity of administration are necessary. But in each case the union has been approached from a different standpoint. While the Dominion Parliament possesses full legislative powers in the most important matters, and certain specified matters only are reserved to the provinces, the Commonwealth Parliament can legislate only in certain matters and control certain departments, the general control of legislation and the bulk of the power remaining with the original colonies. While the Provincial Lieutenant-Governors of the Dominion are appointed by the Dominion Governor-General in Council, the Governors of the Australian States are still appointed by the Crown, and remain in direct communication with the Imperial Government. While the Dominion Government can disallow an act of a Provincial Legislature within a year, such a thing is unknown in the Australian Constitution. While the Dominion Government has assumed the greater part of the debt of the provinces, in Australia each State remains responsible for its own liabilities. While the Dominion Government collects the customs and excise, and hands over a fraction of the revenue to the provinces by way of subsidies, the Commonwealth Government hands over three-fourths of such revenue to the State governments. While the Federal Government is prominent in Canada, the State Governments are still prominent in Australia. This is illustrated by the fact that while the Australian States all possess a legislature consisting of two Houses on the British model, in the Canadian Provinces such a legislature has been abandoned except in Quebec and Nova Scotia.

THE CONSTITUTION.

The Australian Commonwealth is, therefore, a federation of self-governing colonies. The Governor-General is appointed by the Crown, and

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represents the Crown. He has to be kept informed of correspondence between the Governors of the States and the British Secretary of State for the Colonies. His assent is required to all legislation, and he may either grant it or withhold it, or reserve a bill for the Royal pleasure. He summons and prorogues Parliament, and may dissolve the House of Representatives (the Lower House). He is the Commander-in-Chief of the naval and military forces of the Commonwealth. The Executive is vested in the Governor-General assisted by a Cabinet, appointed by him, but responsible to the Commonwealth Parliament, of which they must be members, or become within three months. The Cabinet now consists of the Prime Minister and Treasurer, the Ministers of Defence, Trade and Customs, External Affairs, Home Affairs, the Attorney-General, the Postmaster-General, the Vice-President of the Executive Council, and two Honorary Ministers.

THE LEGISLATURE.

The Senate (the Upper House) consists of 6 members elected from each of the 6 States for 6 years, equal representation being, as in the U. S. A., the basis of the federal idea. The Senators are elected in each State by the electors for the House of Representatives (the Lower House), and one-half of them retire every three years. The House of Representatives consists of 75 members, allotted among the States in proportion to their population according to each census, and elected for three years by the same persons who are voters for the Lower House of the various States. The franchise is thus the same for both the Senate and the House of Representatives, and is based on universal suffrage. Money bills cannot originate in or be amended by the Senate; but nothing must be "tacked" on to a money bill. Members of both Houses are paid £600 a year.

The provisions for a deadlock between the two Houses are interesting. If a measure passed in Lower House is twice rejected in the Senate, in the same session or in two successive sessions, the Governor General is empowered to dissolve both the Houses, so that an appeal may be made to the constituencies. If the newly elected Houses also disagree, the Governor-General may convene a joint sitting of the two Houses, and the question is decided by the absolute majority of the members of the two Houses voting together.

POWERS OF THE LEGISLATURE.

The legislative powers of the Commonwealth Parliament are limited, the principal powers being those relating to trade, taxation, bounties, exports, borrowing, currency, banking, insolvency, external affairs, corporations, marriage, divorce, old age pensions, immigration and emigration, railways and the seat of Government. The Constitution may be amended only by an absolute majority in each House, further approved by a referendum to the entire electorate, by a majority of electors voting in a majority of States, and also by a majority of all the electors of the Commonwealth. If any law of a State is inconsistent with the law of the Commonwealth, the latter must prevail. The Commonwealth Parliament cannot legislate in respect of religion.

STATE GOVERNMENT.

Each of the six States of the Commonwealth is a self-governing unit in itself. It has a Governor appointed by the Crown, and corresponding direct with the British Secretary of State for the Colonies. He has the same power as the Commonwealth Governor-General of disallowing State legislation. The executive is vested in him with an Executive Council, appointed by him from among the members of the State Legislature, and responsible to it. The Legislature of every State consists of a Legislative Council (the Upper House), and a Legislative Assembly (the Lower House). The members of the Legislative Councils of two of the States are appointed by the Governor or the Crown for life, but in the rest are elected. The members of the Legislative Assemblies are all elected, practically on universal adult suffrage, for three years. The State Executives administer all the departments except those reserved specially for the Commonwealth Executive. In the matter of legislation, there are three subjects which are reserved exclusively for the Commonwealth Parliament, viz., bounties, defence and coinage. In some matters the legislative powers of the Commonwealth are shared concurrently with the States. In all other matters the States have sole powers, such as in agriculture, banking, borrowing on State credit, amendment and maintenance of State Constitutions, State Courts, State departments, education, factories, fisheries, forests, health, insurance, licensing, mines, local government, police, prisons, etc. The consent of the Commonwealth Parliament is required in matters which would conflict with Commonwealth legislation. The High Court of Australia can declare any act of the Commonwealth, or of a State legislature, unconstitutional or *ultra vires*. The supreme judiciary, therefore, as in the U. S. A., interprets the Constitution.

IV.—THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The latest and the most finished existing form

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of colonial self-government is that of the Union of South Africa. It may not be uninteresting, therefore, to examine its constitution a little more in detail. Within seven years after the annexation of the Boer Republics, a constitution embodying all that the Boers had struggled for, and uniting four colonies into one union and one nation, was accepted by all parties and all races in South Africa. One of the delegates at the Convention, that preceded the Act of Union of 1909, declared that it was the finest constitution of the world. General Smuts proclaimed that more wonderful than the constitution itself were the signatures at the end of it. No political transformation in the world appeared so astonishing, so rapid, so complete. The far-seeing statesmen behind it had seen that if the different colonies were not welded together, they would some day break asunder. The conflicts that raged round questions of custom dues, the wars of railway rates, and all such other elements of economic conflict between colony and colony, together with the conflicts of race, could only be ended by removing the prime cause—disunion. Under such circumstances the Convention appointed by the four colonial parliaments of South Africa met in October 1908. In June 1909, a South African Constitution was accepted by every Colony. And on the 20th September 1909, the Union of South Africa Bill passed into law in the Imperial Parliament. Within a few months was acheived a work that, in the words of Mr. Balfour, was "without parallel in history."

THE CONSTITUTION.

The Constitution of the Union of South Africa is in form similar to that of Canada and of Australia. But the spirit underlying it is different. It has none of the characteristics of federal constitutions such as those of Canada and Australia possess;—the supremacy and sanctity of the constitution, the distribution of united and co-ordinate power among the States composing the federation, or the authority of the judiciary to interpret the constitution. The Constitution of South Africa is a unitary constitution. The Parliament of the Union, for all the internal affairs of the country, is supreme, and *not* the Constitution. The supremacy of the Union Parliament in all matters relating to South Africa is complete, subject only to the qualification that certain sections of the Constitution may not be amended save by certain special processes, and subject, of course, to the theoretical limitation that the Imperial Parliament that gave the Constitution may also change it, or take it away. The Union Parliament has full powers to make laws for "the peace, order and good government of South Africa." Any ordinance, such as an Act of the Council of one of the colonies composing the Union, is valid only if it is not "repugnant to an Act of the Parliament of the Union." The latter, moreover, may amend the Constitution by a simple act of legislation, just as it would amend an ordinary law. The only limitations are that some of the provisions relating to the legislature cannot be amended for a definite period, and some, e.g., those relating to the native franchise in Cape Colony can be amended only by a two-thirds majority of both the Houses of the Union Parliament sitting together; and in the case of some other provisions, e.g., the existence of the Provincial Councils, an amending bill has to be reserved for the pleasure of the Crown. Beyond these qualifications, the Union Parliament is supreme. The method of amending the Constitution laid down in the Act may itself be amended by a two-thirds majority of the two Houses sitting together. The Act, therefore, while avoiding the disadvantages of a federal constitution in the irritation and weakness caused by the distribution of power among the States, adopted a unitary constitution towards a more centralised and closer union.

THE EXECUTIVE.

The supreme executive power is vested in the Governor-General appointed by the Crown to administer the territories for the Crown. He acts with the advice of an Executive Council (corresponding to the British Cabinet) consisting of not more than ten Ministers of State, appointed by him from among the members of either House of the Union Parliament, to administer the Departments of State. The Ministers are responsible to the Union Parliament, and he must act on their advice. (Ministers without portfolio may also be appointed.) They may sit or speak in either House, but may vote only in the House of which they are members. The first Ministry consisted of the Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture, Ministers for Internal Affairs and Defence, Railways, Education, Finance and Mines, Native Affairs, Land and Irrigation, Public Works, Post and Telegraphs, Trade and Commerce, and a Minister without portfolio.

THE LEGISLATURE.

The legislative power is vested in the Union Parliament which, technically speaking, consists

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of the King (acting through his representative the Governor-General), a Senate (the Upper House), and a House of Assembly, (the Lower House). The Governor-General has the power to summon, prorogue, or dissolve Parliament, subject to the proviso that the Senate cannot be dissolved within ten years of the Act of Union, and that the dissolution of the Senate does not affect the Senators nominated by the Governer-General in Council. There must be at least one session of Parliament every year.

THE SENATE.

The Senate consists of 40 members in all, eight of whom are nominated by the Governor-General in Council, four of these eight to be selected for their knowledge of the coloured races in the Union. The remaining 32 are elected, not directly, but by means of proportionate representation, eight by each of four provinces of the Union (Natal, Cape of Good Hope, the Transvaal, and Orange River Colony) from among the members of their legislatures. A Senator must not be less than 30 years of age, must have resided for at least 5 years within the Union, must be a British subject of European descent, must in the case of an elected Senator, possess property in the Union of at least £500, and must be a registered voter for the election of members of the Assembly in one of the provinces of the Union. The Senate elects its own President, and the quorum is 12. The election of Senators on proportional representation saves the Senate from becoming a rival of the Lower House, while softening also racial antagonisms.

THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

The House of Assembly consists of 130 members, elected directly in electoral divisions, each returning one member, 51 in all from the Cape, 17 from Natal, 45 from Transvaal, and 17 from the Orange River Colony. The number of members may be increased in proportion to the increase in population, but may not be diminished till it has reached 150. The duration of the House is for 5 years, unless dissolved sooner by the Governor-General. The Union Parliament may at any time prescribe the qualifications of voters and the method of election. Till then the existing qualifications and methods remain. And in the case of the Cape of Good Hope, where only the coloured man can have the franchise (if he has the necessary property qualification and is able to sign his name), he may not be deprived of his right to vote except by a joint session of both the Houses, and by a two-thirds majority in such session. (In Natal a coloured man may obtain a vote, but under restrictions that make the privilege practically nugatory.) The qualifications of a member of the House of Assembly are the same as in the case of elected senators except that he may be below 30 years of age, and need not possess property to the value of £500. The House elects its Speaker and one Deputy-Speaker to perform his duties in his absence. The quorum is 30. The members of both Houses are paid £400 a year. The Governor-General may, after a bill has passed both Houses, assent to it in the King's name, withhold his assent, or reserve the bill for the King's pleasure. The King may disallow any law assented to by the Governor-General within one year. The proceedings of both Houses may be conducted either in Dutch or in English.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

The Governor-General appoints an Administrator for each of the four provinces, whose salary is placed on the Union Estimates. There is a Provincial Council in each Province consisting of the same number of members as are elected in the province for the House of Assembly (with a minimum of 25), and elected for a period of 3 years by the same voters, in the same electoral divisions. The Council elects its own Chairman, and cannot be dissolved. Each Provincial Council elects after every general election an Executive Committee of four members from among its own members, or outside, of which the Administrator is the Chairman. The Administrator, or any member of the Committee who is not a member of the Provincial Council, may sit or speak in the Council, but may not vote in it. The administration of the province is carried on by the Executive Committee, which cannot be dismissed. The Administrator is the chief executive officer of the province. Apart from his ceremonial functions, he determines when the Council shall meet. No money bill can be introduced without his recommendation, and no money can be used without his warrant. In other respects he is simply a member of the Committee, with no more power than a casting vote as its Chairman. He is a servant of the Provincial Council; but he is also a servant of the Union Government, and as such he must carry out the instructions of that Government, if necessary, even without consulting the Committee. The system is in some respects like the system in India at present. The country is divided into administrations, at the head of which is the administrator who is its chief executive officer,

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and also the general representative of the Central Government. In regard to matters in which no powers are reserved or delegated to the Provincial Council, the Administrator must, if required to do so, act on behalf of the Governor-General in Council, and he may in such cases act without reference to the Executive Committee.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNION AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

The functions of the Provincial Governments are limited only to matters which in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council are of a merely local or private nature. The Provincial Governments, subject to the assent of the Governor-General in Council, have power in the matter of direct taxation within the province for provincial purposes, in education other than higher, agriculture, charity and medical relief, municipal institutions, local works other than railways and harbours, roads, bridges, markets, pounds, fish and game preservation, and any other matter in which power may be delegated to them by the Union Parliament. Provincial accounts are audited by an auditor appointed by the Governor-General in Council, and removable by him, provided that he communicates the cause of such removal to both the Union Houses.

FINANCE AND RAILWAYS.

All revenues over which, before the Union, the several colonies had powers of appropriation, all their properties and rights are vested in the Union Government. Its financial control of the Provincial Governments is complete. The financial relations are not defined in the Act, but are left to the decision of the Union Parliament. The Governor-General in Council appoints a Board consisting of not more than three Commissioners for five years to control and manage the railways and harbours of the Union. They must be controlled and managed on business principles, due regard being paid to the agricultural and industrial development of the Union by means of cheap transport. The total earnings must not be more than sufficient to meet the expenses for working, maintenance, betterment, depreciation and the payment of interest on capital. Any surplus accruing is secured to the railways for their own purposes. The central idea is to work the railways at cost to their highest utility, and not turn them into instruments of taxation.

NEW PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES.

The Union Parliament may alter the boundaries of any province, divide a province, or form a new province out of the existing provinces of the Union. It may also address the King to transfer to it, on the advice of His Majesty's Ministers, territories administered by the British South African Company, belonging to, or under the protection of, His Majesty, and inhabited wholly or in part by natives.

Both English and Dutch are the official languages of the Union, are treated on a footing of equality, and enjoy equal freedom, rights and privileges.

V.—THE TIES THAT BIND.

It might not be out of place now to examine the relations between the mother-country and her self-governing dominions. Power has passed from the mother to the children, more and more as the children grew up. Nevertheless, the ultimate control of the mother remains. No doubt, with the grant of responsible government, and the growth of federations, there is less and less of imperial action in the affairs of the units of the federations, and in those of the federations themselves. The units have receded more and more from imperial care and control. But fewer, larger, stronger and national units have taken their place, units easier to direct and control. Responsible government and federal growth have created three, single, larger units out of a score, too numerous to handle well, too small to stand alone, too weak to grow unaided in the growing problems of the world. It has allowed scope for the development of national feeling. And in no less a degree has it paved the way for a larger union, has rendered *Imperial* Federation not only possible but probable.

RELATIONS WITH THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

The main features in the relations of the self-governing colonies with the mother country may be summarised. The Crown appoints the Governor General. The Secretary of State for the Colonies has no control over any other colonial officer. In the internal affairs of the colony he acts on the advice of his ministers who are responsible to the colonial legislature. That legislature is supreme in the colony within certain limits. The limits are that it cannot legislate on any matter that affects interests outside the colony, and its laws must not be repugant to the laws of England, must not conflict with an act of the Imperial Parliament. All its laws require the assent of the Governor-General as the representative of the Crown, which he may either give or withhold. He has also the power of reserving a bill for the signification of the King's pleasure. While the King has the power of disallowing a law within one or two years, even if it has received

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the assent of the Governor-General. Some classes of laws must be reserved for the King's pleasure according to the consitution of the colony, e.g., laws relating to divorce, currency, differential duties; laws inconsistent with the treaty obligations of Britain, or interfering with the discipline or control of the Imperial Navy or the colonial armies; laws which might conflict with the Royal prerogative, with the rights and property of British subjects, with the trade and shipping of the Empire; or laws imposing disabilities on persons of non-European descent, not imposed on persons of European descent.

CHANNELS OF CONTROL.

The grant of responsible government does not necessarily remove altogether the control of the Home Government. That control remains, though in a diminished form, and is exercised *first* of all by the Royal Governor, or Governor-General, appointed by the Crown. He is the chief executive officer of the colony as far as its own internal affairs are concerned; and as such, must follow the advice of the ministers of the colonial legislature. But he is also an officer of the mother country, appointed by the Crown to guard her rights and exercise her control, and, as such, in matters that affect other parts of the Empire or foreign countries, he must act on the advice of the ministers at Home. He stands in the colony in the place of the Crown, and like the King, he is the symbol of Empire and Imperial authority on the spot. The *second* means of control lies in the Imperial power to veto colonial legislation. Every Colonial Statute requires for its validity the assent of the Crown through the Governor-General. And even if a bill has been assented to by him, and has become law, it may still be disallowed by the Crown within a certain time. Moreover, in the colonies, the power of the Royal veto is not as dead as Queen Anne, as in England. It is not seldom exercised, and three or four bills are thus ended on an average every year. The *third* means of control lies in the Imperial control of all foreign relations. In all, and for all foreign affairs, the British Empire is treated as one Power, and that Power is the United Kingdom. All treaties, all negotiations are made for the component parts of the Empire by or on the advice of Ministers of the Crown in the United Kingdom, appointed by the Crown, and responsible to the British Parliament. Any control of foreign relations by the colonies themselves would rouse perhaps endless frictions and even complications. A *fourth* means of control, rather of connection, lies in the appeals that as a rule lie from the decisions of the Colonial Courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Such centralisation in the administration of justice is undoubtedly a powerful force for political unification and Imperial unity.

OTHER TIES.

But there are also other ties that bind. Those who did not know the foundations on which the British Empire has been built up, prophesied that, once in the throes of a great war, the component parts of the Empire, thus held together, would fly asunder. That prophecy has been falsified. Far from it, no rally for an empire in the world's history has been more magnificent than the one in which every distant part of the British Empire has joined in the great struggle going on to-day. The war has only served to strengthen the ties of Empire, to cement the Empire all the more, more than has ever been done, be it by ties of common language and common blood, or common sentiment and common traditions. But neither language, nor blood, nor sentiment, nor tradition, valuable assets though they are, are, to be quite plain, as potent factors as the factor of common defence for a common Empire.

What is, in brief, the fundamental basis of colonial self-government? It is that colonies far away from London could not be ruled from London; that representative government is the foundation of British political institutions; that representative government could not possibly be combined with administration by a Governor, be he even in Council, acting outside and independently of the representative body; and that the only solution of the difficulties involved lay in making the Council or Ministers *responsible* to the elected representatives of the colony. On this basis the self-governing colonies of the British Empire have evolved. On this basis they are evolving. The ties that bind them to the mother country, and were thought too slender to stand, have stood the strain of a world war. Far from flying asunder, the colonies are nearer the Mother Country to-day than they ever were. For, as long as the heart is sound, and the limbs have fair play, the whole body grows in health and strength. The whole body works for common defence, for common interest, for common growth. For, in the modern world, dissociation means decay and death. Association means life and growth.

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WORLD STATISTICS OF ILLITERACY.

BY THE LATE MR. S. M. DIKSHIT, B.A., LL.B.

[AN UNFORTUNATE VICTIM OF THE RECENT *Persia* DISASTER.]

STATISTICS of illiteracy help to reveal the extent to which various Governments in the world have succeeded in mitigating the evils of an ignorant and untrained citizenship, and the circumstances peculiar to each country which have prevented the rapid enforcement of laws relating to compulsory education. That an ignorant and untrained population is a danger to civilisation and weakens the stability of all orderly government by making the cost of administration enormously high is a proposition which all students of political administration will easily admit. The government of the many by the few, is evidently a government by *opinion* and a high percentage of illiteracy deprives any government in the world of a powerful lever it can use, in organising the moral and intellectual forces of the people it is called upon to govern. In proportion as the population of a country is ignorant and undisciplined it is more subject to the sway of impulses which naturally dominate the *crowd-mind*.

It is interesting however to note, how the causes that influenced the increase or decrease of illiteracy in Europe were, to begin with, mainly religious. The Protestant Reformation made it a necessary article of its creed that members of that religion must be able to read the word of God. This left an open door for the exercise of private judgment and all the tendencies which culminated in the rationalism of the 18th century. To-day the smallest percentage of illiteracy is to be found in the Teutonic and the Mixed Teutonic nations of Northern and Western Europe.

Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, the States of Germany have the largest proportion of literate population. Then come England, Scotland, Switzerland, France, and Netherlands. European countries with a large Roman Catholic population shew a higher percentage of illiteracy. The South and East of Europe shew increasing degrees of illiteracy, which reaches its highest point in Spain, Portugal, Russia, Servia, Roumania, Greece, Italy and the States of Austro-Hungarian Empire. In all these countries the illiteracy of females is higher than that of males. America is the only country where females from the ages of ten to twenty-four show a higher degree of literacy than in any other part of the world. In Asiatic countries the male population shows a larger percentage of illiteracy than in the rest of the world. The illiteracy of females is more complete there than anywhere else. It is curious to note how, in spite of a highly accentuated religiousness in the general mentality of Eastern peoples, the spirit of Eastern religions should not have promoted a widespread knowledge of reading for purposes of using their Scriptures. Scriptural texts are more or less memorised as a matter of customary training.

It is only in the last few decades of the 19th century that Governments in Europe have carried on a vigorous campaign for the suppression of illiteracy. The experience of the United States of America, in this respect, is unique. In 30 years they have stamped out every trace of illiteracy and have gradually raised the statutory reqnirements of a minimum of elementary education for exercising the privileges of citizenship. There the reasons were of an imperative character arising mainly from the democratic character of their Government and the extent to which the interests of orderly government vitally depend upon the education of the average citizen.

The following statistics will help to throw considerable light on the main elements in the problem of illiteracy and the place which *India* occupies in the scale of national values.

WORLD STATISTICS.

Percentage of population over 12 years of age *unable* to read and write.

Country.	1840	1870	1900.
Germay ..	18	4	1
Norway ..	..	3	1
Sweden ..	20	3	1
Switzerland ..	20	5	1
New Zealand.	..	7	4
France ..	53	15	5
United Kingdom	41	10	6
Australia ..	..	..	9
Holland ..	30	14	10
United States.	20	13	10
Belgium ..	55	20	12
Austria ..	79	45	31
Italy ..	84	53	44
Spain ..	..	68	..
Russia in Europe	98	85	78

(Quoted in the Encyclopædia of Social Reform, mainly from Pearson's "Civilization Table.")

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The following figures relate to *Asia* and *Oceania*:—

	Population over ten years.		
Ceylon (All races) ..	78·3	All ages	1901
Ceylon (European races).	11·9	All ages.	1901
Ceylon (other than European)	78·4	All ages.	1901
India	92·5	Population over ten years	1901
Philippine Islands ..	55·5	Population over ten years	1903
Russia in Asia ..	87·3	Population over ten years	1897
Hawaii	36·3	Population over six years	1896
American Negroes ..	30·5	Population over ten years.	1910

(Quoted from American Cyclopædia of Education.)

The illiteracy of the population of India is highest in the world, and most of the difficulties of administration arising from what appear on the surface to be racial, religious or economic causes will be found on a closer examination to result from this wide-spread illiteracy. The proverbial indebtedness of the Indian agriculturist, his inability to emancipate himself from the thraldom of custom and convention, and many other facts of social life too numerous to mention here are at bottom remediable by a systematic campaign against illiteracy. In this respect no suffering is the penalty of ignorance, for a vast population in which only five out of every hundred are literate. The census of 1911 may shew a slight decrease in the percentage of illiteracy but that will not affect the substantial accuracy of the figures quoted above and of the conclusions that may be legitimately drawn from them.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

I. SIR S. P. SINHA, K.C.I.E.

(From His Congress Presidential Address.)

WHAT, to begin with, should be the political ideal of India? To some the raising of this question may seem to be unnecessary and at best academic and, to others positively mischievous. To me, however, it seems that the greatest danger in the path of the future well-being of the country is the want of such a reasoned ideal of our future as would satisfy the aspirations and ambitions of the rising generations of India and at the same time meet with the approval of those to whose hands our destinies are committed. It is my belief that a rational and inspiring ideal will arrest the insidious and corrupting influence of the real enemies of our Motherland, even if it is not able to root out from the land that malignant mental disease which has been called Anarchism and whose psychology it is so difficult to analyse. It must be obvious to all sincere and impartial judges that no mandate whether of the Government or of the Congress will be able to still the throbbing pain in the soul of awakening India unless the ideal which is held up by the Congress and accepted by the Government commends itself first to the heart and then to the head. It seems to me that the only satisfactory form of self-government to which India aspires cannot be anything short of what President Lincoln so pithily described as "government of the people, for the people, and *by the people*."

When I say this, I do not for one moment imply that the British Government is not the best Government we have had for ages. We have only to look round to see the manifold blessings which have been brought to this country by that Government. But as a British Premier early in this century very truly observed, "good government cannot be a substitute for self-government." Says a recent writer in a well known British periodical:—

> Every Englishman is aware that on no account, not if he were to be governed by an angel from heaven, would he surrender that most sacred of all his rights, the right of making his own laws . . . He would not be an Englishman, he would not be able to look English fields and trees in the face, if he had parted with that right. Laws in themselves have never counted for much. There have been beneficent despots and wise law-givers in all ages who have increased the prosperity and probably the contentment and happiness of their subjects, but yet their Government has not stimulated the moral and intellectual capacity latent in the citizenship or fortified its character or enlarged its

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understandings. There is more hope for the future of mankind in the least and faintest impulse towards self-help, self-realisation, self-redemption than in any of the laws that Aristotle ever dreamt of.

The ideal, therefore, of self-government is one that is not based merely on emotion and sentiment but on the lessons of history.

I believe in all sincerity that such has been the ideal which the British Government itself has sedulously entertained and cherished almost from the commencement of British rule in India. Generations of statesmen have repeatedly laid down that policy, solemn declarations of successive sovereigns have graciously endorsed it, and Acts of Parliament have given it legislative sanction. I will not burden my speech with quotations from these: they will all be found in previous Presidential addresses. But, with your leave I will quote only one passage from a speech of John Bright delivered at Manchester on the 11th of December, 1877.

> I believe that it is our duty not only to govern India well now for our sake, and to satisfy our own conscience, but so to arrange its Government and so to administer it that we should look forward to the time when India will have to take up her own government and administer it in her own fashion. I say he is no statesman—he is no man actuated with a high moral sense with regard to our great and terrible moral responsibility—who is not willing thus to look ahead and thus to prepare for circumstances which may come sooner than we think and sooner than any of us hope of but which must come at some not very distant date.

It is, however, unfortunately the fact that a few years ago unhappy statements and even actions of responsible statesmen gave rise to a widespread suspicion among large classes of people in all parts of India that there was a change of policy—a deliberate intention to retrace the steps. That this suspicion is not wholly without foundation will appear from the estimate of an eminent French publicist who cannot be charged with either lack of admiration for the British administration of India or excess of sympathy for the Indian reform party. This is what M. Chailley says (I am reading from page 188 of the translation by Sir William Meyer):

> Had England taken as her motto 'India for the Indian,' had she continued following the ideas of Elphinstone and Malcolm to consider her rule as temporary, she might without inconsistency grant to the National Party gradual and increasing concessions which in time would give entire autonomy to the Indians, *but that is not now her aim.* (The italics are mine).

Does any reasonable man imagine that it is possible to satisfy the palpitating hearts of the thousands of young men who, to use the classic words of Lord Morley, "leave our universities intoxicated with the ideas of freedom, nationality and self-government," with the comfortless assurance that free institutions are the special privilege of the West? Can any one wonder that, many of these young men, who have not the same robust faith in the integrity and benevolence of England as the members of this Congress, should lose heart at the mere suspicion of such a policy, and, driven to despair, conclude that "the roar and stream of confusion and carnage" is better than peace and order without even the distant prospect of freedom? Fifteen years ago Lord Morley said: "The sacred word 'free' represents, as Englishmen have thought until to-day, the noblest aspiration that can animate the breast of man." And to-day millions of Englishmen are freely sacrificing their lives that others may be free: therefore, an Englishman will be the first person to realise and appreciate the great insistent desire in the heart of India and I say with all the emphasis and earnestness that I can command that if the noble policy of Malcolm and Elphinstone, Canning and Ripon, Bright and Morley, is not steadily, consistently and unflinchingly adhered to, the moderate party amongst us will soon be depleted of all that is fine and noble in human character. For my part, I believe with the fervour of religious conviction that that wise and righteous policy is still the policy of the great English nation. When His Majesty sent us his gracious message of sympathy and later on hope, what did he mean but sympathy for our political aspirations and hope for their ultimate fulfilment? As late as the 8th day of October this year, His Excellency the Viceroy, addressing a large number of representative officials at the United Service Club of Simla, said:

> **England has instilled into this country the culture and civilisation of the West with all its ideals of liberty and self-respect. It is not enough for her now to consider only the material outlook of India. It is necessary for her to cherish the aspirations, of which she has herself sown the seed, and English officials are gradually awakening to the fact that high as were the aims and remarkable the achievements of their predecessors, a still nobler task lies before them in the present and the future in guiding the uncertain and faltering steps of Indian development along sure and safe paths. The new rule of guide, philosopher and friend is opening before you and it is worthy of your greatest efforts. It requires in you gifts of imagination and sympathy, and imposes upon you self-sacrifice, for it means that slowly but surely you must divest yourselves of some of the power you have hitherto wielded. Let it be realised that great as has been England's mission in the past, she has a far more glorious task to fulfil in the future in encouraging and guiding the political self-develop-**

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ment of the people. The goal to which India may attain is still distant and there may be many vicissitudes in her path, but I look forward with confidence to a time when, strengthened by character and self-respect and bound by ties of affection and gratitude, India may be regarded as a true friend of the Empire and not merely as a trusty dependent. The day for the complete fulfilment of this ideal is not yet, but it is to this distant vista that the British official should turn his eyes, and he must grasp the fact that it is by his future success in this direction that British prestige and efficiency will be judged.

These noble words of Lord Hardinge, which must still be ringing in our ears, are not the idle speculations of an irresponsible enthusiast, but the well-considered pronouncement of a statesman who, after guiding the ship of state during a period of unprecedented storm and stress, sends forth this message both to his own countrymen and to us. Lest there be any among us of so little faith as to doubt the real meaning of those memorable words, or any Englishman inclined to whittle down the meaning of this promise, I hope there will be an authentic and definite proclamation with regard to which there will be no evasion or misunderstanding possible. So far as we are concerned, there is no real reason for mistrust, for this policy proclaimed so long ago and repeated so recently has been fruitful of innumerable beneficent results. Officials, even the highest, may sometimes have spoken or even acted in a different spirit, but England always did and does still consider it her glorious mission to raise this once great country from her fallen position to her ancient status among the nations of the earth, and she enjoins every English official in India to consider himself as a trustee bound to make over his charge to the rightful owner the moment the latter attains to years of discretion.

But are there any among us who, while accepting His Excellency's message of hope are disposed to demur to the qualification therein expressed, namely, that the goal is not yet? If so, I do not hesitate to express my entire disagreement, because I would sooner take the risk of displeasing than injuring my countrymen. I am fortified in my opinion when I find that almost every prominent leader of the Congress has laboured to impress upon all true lovers of our country that the path is long and devious and that we shall have to tread weary steps before we get to the promised land. "Day will not break the sooner because we get up before the twilight." The end will not come by impatience. I maintain that no true friend of India will place the ideal of self-government before us without this necessary qualification. It inevitably makes passionate youth anxious to avoid the steps and weary path, take to dangerous and even fatal short-cuts, for it is undoubtedly true that impetuous youth finds it easier to die for a glorious ideal than to live and work for it with steady patience and persistent self-sacrifice. I yield to none in my desire for self-government, but I recognise that there is a wide gulf between desire and attainment.

Let us argue out for ourselves freely and frankly the various ways by which we can obtain the priceless treasure of self-government. It seems to me that it is possible only in one of the three following ways:—

First, by way of a free gift from the British nation.

Second, by wresting it from them.

Third, by means of such progressive improvement in our mental, moral and material condition as will, on the one hand, render us worthy of it and, on the other, impossible for our rulers to withhold it.

Now, as to the first, even if the English nation were willing to make us an immediate free gift of full self-government—and those who differ most from the Congress are the first to deny the existence of such willingness—I take leave to doubt whether the boon would be worth having as such, for it is a commonplace of politics that nations like individuals must grow into freedom and nothing is so baneful in political institutions as their prematurity: nor must we forget that India free can never be ancient India restored. Such a vision, as has been justly remarked, could only be realised if India free from the English could have stood in a tranquil solitude or in a sphere of absolute isolation, but unfortunately the hard facts of the modern world have to be faced and India, free from England, but without any real power of resistance, would be immediately in the thick of another struggle of nations.

As to the second, I doubt if the extremist of the extremists consider it feasible to win self-government immediately by means of a conflict with the British Power. Such a conflict is impossible, if not inconceivable: and I cannot imagine any sane man thinking that assassinations of police men and dacoities committed on peaceful unoffending citizens will do aught but retard progress towards our goal. Such acts, if they proceeded from any considerable section of the people, would only emphasise our incompetence for self-government, which demands the highest qualities of patient preparation and of silent and unobtrusive work in every aspect of

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our social and political life. Fortunately, acts like these are reprobated throughout India. They may appeal to the perverted imaginations of misguided youth, but are abhorrent to the sober sense of the great mass of the population of India. They alienate not only the sympathy of those Englishmen whose support would be invaluable to our cause, both in India and in England, but they provoke the bitterest resentment among our own people who naturally shrink from an ideal where lawlessness is likely to have sway. On your behalf and for myself, I express my utmost and unqualified detestation of these lawless acts, and I fervently appeal to all sections of our people to express in unmistakable language their abhorrence of these dastardly crimes which besmirch the fair fame of our country and so to co-operate with the authorities as to render their detection and punishment absolutely certain.

We are left, therefore, with the third alternative as the only means of attaining the goal of self-government. Before I deal with it, let me remind you of a parable in Mr. Edwin Bevan's thoughtful little book on *Indian Nationalism*. He likens the condition of our country to that of a man whose whole bodily frame, suffering from severe injuries and grievous lesions, has been put in a steel frame by a skilful surgeon. This renders it necessary for the injured man, as the highest duty to himself, to wait quietly and patiently in splints and bandages—even in a steel frame—until nature resumes her active processes. The knitting of the bones and the granulation of the flesh require time, perfect quiet and repose, even under the severest pain, is necessary. It will not do to make too great haste to get well. An attempt to walk too soon will not only make the matter worse, and above all the aid of the surgeon is indispensable and it is foolish to grudge the necessary fee.

When we ourselves have so far advanced under the guidance and protection of England as to be able not only to manage our own domestic affairs, but to secure internal peace and prevent external aggression, I believe that it will be as much the interest as the duty of England to concede the fullest autonomy to India. Political wiseacres tell us that history does not record any precedent in which a foreign nation has with its own hands freed from bondage the people which it has itself conquered. I will not pause to point out, what has been pointed out so often, that India was never conquered in the literal sense of the word, and, as very properly observed by the late Sir John Seeley, India is not a possession of England in the sense of legally being a tributary to England more than any of her colonies. I will not wait to examine the cases of French Canada and the Boer Republics in South Africa to whom free institutions have been granted. But, has there been a situation before this in the history of mankind like that of India to-day? Has there been a nation whose ideas of political morality have ever reached those of the great English nation? Has there been another nation which has fought so continuously and strenuously for the freedom and liberty of other nations as the English? My faith is based not on emotion or unreasoning sentiment, it rests on the record of what has already been achieved by the undying labours of far-sighted English statesmen and noble-hearted Indian patriots, both those who are still working for the cause and those whose labours are done and whose spirits hover over us to-day and guide and inspire us. The East and the West have met—not in vain. The invisible scribe who has been writing the most marvellous history that ever was written has not been idle. Those who have the discernment and inner vision to see will know that there is only one goal and there is only one path.

The regeneration and reconstruction of India can take place only under the guidance and control of England, and while we admit that the goal is not yet, we refuse to believe that it is so distant as to render it a mere vision of the imagination. We deprecate the impatience of those who imagine that we have only to stretch our hands to grasp the coveted prize. But we differ equally from those who think that the end is so remote as to be a negligible factor in the ordinary work of even present-day administration. It seems to me that, having fixed our goal, it is hardly necessary to attempt to define in concrete terms the precise relationship that will exist between India and England when the goal is reached. Whatever may be the connection of India with England in the distant future her impress on India could never be effaced and the inter-communion of the spirit and the breathing of new life into India by England will be a permanent factor which could never be discounted. Autonomy within the Empire is the accepted political faith of the Congress, and I find it difficult to believe that our patriotism and love of country cannot be reconciled to the picture of the future which generous English statesmen like Lord Haldane draw in which Englishmen and Indians will be fellow-citizens of a common Empire and of a common and splendid heritage, all of us bringing our special talents to bear co-operatively

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for the common good of the whole. For the attainment of this great ideal, our first great duty is the exercise of the difficult but indispensable virtue of patience. There is no royal road to that goal, and we must all patiently, persistently and strenuously co-operate in all measures necessary for that purpose. Some of these can be undertaken only by the Government, others will depend on ourselves alone, but none will bear fruit without a spirit of mutual trust, toleration and forbearance. In order to foster this spirit so far as the people of India are concerned, it is vitally necessary to admit them in an ever-increasing measure, to direct and active participation in the higher work of Government in all its branches, civil as well as military, executive as well as judicial, administrative as well as legislative. It is a cruel calumny which asserts that, when asking for the expansion of the powers of our Legislative Councils, for the appointment of Indians to the Imperial and Provincial Executive Councils, for the admission of a larger number of Indians to the Indian Civil Service and all other branches of the higher Public Services, the Indian National Congress asks only for honors and appointments for the members of the educated classes. It may be that some of those who still persist in repeating this libel on the intelligence and patriotism of this country in good faith believe it to be true. If so, they have failed to take note of well known facts, namely, that Congress leaders like Telang, Tyabji, Krishnaswamy Iyer and others accepted high office only at considerable personal sacrifice and that others of them had to refuse because they could not afford to make the necessary sacrifice. These critics have neglected to read the literature of the Congress. In any case they have missed the point of it all, namely, that those measures are advocated only as means to an end. They are valuable chiefly because they concede the demand of the people for direct and active participation in the work of Government, not merely as tools and agents, but as members of the Government itself. They are valuable only in so far as they tend to identify the people with the Government, and enable them to think of the Government as their own and not as an alien bureaucracy imposed on an unwilling people by a conquering nation. We can afford to treat the taunts of these unfriendly critics with contempt, but there is another school of critics whose counsels are more seductive though not more sound. These insist on the impotence of the reformed Legislative Councils, whose resolutions they ridicule as mere pious wishes. They see no good in the powers of interpellations and discussion of the budget. They treat the admission of one Indian into each of the existing Executive Councils as a matter of no consequence, because it has not produced immediate or far-reaching changes in the ordinary routine of administration. They insist that even a liberal and philosophic historian like Viscount Bryce has pointed out that no more in India than in the Roman Empire has there been any question of establishing free institutions, either for the country as a whole or for any particular province; and that the Council Reforms of 1861, 1892 and 1909 were merely intended to give opportunities and means for the expression of Indian opinion and not to give any real power to the people. Well, it does not require much political acumen to discover that we in India are yet a long way off from free institutions and that the reforms so far effected have not yielded any real power to the people either in the Imperial or in the Provincial Councils. But it is my firm belief that the privileges already acquired, if used with industry and moderation and tact will in no distant future receive considerable enlargement, and we must continue to press for further expansion in all the directions I have mentioned, undeterred by the criticism of the one and by the cynicism of the other. We shall continue to urge the enlargement of the powers and modifications of the constitution of the Legislative Councils. We shall continue to ask for larger and yet larger admission of Indians to the higher ranks of the Public Services in all its branches, and we shall claim these not as mere concession but as a gradual fulfilment of solemn pledges for the progressive nationalisation of the government of the country. We shall continue our labours till really free institutions are established for the whole of the country—not by any sudden or revolutionary change, but by gradual evolution and cautious progress.

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II. THE HON'BLE MR. D. E. WACHA.

(From the Address of Welcome to the Congress.)

At present the air is thick with another popular grievance which, as time goes on, will demand the highest counsel of perfection and the most mature political wisdom for purposes of redress. It is, of course, in consonance with the constitutional creed laid down by the Congress, that Self-Government under the British Rule is its *Ultima Thule*. But the way, I am afraid, to the promised land is long and beset with difficulties which demand should be wisdom on our part to take cognisance of. A hasty or rash step or a precipitate move, calculated to endanger the patriotic aspirations breathing in every enlightened unit of the Empire, is most inexpedient and absolutely undesirable. We must so balance our minds as not to be carried away by sympathy for liberal maxims into wild transports of revolutionary rapture. Great organic measures, as the constitutional history of free countries teaches us, are always preceded by a reasonable period of discussion. A variety of ideas on Self-Government, more or less of a crude or nebulous character, now mooted in the country, need to be well moulded into a crystallized form and to be tested in the crucible of practical politics before they could be materialised. It is only by such a slow and measured process that we can reach the goal. It is not the multiplicity of organisations which is wanted. What is most essential and of paramount importance is the concentration of responsible opinion, well-reasoned, well-balanced and well-directed, which might unmistakably reveal the fact that India is of one mind and one heart. There are lions in the path who will have to be overcome, and we should not forget another important fact that bureaucracy, in every part of the world, is stubborn and unwilling to move. Their pace of progress is the pace of the tortoise. In practical politics we cannot omit to take into account these elements. It would not be inappropriate here were I to quote the opinion of a distinguished member of the Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy in reference to all Indian political progress. It was Sir Auckland Colvin who in 1884 observed in that remarkable but exceedingly statesmanlike paper entitled: "If it be real—what does it mean?" contributed to the *Pioneer*, as follows:—

> While the English mind in India has been tempted to stand still, arrested by the contemplation of the fruits of its efforts in former times, and by the symmetry of the shrine, the pride of its own creation, in which it lingers to offer incense to its past successful labours, the Indian mind has been marching on, eager and anxious to expand its own sphere of action, and to do what it for its own part has to do.

Thus it is that while the dry bones in the valley have been galvanizing themselves into life for the last 30 years and Indian humanity has been taking large strides in all matters affecting its political, social, educational and industrial welfare and is instinct with manifold activities in all directions, the Bureaucracy has been almost standing still before its venerated but absolute shrine, making *puja* to it, while unconscious of all the progress that has been so quickly going around it. That hierarchy still seems to be little aware that the country has rapidly passed through the transition stage ever since the epoch-making Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, and that it is now entering on a stage which is in every respect a radically different one from that to which its members have been accustomed since the mid-Victorian age. Self-Government is bound to come. I venture to say, albeit, by measured stages, from precedent to precedent. Of course, there are those enthusiastic and ardent though impatient idealists who seem to entertain the belief that they have only to pronounce aloud the shibboleth of Self-Government to realise in a trice the accomplishment of their ideas. To such I have only to refer to the sage observations which that stalwart Congressman and robust friend of India, the late Sir Henry Cotton, made in the course of his address in this very city eleven years ago, as the President of the twentieth session of the Congress:—

> The process of reconstruction cannot be effected otherwise than by slow and gradual means. Many years must elapse before we can expect the consummation of a reconstructive policy. But it is a policy which we should always keep before our eyes. . . . . In the cautious and gradual development of representation, in the increase of your power and influence in India itself, involving the ultimate extension of autonomy, we shall find the appropriate and natural prize and legitimate goal for Indian aspirations.

So far as to the impatient idealists. As to the members of the distinguished service, the men in power and authority, I need not say that it would be idle for them any longer to deny the ideal altogether to the Indians or to say that the country can never be ready for it or to put every obstacle in the way of its realisation. And the sooner, therefore, they prepare themselves to meet the wishes and sentiments of that New India, rising fast before it, the better it will be

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for their own existence and their reputation for administrative sagacity. In his memorable "History of Civilisation," Buckle has observed:

Men have recently begun to understand that in politics, no certain principles having yet been discovered, the first conditions of success are compromise, barter, expediency, and concession. It will show utter helplessness even of the ablest rulers, when they try to meet new emergencies by old maxims. It will show the intimate connection between knowledge and liberty: between an increasing civilisation and an advancing democracy. It will show that for a progressive nation, there is required a progressive polity; that within certain limits, innovation is the solid ground of security; that no institution can withstand the flux and movements of society, unless it not only repairs its structure but also widens its entrance; and that even in a material point of view no country can long remain either prosperous or safe in which the people are not gradually extending their power, enlarging their privileges, and so to say, incorporating themselves with the function of the State. Neglect of these truths has entailed the most woeful calamity upon other countries.

Such is the undoubted truth which history has deduced from past politics of great States which, we fain hope, will be ever present before the mind of the rulers of present India and serve as the basis of the coming polity of reconstruction. Let us earnestly pray that this terrible war now waging may by the mercy of Divine Providence be brought to a satisfactory and peaceful close whereby our rulers may be enabled to respond to the popular appeal by laying down a far-seeing policy which will give a first instalment of genuine and living representation in the active government of the country broad-based upon the people's will. And you will all agree with me that no one is more capable of formulating such a beneficent policy in this direction, on a sound and liberal basis than our present beloved Viceroy, whose sagacious and sympathetic statesmanship has already achieved for him a name and fame as imperishable as that of Canning and Ripon, in the annals of British India.

III. THE HON. MR. MAZUR-UL HAQUE.

(From the Presidential Address to the All-India Muslim League.)

Gentlemen, our demands are neither immediate nor peremptory. We can wait and must wait till the end of the war, when the whole Empire will be reconstructed upon new lines; but there is no harm in postulating our demands now and informing the British people of the unity and the intensity with which the reforms are insisted upon. When the affairs of the Empire are taken into consideration, our views should be before the English nation. Of course we cannot expect that India will change in the twinkling of an eye by some magical process, but we do hope that a new policy will be initiated which will end in self-government and give us the status and power of a living nation. If you ask me to give you indications of reforms which are immediately needed, I would say that the first step towards Self-Government must be taken by abolishing the packed official majority in the Imperial Council. We must have a sure and safe elected non-official majority, which would discuss and deal with all Indian questions from the Indian standpoint. Next, we must free the Executive Council of the Viceroy from the incubus of the Bureaucracy. Then fierce light would be thrown into the dark corners of Indian administration. We must have more Indians in the Executive Council, which is really the chief source from which policies emanate. Again, a great reform that is needed is what has been called "Provincial Autonomy." Local self-government should not be a mere sham, but based on real foundations as contemplated by that noble Viceroy, the Marquis of Ripon. The Arms Act must disappear from the Statute-Book, and no limitation should be laid on the entry of Indians into any Public Service. Volunteers should be enlisted freely from all classes. Agriculture must be improved, and commerce and industry helped. Education will have to be free and compulsory. I have refrained from laying down any cut-and-dry scheme of self-government. I suggest that there should be unanimity on these questions amongst all the people of India, and I can conceive of no better agency than that of a joint deputation of the Congress and the League, which would place our demands before the British public and the British Government.

[For the full text of the speeches of the Hon. Babu Surendranath Bannerji, Mrs. Annie Besant, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, delivered at the last Congress on the Resolution urging Self-Government for India, vide section on "Utterances of the Day," p. 65 —Ed. "I.R."]

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Secondary and Higher Education of Women.

BY PROF. D. K. KARVE, M.A.

My idea of secondary and higher education for women is based fundamentally upon the recognition of two principles. (1) That the most natural and therefore efficient medium of instruction is the learner's mother tongue. (2) And secondly, that women as a class have independent functions to fulfil in the social economy different those of men. We must recognize that both national and social economy require that women should occupy a station of their own distinct from that of men. If schools and colleges are started on these lines with vernacular as the media of instruction and English as a second language, with courses of study specially suited to the needs of womanhood, there need be no apprehension that they would find no learners. Many of those that at the present day rush to the University portals for matriculation will be glad, I dare say, to join the new institutions, provided only that at the completion of the courses there, there is a similar examination and a similar distinction or public recognition of their educational status. It is the educational stamp that attracts girls to the University examinations today and not so much the benefit of the education received. If they get the genuine metal and a similar stamp along with it in the new institutions, there need be no want of girls to avail themselves of them.

In framing these secondary and higher courses of studies, we may be guided by the Japan Women's University. A prudent and practical Japanese thinker and worker, Mr. Naruse, conceived the idea of this University and with immense patience and perseverance made it a success to the great advantage of the Japanese nation. So far as our women are concerned, our circumstances are very similar to those of Japan, and we can profitably turn for guidance to institutions conducted by those people rather than to schools and colleges for women in the West. Mr. Naruse saw in what condition Japanese women were and he pitched his hopes accordingly. He writes :—

"Our aim in establishing the Women's University is neither to copy the higher institutions for women in America and Europe, nor to rival the men's University courses in this country. What we aim at is so to frame our schedules of study as to suit the mental and physical conditions of women at present, and so gradually raise the standard in accordance with general progress."

The Japan Women's University became so very popular in course of time that even women of thirty and thirty-five years of age sought admission to its institutions to win the honour of being in the lists of graduates of its high schools and colleges. If we follow in the footsteps of the Japanese in this matter and organize vernacular Universities for women throughout the length and breadth of the country, we shall be doing a great service to our nation, by putting before the generality of our women an ideal within their reach.

Although the organizers of the Japan Women's University were at first satisfied with a humble programme of studies in order that they might bring it within easy reach of many women, yet they kept before their mental vision high aims and they were very careful to lay down sound principles to guide them. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting at length :

There is a widespread tendency to regard a woman merely as a tool or a machine destined solely for service at home or for the propagation of family line; and in opposition to such extreme tendencies, we feel the necessity of educating women as human beings, that we may be able to call forth their consciousness as personalities with infinite aspiration and longings.

The fact that an express statement had to be made to the effect that woman was not to be considered a mere tool, shows the sentiment of the generality of Japanese people in regard to the status of woman in society and as we have to fight against a similar prejudice in our society, we shall do well to follow the line of work laid down by these people. Just as, on the one hand, they boldly enunciated this principle in opposition to narrow-minded conservatives, on the other, they had to enunciate another, equally bold, to oppose the views of extreme radicals.

We cannot support another movement which aims at the so-called emancipation of women. In opposition to this tendency, we lay emphasis on home life as the chief sphere of a woman's activities. Here her proper place is found as wife and mother, not indeed as a tool or ornament, but as an active partaker in the humanitarian and national spirit, which should animate a home..... Our aims is to educate women that they shall come to realize their own special mission in life as free personal agents and as members of the Empire of Japan and that, as such, they shall be able to perform their services as wives and mothers in a larger sense and more efficient manner than hitherto.

But at the same time we must remember there will always be women who, owing to various reasons, do not marry. To these we must give room for realising their mission in life and utilising their own peculiar personal abilities. We must recognize their spheres of activity

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as legitimate, and not as existing on sufferance, and their lives as having important missions for the nation and the community at large.

Thus the principles, which shall govern us in educating women are:—First. to educate them as human beings, personalities; secondly, to educate them as women in order to fit them to become good wives and wise mothers; and thirdly to educate them as members of the nation so that they may always remember that their lives at home are related in an important manner, however hidden, to the prosperity or decay of the nation.

The Japan Women's University has a complete course of studies beginning with standards for the kindergarten school and ending with a three years' course for post-graduate studies. Kindergarten for children from 3 to 5, elementary school course extending over six years, high school course of five years, college course for three years, and post-graduate courses from one to three years. You will be interested to hear that the number of institutions under the Japan Women's University increased to 182 during its twelve years' existence up to 1912. During this period the Japan Women's University turned out 1,243 graduates, and in addition to these the Girls' High Schools sent out 896 graduates or matriculates of their own, who did not pursue the higher course. The Japanese did not wait till they had an adequate staff of efficient lady teachers and lady professors. Out of the 30 professors of this University, 25 are men and only five are women. In the Girls' High School attached to the University, however, there are 11 lady teachers and only 7 men teachers.

To suit Indian conditions, we shall perhaps have to make a still humbler beginning than the Japanese did. We should devise a course of secondary education for women so adjusted that by the time a girl attains the age of fifteen or sixteen, she should be enabled to complete it. Parents are sure to postpone marriage of their daughter for a year or two if an educational distinction is near at hand for her. This age also is likely to be the minimum age of marriage of girls in advanced Indian communities in the very near future.

It is impossible to check the growing disparity in the education of our men and women unless vigorous efforts are made to spread secondary education among women far and wide through the medium of the vernaculars. Men's secondary and higher education are sure to advance by leaps and bounds; while the advance in women's education in these departments cannot but be nominal if carried on only along the present lines. When women are not intelligent enough to sympathetically appreciate men's enterprises, when they are unable to bear their share in the progress of the nation or reform of society, men cannot but be handicapped in whatever they do. There has always been a complaint that we have been living double lives, one at home and one outside. The only way in which this can be remedied is to educate women properly, so that they may be real and intelligent partners in our views and actions. In the way of the balanced progress of society, this disparity is a great stumbling-block and the sooner we remove it the better.

I shall now give a rough idea of the Japanese secondary and higher courses by giving sketches of their schedules. The secondary courses such as Practical Ethics, Japanese Language, and and Language, History, Geography, Mathematics, Physics, Domestic Science, Sewing, Painting, Music, and Gymnastic Exercises. For higher education there are at present four departments:—(1) Domestic Science, Japanese Literature, English Literature and Pedagogics. Each department has three kinds of studies: (1) Required; (2) Elective, and (3) Voluntary. Here are the studies of the Domestic Department. There are similar lists of other departments too, too long to be given here.

Required studies common to the four Departments:—Ethics, Practical Ethics, Psychology, Pedagogics, English, Physical Exercises.

DOMESTIC SCIENCE DEPARTMENT.

Required studies:—Physiology, Hygiene, Applied Physics and Chemistry, Economics, Home Management, Cooking, Japanese Language, Child Study.

Elective studies:—Applied Natural History, European History, History of Art, Constitution and Civil Law, Etiquette, Horticulture, Sewing.

Voluntary studies:—Philosophy and History of Philosophy, Chinese Literature, Japanese Literature, Music, Painting.

It will not be very difficult to frame secondary and higher courses on these models to suit local conditions in any province, when the time for experimenting comes. Until suitable texts could be written, selected portions from existing books might be utilized. In short, if the will arises, the way will be forthcoming.

In devising our courses on these lines, we ought not to make an abrupt departure. The new high school courses for girls ought to be, for the present, accommodated to the courses now in force. They should be complete in themselves for those who, at the close of their high school education, will enter upon their worldly tasks. They should

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be of a preparatory nature for those who will choose to go in for higher grades in a vernacular college; while they should also be so framed that girls with the necessary intelligence and ambition may find it easily possible to go in for the matriculation of the present Universities after a couple of years' further preparation.

It will certainly mean an educational experiment, and we may reasonably expect Government to take the lead here as they have done in agriculture. I am aware the finances of Government at the present day are the most strained owing to the abnormal conditions created by the war in Europe, and instead of undertaking new financial responsibilities they would be anxious to use the scissors wherever they could. In these circumstances all that may be legitimately expected of them is the setting apart of a part of their ordinary allotment to the education of women, for making a small beginning in that direction. It will even be a great thing if they set it down as one of the most urgent schemes of the day, to be taken up before everything else when normal times return. Let us hope and pray they soon will. That our empire is bound in the end to come victoriously out of the present struggle, every one of us cannot but be confident. For our cause is righteous. It is only for the early termination of the war that we have to pray.

But even if Government be favourably disposed in the matter, their wheels often are too slow to move. It is already late. To wait any longer will be almost suicidal. I would appeal therefore to Indian States, to public bodies, to private institutions and to men interested in the social amelioration of the country, to take up the matter without further delay, and start experiments which are bound to succeed if only they are pursued with a firm grip. They will yet save the situation if they lose no time in empty discussions. Let them set to work practically. When they have some work already done to show, I feel sure, Government will not be tardy in extending their helping hand to them. The matter is of such grave urgency and far-reaching import, that I would urge it on the Conference to take it in hand and to appoint a committee to formulate a scheme with all its details clearly reasoned out and to suggest ways and means to found vernacular high schools and colleges on the lines here advocated. Women's education has sufficiently advanced now for us to take the step.

In this connection I am very happy to say that I've been authorised by the managing committee of the Hindu Widows' Home Association to announce to this Conference that they are prepared to start, by way of an experiment in the direction, college classes as the natural development of their Mahilasrama or Girls' High School. What makes me feel still happier is that already a contribution of no less than ten thousand rupees has been promised by one of my colleagues at the Mahilasrama. The letter he has addressed to me, comes as a very auspicious augury, synchronizing, as it does, with the inception of the new idea. The moment appears to be opportune, and my friend's contribution is a circumstance that is, to my vision, a sacred intimation, that the institution, if started, would not be allowed to die for want of funds—for want of sympathy and co-operation by my countrymen. Happy in its arrival, I cannot resist the temptation to quote portions from my friend's letter. He writes :—

> **For a long while I have been thinking of practising a kind of renunciation, the renunciation of money. Love of money is like strong fetters, and hampers and obstructs the way to progress. Of the ancestral estate that has come to me, therefore, I am anxious to set apart just enough for the daily needs of my wife and daughter, and of the rest make a gift of Rs. 10,000. I only desire that the amount be devoted towards the foundation of the first college at Hingne, in connection with the proposed Maharastra Women's University. I have no objection to your making any use of this letter, that you may deem fit.**

On the heels of the letter just quoted from, comes another—equally propitious—from Miss Krishnabai Thakur, at present the Lady Superintendent at the Mahilashrama, offering a donation of Rs. 4,000 towards the equipment of a small library for the new institution. She tells me, it is the amount that the friends of the late Mr. B. G. Godbole have collected among themselves to give a concrete form to the last wish of the deceased gentleman towards whom Miss Thakur's feelings were almost those of a daughter. It was he who being her guest, while on a visit to the Widow's Home just before his death, expressed a wish that he could be instrumental in providing a decent library for the institution. His spirit will certainly feel gratified to see that Miss Krishnabai has done for him what he was not spared to do. The lady has actually handed the amount of Rs. 4,000 to me with a desire that the amount be spent for the purpose of creating the nucleus of a library that must ever grow to meet the requirements of a vernacular college.—(*From the Presidential Address to the Indian Social Conference.*)

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A Plea for Higher Scientific Education.

BY SIR DORAB J. TATA.

A WIDE diffusion of the highest scientific and technical education amongst a population is a condition congenial to the appearance of the great captain of industry. One hears it frequently said that great technical and scientific institutions follow, not precede, the establishment of great industries. This view has been shown to be based on a complete misreading of experience by no less an authority than the former Member for Education in the Government of India, now Lieut.-Governor of Burma, Sir Harcourt Butler. The following passage occurs in a very able Note which he prepared on Technical Education for the Government of the United Provinces some eight years ago :—

Every civilised country has its Technological Institutes in numbers ; and in almost every country except England the foundations of these institutes were laid in the earliest stages of technical education. In America the Rennselaar Polytechnic Institute was established in 1824 ; the Massachusetts Institute in 1865 ; the Worcester Polytechnic in 1868; Lehigh University in 1866 ; the Steven's Institute in 1871. The Paris Ecole Polytechnique was opened in 1795 ; the similar institute at Vienna in 1815. The German Technological Institutes date from the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century; Brunswick, 1745; Berlin, 1799 ; Carlsruhe, 1825 ; Munich, 1827 ; Dresden, 1828 ; Stuttgart, 1829. Japan commenced with higher technical schools. In the beginning all these institutions were, doubtless, humble ; but it is still true that in countries yearning to be industrial, technical education has begun largely at the top. Technical education lower down followed as a rule after the spread of general education.

I may be allowed to state that it was because he held similar opinions that the late Mr. Tata sought to give practical effect to them so sar as it was in his power by means of the Institution at Bangalore, known as the Indian Institute of Science. He intended it to be not a glorified technical institute, turning out a few indifferent chemists and electric operators, mainly intent upon making a living for themselves ; but a sort of nursery and training ground to inculcate the spirit of original and specific research in different branches of science and industry, which might ultimately serve as a means for the development and prosperity of the country. . . . The Board of Education in the United Kingdom have, I am glad to see, recently adopted a great scheme for the organisation and development of scientific and industrial research under expert guidance and control, which scheme I would like to see extended to India. The Government of India too have made a welcome departure, creating a special appointment in which our eminent countryman, Mr. Jaggdish Chander Bose, can puruse the remarkable researches which have earned the admiration of savants all over the world, and have given rise to the conviction that at least in the fruitful field of investigation which these researches have opened up, Europe will have to come to India for inspiration. This, we may hope, will be the commencement of a forward policy in scientific and industrial education.

This is a field which pre-eminently be[illegible] such a[illegible]nd and the State. I shall refer later to the fun[illegible] Viceroy, the State in industrial development ; but scien[illegible]n fic research needs such large endowments that only the State can provide it. When, however, we talk of scientific education let us be quite clear what we mean. It connotes at the top the machinery for higher scientific study, for the creation of that atmosphere of scientific knowledge and research which will permeate all our industries. Sir Norman Lockyer once said that the greatest economic asset of Germany was not the possession of a few great scientists ; other countries possess as good scientists and as good brains ; but the possession of a diffused knowledge of science. We want to build up in India that diffused knowledge of science. Below this we want technical schools to increase the skill of our craftsmen ; museums and exhibitions to bring this knowledge home to the people in the most practical and instructive manner, namely, ocular demonstration ; and universal education in order to produce a higher standard of manual labour. Then, industrial success lies not only in creating products but in studying demand. Here we enter the whole field of economics wherein study is no less essential than in scientific research. We rejoice in the stimulus given to economic studies through the foundation of the Bombay College of Commerce and the more recently established Economic Bureau. In short, we have to make science the handmaid of our industries and of our commerce and to banish empiricism from every branch of both. I have spoken of this as essentially the domain of Government ; so it is. But here as in every other field of economic activity the co-operation of our industrialists and men of commerce is demanded. —(*From the Presidential Address to the Indian Industrial Conference.*)

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COMMERCIAL AUTONOMY FOR INDIA.

BY THE HON'BLE SIR FAZULBHOY CURRIMBHOY.

IN July, 1913, I suggested the convention of an Indian Commercial Congress, composed exclusively of members of the Indian commercial community. The suggestion did not come too soon, as is amply proved by the fact that it was enthusiastically taken up by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau and found general acceptance among the Indian commercial community. The Press too supported the idea. The correspondence on the subject disclosed a singular unanimity among commercial people in its favour; the Indian Industrial Conference in a special Resolution welcomed the proposal; and if we did not start the Congress last year, it was only because of the abnormal conditions then prevailing on account of the war. . .

But the impelling reason for an early session of the Commercial Congress is the paramount need for the speedy formation of an Associated Indian Chamber of Commerce in view of the expected settlement at the close of the war of important issues affecting Indian trade interests.

The need of a Federated Chamber of Commerce, great at all times, is paramount in the present political and economic situation in India. Here public opinion can acquire momentum sufficient to move Government only by consolidation and concentration. Ours is not a self-governing country, and the voice of the people must in any case be united and very strong indeed to influence the policy and action of the authorities. The subjects of a Dependency must of necessity be at a serious disadvantage. So long as the Government of a country is not thoroughly national in spirit and sentiment and personal; so long as it is, from its constitution and the accident of its foreign character, more or less exclusive; with all its benevolent intentions and desire to promote their material welfare, it must to some extent at least be ignorant of the true feelings and the real needs of the people. The difficulty is considerably enhanced when the Government is subject to the powerful influence of the ruling nation, which has sometimes conflicting interests, and an effective industrial and commercial organisation which can make that influence irresistible. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Government of India is powerless to shape its commercial and industrial policy with a single eye to Indian interests. The British manufacturer and the British merchant, with their votes which they know how to use to the best advantage, are masters of the situation. In the result the Government of India has on many an occasion to adopt a line of action at once repugnant to it and prejudicial to the interests of the people. It has not a free hand, and in fiscal matters is practically helpless. For instance, even for the purposes of revenue customs duties cannot be imposed upon British manufacturers along with other manufactures unless countervailed by corresponding excise duties, whether the home-made articles compete with the imports or not. Again we have lately seen the deplorable sight of a strong British syndicate attempting to get from one of our Provincial Governments a practical monopoly for the manufacture of cement. It is useless to multiply instances. The outstanding feature of the situation is that the Government of India does not lack the will to take the right course in industrial and commercial matters, but has not the necessary freedom of initiative and action. We the people of this country must therefore do all we can to strengthen its hands, and an Associated Indian Chamber of Commerce with periodical Commercial Congresses should provide the machinery through which we can make our support effective. But the Government of India must be free to adopt, in consultation with the representatives of the people, the policy most conducive to the best interests of the country, without interference from either the Imperial Government or the Secretary of State for India. All improvements in fiscal, commercial and industrial matters must begin with this independence. *In a word, we want self-government in commerce and industry.* Indian public opinion has already expressed itself on the point with singular unanimity, force and persistency, and it would be the barest justice to India to grant her fiscal independence. And this can be done without jeopardising in the least the political interests of Britain. The Associated Indian Chamber of Commerce will have before it a heavy programme of urgent business, and must work throughout the year for Fiscal Autonomy. Without this autonomy our commercial prosperity, however imposing, will lack a sound and firm foundation. In principle and in fact our position is unassailable.—(*From the Presidential Address to the First Session of the Indian Commercial Congress.*)

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EDUCATION OF THE MASSES.

BY THE HON. MR. JUSTICE ABDUR RAHIM.

I doubt if there is another country in the world where the educational status of the people is so low as in India. That of 255 millions, only 15 millions can read and write is a phenomenon which cannot be paralleled elsewhere. I am sure that the Government is not pleased with the situation any more than you and I. How could any one be content or happy in such surroundings? At every turn you are shocked by sights and sounds of misery, moral, intellectual, and physical, directly traceable to the illiterate condition of the people. Perhaps their most appalling ignorance and superstition is most vividly illustrated in the stories of crime and folly which are told every day in hundreds of Courts of Justice. You remember that the late Mr. Gokhale introduced a private Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council for instituting free and compulsory education; but unfortunately it came to nothing. I am afraid public opinion, which at the time was not very well instructed, did not express itself with sufficient clearness and definiteness. Since then, however, opinion has in this connection grown with remarkable rapidity so that at the present day there is an universal demand for free and compulsory education. As practical men we do not expect that such a measure can be applied all at once throughout India. But there can be now no difficulty whatever in accepting the principle and enforcing it in selected areas. A commencement might well be made by empowering the Municipalities in larger cities to levy an educational cess for establishing primary education on a free and compulsory basis. I have no doubt that such a measure will be welcomed by all classes of the people and receive their hearty co-operation. While the experiment is carried on in larger cities, the District Municipalities and the Boards should receive ample grants to maintain primary schools in sufficient numbers to meet the wants of every town and village. Here I take the opportunity to invite the especial attention of the Government and the Legislative Council of Bombay to the extreme expediency of placing upon the statute-book the measure known as the Sindh Paisa Cess Bill, which was introduced as far back as 1907, for promoting popular education among the Muhammadans of Sindh, whose need in this connection is particularly pronounced. The Muhammadan representatives of this Presidency are, I believe, all agreed as to the need for such a measure and the general consensus of Muhammadan opinion is now strong in its support. It will be a very gracious and politic act on the part of His Excellency Lord Willingdon and his Council to fulfil the desire of the people in this respect.

I may observe that I have been much struck by the fact that men belonging to the poorer classes are as keen to see that their sons receive a certain amount of education as those belonging to the upper crusts of society. I believe that in most cases there will be no need for using the power of compulsion; the reservation of such power will be mostly useful in keeping awake in illiterate parents a proper sense of their duty. At the same time, if a sufficient number of schools be provided at present, it will be time enough afterwards to consider how far the doctrine of compulsion may or may not have to be legalised. The statistical figures show the number of boys attending school as 17·7 per cent. of the number of boys of school-going age. Of these the proportion of Muhammadan boys is 17·4 per cent. In this department the Muhammadan community is no worse off than the others. The condition of all, however, is equally deplorable. . . . .

Another practical question, but of a general character, that calls for consideration is the combination of training in some useful industry with instruction in the three R's. Unless that is done, it will be difficult to expect the boys of the peasant and the labouring classes to stay on in the school long enough to learn anything useful. Then again we have to see to it, that the boys keep up in after life what they have learnt; too many of them now relapse into illiteracy. As a remedy, the continuation classes deserve proper encouragement. Further, if the benefits of popular instruction are to be made at all enduring, village libraries where newspapers, periodicals and simple instructive literature will be available have to be organised. Then if we could organize a service of popular preachers and lecturers with men who daily pass out of the numerous Madrassahs, we should have done much indeed towards uplifting the Muhammadan masses.—(*From the Presidential Address to the All-India Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference.*)

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Indian Christians and the Spirit of Nationality.

BY RAJA SIR HARNAM SINGH, K.C.I.E.

There is a new spirit in India—the spirit of Nationality—to the healthy development of which it should obviously be the aim of missionary policy to contribute in an ever-increasing measure. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the feelings and relations between missionaries and educated Indian Christians are not what they should be. It may be and, no doubt, it is a fact that both parties are to blame for such a condition of affairs, for Indian Christians are often unduly sensitive. Are we not justified, however, in believing that the greater responsibility in this connection rests on those who are privileged to come out to this country to preach the Gospel—its principles and practice—to the people of India?

In mission polity there is at present no place for the educated Indian Christian. No status is assigned to him, and generally speaking, he is not in receipt of a living wage. At the same time, the missionary is apt to resent independent opinion and to be chary of advice. It sometimes happens also that laymen, who desire and are anxious to take an interest in Church work, do not receive that encouragement which they have a right to expect and which it is only fair, other things being equal, that they should have. What are the reasons for this? In my view there are two main causes:—(1) Racial prejudice and (2) the desire to keep all power and authority in the missionary's own hands.

Brethren, I have sometimes heard it urged by foreign missionaries that, as the money subscribed to their missions is so subscribed by charitably disposed members of their community and not by Indians, therefore the missionaries alone have a right to have a voice in the disposal of that money. But, if we look a little further into the matter, it seems to me that the principal object of the donors is the spread of the Kingdom of Christ in India. Surely it cannot be denied that the time has come when, with the increase in numbers and in education of the Indian Christian community, their opinion and advice would be of great value to the missionary bodies of all denominations in the furtherance of the original aim of the donors. And, therefore, their opinion is entitled to have some weight in the matter in some form or other. Moreover, this would certainly act as a stimulus to bring foreign missionaries and the Indian Christian community into closer touch with each other and enable them to co-operate more heartily with each other. I submit these remarks for the consideration of those whom it may concern.

If my opinion is in any way correct—and it is for you all, also, to search your hearts and to ask yourselves if such a state of affairs is in itself a reality—this is not as it should be, and it seems to me to be all the more distressing because the time has certainly not come for us to separate ourselves—if indeed, it ever be desirable—from missionary societies. We need their continued help and advice and, above all, their true and kindly co-operation. Indeed, I myself look forward to the eventual establishment of an Indian Church in which all races will have a part and be able to work harmoniously together, untrammelled by prejudice of race or sentiment of colour, for the material and spiritual development of the people of this land and the common good of humanity.

Finally, as regards our relations with the non-Christian community in India. The circumstances of India are such that for some time to come, I fear, Communal Associations must be the main channel for the development of civic virtues in our countrymen. We might, indeed, wish it were otherwise, but the many and wide divergences of interests, creeds and social system in our country make for the present, at any rate, the ideal of development on purely national lines somewhat Utopian, and we must make in the meantime the most of what is perhaps the only course open to us, namely, association on communal lines. The community that does not organize on these lines, under existing circumstances, will inevitably succumb sooner or later, both materially and socially, before the better organized communities. We must, however, scrupulously guard ourselves against the over-emphasis of the separatist tendency of communal development; and there is never any need for the infusion of bitterness or rancour in either our personal or communal relations. On the contrary, the Indian Christian community must ever keep before itself the national ideal and should always strive to enter into friendly relations, both individually and collectively, with its non-Christian brethren.—(*From the Presidential Address to the Indian Christian Conference.*

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The Outlook for Temperance Reform.

BY THE HON'BLE MR. M. GOKUL PRASAD.

The year has been one of decided progress in the cause of temperance. The number of shops for sale of country spirits has been appreciably reduced, and there is a likelihood of further reductions in the following years. The fixed-fee system has been tried with success in Bombay and Ferozepur, and the excise officers themselves are alive to its advantages. The work of advisory committees has been appreciated by the Government, and it is certain there will be many more such committees in the near future. The populated parts of some of the cities have been rid of the liquor shops and others will, I hope, follow the example. The hours of sale have been restricted and the restrictions placed thereon have been more strictly enforced. Experiments in some parts of the country of allowing liquor to be sold in sealed bottles only and ordering sales off the shops in other parts of the country, have certainly resulted in smaller consumption; the sale of liquor on days of festivals, both Hindu and Mahomedan, has been stopped with advantage in some places and the prohibition is going to be extended to others. The preachers have done good and useful works, a feeling against drink has been created amongst certain sections of the depressed classes who had been up to very recent times largely addicted to drink. The temperance councils and advisory committees have been more alive to their responsibilities and have shown activities in various directions and their efforts have to an appreciable amount been crowned with success. The attitude of the Government has been uniformly sympathetic, and the workers in the cause of temperance cannot but congratulate themselves on the advance made in our cause.

Gentlemen, before I close my address I would like to put forward a few suggestions for carrying on our work in the coming year. Notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary by several people in high authority, I am an advocate of total prohibition. It is only by totally prohibiting the manufacture, import and sale of intoxicants that one can expect a real decrease in the evil. That this evil makes a man unfit to perform military, naval and other duties which require a sound body in a sound mind is amply evidenced by the ukase of the Czar prohibiting the manufacture and sale of Vodka in Russian territories, the well known order of the President of the French Republic against the manufacture and sale of absinthe throughout France and her colonies, the last appeal of Lord Roberts to the British nation, the message of Lord Kitchener to British troops, the speech of Admiral Sir John Jellicoe at Gibraltar, the utterings of Field-Marshal Viscount Wolsley, Field-Marshal Sir John French, the Hon. Josephine Daniels, Secretary of the United States Navy, and others, and last though not least, by the King-Emperor's lead in the cause of total abstinence by prohibiting the use of alcoholic drinks in the Royal household. I might well say that the world is much nearer to total prohibition than it ever was before. If a poor country like Russia could forego a revenue of millions of pounds, and France could notwithstanding its gaiety and liveliness and the enormous expenditure of the present war do without absinthe, there seems to be no reason why the poor Indian should not be made to do without drink. It would make him the richer in body and soul and the loss of revenue will, I am sure, be made up by the decrease in crime and disease and progress in so many other departments of life, and India will be the richer in its better and consequently a more prosperous people. When there are so many forces working in furtherance of our cause, we ought not to lose this golden opportunity, and our efforts should be energetically directed towards taking steps for the success of our cause. Attempts should be directed towards a larger dissemination of temperance literature, the organisation of special temperance meetings in schools and colleges, and a more vigorous and systematic attempt should be made to have periodical lectures accompanied with magic lantern show, wherever possible, to make them more attractive for the younger people and the ignorant masses. The preachers should also direct their attention to caste associations and panchayats, and address them about the evils of intoxicants.

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The reform must come mainly for amongst ourselves, the people, and then we will be in a much stronger position to influence the policy of the Government for the better.— (*From the Presidential Address to the All-India Temperance Conference.*)

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Bond of Union Among Indian Theists.

BY THE HON. DR. NIL RATAN SIRCAR, M.A., M.D.

WHAT is it, then, that serves as the bond of union among the Indian Theists? No doubt, in some of our churches there have been internal bonds in the shape of creeds, liturgies and Samhitas (ceremonial codes), though, as we have seen, even these creeds are coming to be more and more elastic, if not nominal or obsolete. But in the absence of a common subscription or confession or a common ceremonial or personal law, is there a Theistic community or communal life? The answer is clear. The *de facto* bond is membership of some Theistic congregation based on similarity of convictions, aspirations and ideals, partly religious and partly social; and as new Samajas are formed, or the existing ones multiply or subdivide, the common hopes and ideals will become more and more indefinable in terms of positive formulation, until, in the end, with the widening of religious ideals, there will be only one congregation left, that of the worshippers of the True, the Good, and the Beautiful God, held together in the Church Universal, the Church of all time. That is the only congregation that lasts, that runs like a golden thread through the web of time. All other churches are aisles of this one church, choirs within this one congregation.

But in the meanwhile we have also some negative bonds and marks. We are bodies of practical reformers, and like all such bodies, whether in the social or in the religious field, we are held together by our practical programme of reform, at any rate until our reforms are accomplished. We, who are mainly of Hindu extraction, have rejected certain practices of the orthodox community; we have had no need to reject any tenets or dogmas, as Hindu orthodoxy insists on none. We have rejected idolatry, idolatrous ceremonials and Samskaras (sacraments), caste, non-adult marriage, the Zenana system, and the compulsory celibacy of widows. These negative marks, by dividing us from the orthodox Hindu folds, have drawn us together. But as reform associations, our Theistic bodies have a peculiar character. Some reforms, as in matters of food, drink, dress, can be practised by individuals independently of social acceptance. Some require co-operation of other individuals, or of the general body of the people, or of the State itself. Reforms may also be divided according as they do or do not lead to excommunication from general social intercourse, according as they are or are not usually inherited from father to son, or according as they do or do not require or obtain any State recognition. Social and religious reforms generally require co-operation, are often under a social ban, and are likely to be inherited.

The Theists in rejecting idolatry, caste, and non adult marriage, became pronounced reformers of this type, and naturally formed a community with a social cohesion based on marriage and commensality among themselves. They also required and obtained legislative sanction. In the absence of a general Civil Marriage Act, a special marriage facility was granted by the State in their case, *viz.*, the removal of the disability under which they laboured in contracting marriages in accordance with their own programme of reform. But Indian Society is rapidly passing to the stage in which a legal provision for a Civil Marriage Act without reference to religious persuasion or creed is one of the decencies, if not the necessaries, of civilized life; and when this is secured, the cumbrous Act III. of 1870, with its curious negative declaration will become a dead letter. Not a special Brahmo-Marriage Act, but a general Civil Marriage Act without any declaration, positive or negative, as to the religious persuasion of the parties concerned, should be the objective of our efforts. A special Brahmo-Marriage Act is likely to present grave difficulties, whether we define a Brahmo by creed or ceremonial; or maintain registers for the purpose of the Act, or leave the matter to the declaration of the parties themselves. A general Civil Marriage Act, on the other hand, will give a general relief in the simplest and most effective way. Indeed, large numbers of our orthodox brothers will also profit by such an Act to provide a safeguard against polygamy and other risks to which the orthodox marriage bond is now liable, as well as to celebrate intercaste and adult marriages and the remarriage of widows. Further, a Brahmo-Marriage Act will be a barrier against the rapproachment of the orthodox community and the Theistic reformers, while a Civil Marriage Act will hasten their union.—(*From his Presidential Address to the All-India Theistic Conference.*)

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The Ayurvedic System of Medicine.

BY KAVIRAJ JAMINI BUSHAN ROY KAVIRATNA, M.A., M.B, F.C.U, M.R.A.S.

THERE is ample evidence to prove that the root principles of the science of medicine were first preached in Arabia by Indian physicians and professors and that the *Charaka* and the *Susruta* were translated into the Arabic language. From Arabia Ayurveda travelled through Egypt to Greece, thence to Rome and from there, again spread all over Europe and gradually throughout the world. Of course, the principles of Ayurveda do not any longer retain their original shape, but, transformed and developed and named afresh by different peoples in different countries, they have given birth to various systems of medicine. Many Western savants have expressed their opinions in this connection, and I may cite a few of them here.

Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, M.A., PH. D., C.I.E., says in his *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India* :—

> Probably it will come as a surprise to many, as it did to myself, to discover the amount of anatomical knowledge which is disclosed in the works of the earliest medical writers of India. Its extent and accuracy are surprising when we allow for their early age, probably the 6th century before Christ, and their peculiar methods of definition. In these circumstances, the interesting question of the relation of the medicine of the Indians to that of the Greeks naturally suggests itself. The possibility, at least, of a dependence of either on the other cannot well be defined when we know as an historical fact that two Greek physicians, Ktesias about 400 B.C. and Megasthenes about 300 B. C. visited and resided in Northern India.

Next, in his *History of Medicine* Dr. Max Neuburgher writes :—

> "That Greek medicine adopted Indian medicaments and methods is evident from the literature. The contact between the two civilisations first became intimate through the march of Alexander, and continued unbroken throughout the reign of Diaduchi and the Roman and Byzantine eras. Alexandria, Syria and Persia were the principal centres of intercourse. Indian physicians, means and methods of healing are frequently mentioned by Graeco-Roman and Byzantine authors as well as many diseases, endemic in India, but previously unknown. During the rule of the Abbasides, the Indian physicians attained still greater repute in Persia whereby Indian medicines became engrafted upon the Arabic, an effect which was hardly increased by the Arabic dominion over India. Indian influence, in the guise of Arabic medicine, was felt anew in the West. The apparently spontaneous appearance in Sicily, in the 15th century, of Rhino-plastic surgery bespeaks a long period of previous Indo-Arabian influence. The plastic surgery of the 19th century was stimulated by the example of Indian methods, the first occasion being the news, derived from India, that a man of the brickmaker caste had by means of a flap from the skin of the forehead fashioned a substitute for the nose of a native."

Ignorance of Ayurveda has on more than one occasion led Western physicians and medical writers to draw erroneous conclusions. For instance, Dr. William T. Councilman, M.D., says in a *System of Medicine*, a work edited by Doctors Osler and Macrae, that " the first description of the disease small-pox, which leaves no doubt as to its nature, is given in the well-known treatise by Rhazes in the 10th Century." But the fact is, that long before this time the symptoms and treatment of *Masurika* (small pox) were discussed in the *Charaka* and the *Susruta*. And it is his ignorance of this fact that is responsible for the erroneous and misleading conclusion which Dr. Councilman has arrived at. It should, therefore, be the duty of this Conference to point out all such errors and omissions with the help of evidence and thus uphold the glory of Ayurveda.

It is a matter of congratulation that many Western medical men have been able to realise the greatness of Ayurveda. The illustrious Surgeon, Sir Havelock Charles, when Professor of the Calcutta Medical College, often used to say to his pupils :—

> I am only repeating to you what the Aryan medical science preached two thousand years ago and am reproducing to you only a small fragment of the lesson taught by Charaka.

And the great regard Sir Havelock has for the Vedic system of medicine is shown by the extract from *Charaka* inscribed on the marble tablet placed by him on the wall opposite the staircase of the Calcutta Medical College. Dr. Clarke of Philadelphia observed after a perusal of the English translation of *Charaka* :—

> If the physicians of the present day would drop from the Pharmacopœa all the modern drugs and chemicals and treat their patients according to the methods of *Charaka*, there will be less work for the undertakers and fewer chronic invalids in the world.

Speaking of the same work, Dr. Paul Bartholomew says :—

> I have been exceedingly struck with the profound meanings of many passages which indeed go beyond anything that I have met before in medical literature.

The above extracts, scanty though they may be in comparison with the greatness of Ayurveda, conclusively prove that many Western medical men have realised, in part at least, the glorious position which that system of medicine occupies in the world.—*(From his Presidential Address to the All-India Ayurvedic Conference.)*

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The Social Problems of the Bhatia Community.

BY DR. HIRA LAL.

I AM by no means inclined to condone or apologise for the evils of corruption growing in any society or sect, but we must look for the seeds of corruption elsewhere than in the personalities or tenets of religious leaders and pioneers. The seeds rather lie in us, their followers.

* * * *

European writers who have studied and described the Bhatias bear testimony to their business capacity, diligence, enterprise and perseverance, and many instances of fabulous wealth-making under the auspices of the cotton industry and the export and import trade lie to the credit of the Bhatias. But perhaps this rapid growth in wealth and prosperity has not been an unmixed blessing, for the worship of Mammon has not failed to introduce its evils in India as in other countries of the world. We Bhatias have the reputation of being practical-minded, and we are eager to give our boys a business education from an early age, but we have neglected those liberal and refining sides of education which go to the formation of high ideals of duty and morality. Taking up the line of enquiry with which I began this part of my discourse, I may conclude by saying that it is the superfluity and consequent misuse of wealth, side by side with the want of education and of the spread of knowledge, that have affected not only every strata of our community, but the priesthood also, by obscuring those ideals of personal sanctity, learning and piety with which the profession and practice of religion in India have been rightly associated. We all have our weakenesses and faults in the different parts of the country, and if I have raised this question specially before you and appealed to you to remember your better selves, it is because by your worldly success you are in the position of acting as examplars to the whole community and have the means of uplifting the entire body of your brethren better than others. Inherently religious as you are, in spite of all contrary material influences, you have only to revive your own Vaishnavite ideals of devotion, self-sacrifice, purity and love, and to remember that the proper use of wealth is not the selfish enjoyment of those who have it, but the removal of the needs and filling the wants of those who have it not.

The remainder of my task is rendered comparatively easy now that I have tried to lay down the lines and principles on which we should proceed. While your President of the first Conference laid down the motto "Deeds before words," I go a step further and say "Principles and Character before everything." The social problems facing us, Bhatias, are very much the same as those of other Hindu castes; but each caste must proceed to deal with them in accordance with its special traditions, history and ideals.

* * * *

The first plank in the platform of the practical social reformer should be Education—both of boys and girls. In my opinion the Hindu ideal, and for the matter of that the universal ancient ideal, that the woman's proper sphere is the home, should not be disturbed, far less destroyed; and the system of her education should be framed accordingly. The teaching and the medical professions are the only learned professions in which women may prove useful without causing social disorder or friction with men, provided only that even in these cases the sphere of their operations be confined as far as possible to their own sex. Every girl of the middle and higher classes at least, should as far as possible learn enough of her own vernacular to be able to read all the best books in it, including the sacred scriptures as well as current newspapers and periodicals, providing useful and general information.

With regard to education of boys I would set no limit at all. I do not see why the wealthy Bhatias of Bombay, who are already helping and maintaining some useful educational institution should not start insitutions for giving all kinds of education—elementary, secondary and collegiate—to members of their own community as well as others in need of cheap education—a most pressing necessity at the time. I would particularly insist on their founding Technical Schools and Colleges, for although they have excelled in trade and commerce, they ought to put their practical instincts into the work of starting big industries as well as helping small handicrafts, without which the bread problem in India will not be satisfactorily solved. Lastly, the study of Sanskrit should be encouraged by all means, specially among the priesthood by giving prizes and rewards.—*(From his Presidential address to the Second All-India Bhatia Conference.)*

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CURRENT EVENTS.

BY RAJDUARI.

THE SITUATION.

REVIEWING the events of the past four weeks, we find that the most salient event was the evacuation of Gallipoli by the combined British and French troops and the departure of the fleet from the Dardanelles. The troops have been ordered to other theatres of war more or less supposed to be in Mesopotamia and Egypt. This step was no doubt necessitated by military exigencies created by the treacherous conduct of the King of the Bulgarians and by the vacillating and unwise policy of the King of the Hellenes. No doubt the original mistake had been made by the two Allies in having failed to omit at the commencement in March last of sending the fleet only to the Dardanelles. Possibly at the time it was not quite carefully calculated, the unreliability of the Czar Ferdinand and the imbecility of King George of Greece. Whether it was an error of judgment or a miscalculation of the Balkan politics, it is unprofitable to inquire at present. When time arrives for writing a correct history of the War, many matters now wrapt in secrecy for reasons, obvious or diplomatic, will be fairly known and the impartial jury of the day will not fail to pronounce its just verdict. Meanwhile let us look at accomplished facts. So far as those facts go, it is now recognised in all responsible quarters that the Allies had acted with wisdom in evacuating the troops and the fleet from the Gallipoli peninsula. Their need is greatly wanted in other places of far greater importance at the present military moment. With the advent of spring the drama in all the theatres of war will develop and reveal to the world the objective of the belligerents. At present it seems that the events happening daily in the Eastern theatre of war are more absorbing than those in the Western. Indomitable Servia hath had to suffer a crushing defeat in spite of all the national heroism and noble traditions of that warlike race. The fates were against them while the Allies, in spite of their desire to assist them to the fullest, were unable to render that help in time which was needed. As a consequence Servia has been despoiled and overrun by the enemy. A great many people have taken refuge for the time in the Island of Corfu, which the British and the French have jointly occupied in order to give them rest and to recuperate the remnant of the Servian army. Montenegro also has shared a similar fate. That historical race of mountain warriors, after achieving miracles of heroism against heavy odds, has been partly decimated and the remainder obliged to take refuge in Southern Italy. Meanwhile let us have a glance at the conduct and attitude of Greece during the month.

The Greek King seems to have been better advised than he was previously. His neutrality continues though he seems now to have been fully alive to the consequences which may happen to his country if the Hohenzollern and the Hapsburg overrun the entire Balkans and dominate the destinies of Bulgaria and Turkey. He is growing conscious of the fact that in order to keep Greece full of her national liberty there is only one course open to him. That course is to be as friendly as possible to his natural Allies, who alone up to the last fifty years have given to Greece that freedom which she enjoys to day. The pro-German dynastic influence has had its share in Greek politics of late. But the influence is not so overpowering as was once feared. As a consequence it is evident that the protection which the King has given to the Allied Troops at Salonica, and the leave given to occupy Corfu, are hopeful signs of that political consciousness of maintaining the integrity, independence, and freedom of his people. So far there are signs of great encouragement to the future action of the Allies in their coming struggle against the Austro-Germans. As to Bulgaria the less said the better. The entire world of civilization, not obsessed by junkerism, has known of his ingratitudes to the great saviour of Bulgaria. Without Russia there could have been no Bulgaria, as we have known it since the conclusion of the Turko-Russian War of years ago.

His devious ways are too well-known, while none ever believed in the honesty of his diplomacy. It is, therefore, astonishing that Sir Edward Grey should have been so weak as to have placed any reliability in him. Things would not have come to the pass in the Balkans had Sir Edward Grey been as astute as this Czar Ferdinand has been known to be. He has been really outwitted. However, even this is a matter which must be left to the impartial historian of the future for a fair verdict.

Of Roumania it is impossible to state anything more favourable. He has been playing a waiting game just as he did two years ago and found it to his great benefit. He is still sitting astride on the fence. That is all about that can be said in his favour. It is his only qualifying grace in

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the matter which distinguishes him from the unreliable man at Sophia. One cannot help regretting that the entire policy of the British foreign office in regard to the Balkan politics since the declaration of the war has been of an unsatisfactory character.

Coming to Turkey it must be observed that the iron domination of the Germans has made the common people helpless as much as their Sultan. Enver Pasha is the great military dictator, who is playing his own cards under the German *ægis*. But for the way now opened between Berlin and Constantinople, matters might have been exceedingly perilous for the Turks. It remains to be seen how the Ottoman fares at the close of the war by the hands of its so-called protector. As for Turkey in Asia it is clear from all accounts that there the Hun, despite his desperate efforts, is being worsted in every struggle with the British and the Russian troops. The coming spring will soon bring the British to Bagdad at all costs and hazard. That will be the signal of a complete defeat of the German machinations and other misch efs in that part of Asia Minor. But we will not anticipate coming events though they are casting their shadows before. So much then for the Eastern theatre of the war.

As to the Western theatre nothing conclusive or decisive has taken place yet. French warfare is going on continuously with all the havoc it can produce. Artillery duels, sometimes violent and sometimes mild, are of such daily occurrence that they have ceased to interest the public. There is a great hope that in the spring active offensive policy is fully anticipated, the outcome of which the world will await with the keenest anxiety. Both sides are intent on forcing a decision which at present hangs in the balance.

As to sea warfare, blockade in the North Sea is growing more and more effective, and the civilized world recognized the incalculable value of the service the British Navy has performed and is performing.

The enemies' submarines' activities have been somewhat greatly in evidence in the Mediterranean. Their further piratical murders of innocent women, men and children have been as rife as they were in the Irish Channel months ago. Besides some liners of different nationalities, P. and O. mail boat *Persia* was sunk without notice with a frightful calamity which is already a matter of history. We may be quite sure this activity of the enemy under the sea in the Mediterranean will soon be silenced, as it has been in the North. Meanwhile it is satisfactory to note that a recruiting policy in England has met with remarkable success. Now Parliament has been able to pass by a large majority a compulsory bill for raising a fresh army. The spirit of the nation is to be distinctly discerned in the way that the people have responded to the appeal of the Government in this matter.

The Statistical Abstract of the Mysore State. Government Press, Bangalore.

Statistics, though cold, are of more value than administration or other reports in estimating the moral and material progress of a country. Figures and comparative tables are free from any bias of the writer, which may unconsciously influence the writing of reports. The Government of Mysore have compiled this Abstract "with a view to place before the public . . . . statistics on all matters of interest and importance relating to the material and economic condition as well as the administration of the state." The book is compiled after the model of the Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom with the necessary modifications to suit local conditions.

Visions, Pre-visions and Miracles in Modern Times. By E. Howard Grey, London. L. N. Fowler & Co.

This is a book dealing with the so-called spiritualistic and occult phenomena of which records have been preserved in modern times and an examination of the incidents from a psychical researcher's point of view. Very interesting information is afforded in the volume regarding the instances of "levitations," "healings," and "rappings," which the author has been able to unearth from past records. The book is likely to interest the student of the historic basis of psychic phenomena.

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS.

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

Muthumeenakshi: The autobiography of a Brahmin girl. By A. MADHAVIAH. (TRANSLATED FROM TAMIL BY ONE OF HIS DAUGHTERS). LAW PRINTING HOUSE, MADRAS. WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY SIR SANKARAN NAIR.

This is an English rendering of a story originally written in Tamil, and dealing with certain aspects of Hindu social and domestic life in South India. The author's talent for graphic writing both in English and Tamil is well known, and his works in English, though considerably varying in merit, have sometimes reached a high level of excellence from the literary and artistic point of view. We are second to none in our admiration for the author's gifts, and have a good deal of sympathy for his views, but at the same time we cannot help feeling that he has a lamentable knack of presenting exaggerated pictures of accidental evils, and dwelling with disproportionate vehemence on certain insignificant features or abnormal excrescences of domestic life, obtaining, if at all, in certain very backward and ignorant classes of people. We are not sure that even the cause which the author has at heart gains anything by presenting exaggerated and disturbed pictures of customs which, whether they prevailed or not to any extent at any time, are now at any rate not extant anywhere, and speaking from inside knowledge of the communities which the author purports to portray, we can only express our astonishment that certain matters due to great ignorance and backwardness, which are incidental to all communities, should have been brought out in great relief to the glare of publicity, in such a manner as to suggest altogether a false idea of the mental and moral outlook of the Brahmin community in this part of the country. No harm is done so long as the book is read only by the people who are attempted to be depicted therein, but when it is dressed up in English and presented to outsiders and all and sundry as a faithful picture of Brahmin life and manners, one is tempted to exclaim: 'Save us indeed from our abnormal geniuses!' It is unnecessary to pursue this topic further, but we must confess to a feeling of repugnance that the author's accomplished daughter should have had to translate certain passages dealing with a certain incident of doubtful taste in the book before us.

"The Battle of the World": VERSE. BY GEORGE WEDDELL. LONDON: ELIOT STOCK: 7, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

A short volume of verses inspired by the War. The themes are not the unfamiliar ones of call to patriotism, Kultur, Honor to the dead and so on. The subjects are well-chosen and the treatment well-conceived. Though the high flame of poesy is rarely perceptible, and the practical mind of the author finds expression everywhere, the effort is one that is not altogether vain. The appeal to America, for instance, is quite timely and faithfully reflects the mind of every one at the present time:

"What country now can stay to calculate
And weigh her profits up in either hand?
* * * *
The movement comes for choice
Shall we be dollar-wise, or let the voice
The strong clear voice of Honor here dicate?
The flames of Hell are lit, and Europe spends
The life-blood of her sons to fight them back;
Shall we stand off and let the fight proceed?
Nor help, nor hinder either hell or friends?
Or shall we sell the fuel Hell may lack
To feed her fires?—let Europe burn and bleed?"

The Research Magnificent. BY MR. H. G. WELLS. MACMILLAN'S EMPIRE LIBRARY.

Another powerful novel from the pen of Mr. Wells depicting vividly the growth and development of certain peculiar mental phases. Of late there has been a great deal of anxious cogitation and examination of various mental phenomena as the result of the stress of economic conditions and the physical pressure of mental forces to the entire exclusion of moral currents as illustrated in the present awful war. The place of idealism in the scheme of life may well be said to be the keynote of the present volume. It is the study of a man whose life is devoted to the pursuit of an idea. The struggle between the ideas of socialism and aristocracy, between pure intellectualism and human sympathy, is exemplified in the life-history before us and the adventures, both mental and physical, are portrayed with rare force and inimitable charm. The final solution of the eternal riddle appears to be devotion to humanity and condemnation of materialism as insufficient to satisfy the emotional needs of man.

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1. How we Remember our Past Lives.
2. Theosophy and Modern Thought.
By Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, M.A. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

In the first of these small and neatly got-up Theosophical publications, the author expounds with great learning the arguments which make Reincarnation not only highly probable as a hypothesis but almost the only possible rational theory that will explain the sudden bursting forth of genius and other peculiar traits of character which the ancestors of a man never exhibited. The author advances the probability of Keats having been a Greek poet, Gibbon a Roman historian, and Schopenhauer a Buddhist philosopher and other similar coincidences which are interesting if somewhat fanciful. The chapter on the "Vision of the Spirit" explains the stages of evolution of a young soul through the vision of self, the vision of mind or emotion, and the vision of intuition, stages during which the soul gains necessary experience and wideness of vision, and finally, under the guidance of 'The Master,' enters into the Vision of the Spirit when 'the many is the one,' and the heritage of the soul is finally established.

The other book noted above, "Theosophy and Modern Thought," consists of the Convention Lectures delivered at Adyar in December 1914, by Mr. Jinarajadasa. The first on 'Heredity' expounds the ideas of heredity and evolution as depicted by Darwin, Bateson, Lamarch, and finally by Mendel and his school, and adds certain factors which Theosophy supplies to fill up the gaps in the explanation of facts. The second lecture is on 'History and Reincarnation.' The author here takes a bolder tone than in his earlier work above noticed, and we have a delightful review of world history from the standpoint of Reincarnation or Life-Evolution. The author considers that the English nation of to-day is formed by rebirth substantially of the Roman people with their ideas of law, order, and practicalness. The French have reproduced the love of art and beauty and grace and all that appertains to form in the ancient Greek nation. The Germans, according to the author, are a reproduction of the ancient Phœnician nation, with their trading instincts, industrial initiative, and organising power. The author believes that as the Phœnicians tried in vain to master the sea, being foiled by the ancient Romans, so the Germans in spite of their 'Culture' will be defeated in their ambition as to the mastery of the sea by the reborn Romans, *i.e.*, the British nation.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Human Animals. By Frank Howel. William Reder & Son, Ltd., London. Price 6/- net.

Wireless Messages from the Other World. By Eva Harrison. L. N. Fowler & Co., London. Price 2/6 net.

Village Government in Britith India. By John Matthai. Fisher Unwin. 4/6 net.

An Historical Atlas of Modern Europe—From. 1789-1914. By C. Grant Robertson and J. G. Bartholomew. The Oxford University Press, London. Price 3/6 net.

French Novelists of To-day. By Winifred Stephens. The Bodley Head, London. Price 5/- net.

The Universal Gospel. By Rev. G. A. Kratrer. The Central C. S. Institute Chicago. Price 30 cents.

The Pioneer of Simplifyd Speling. Simplifyd Speling Sosyeti. London. Prys 2*d*.

The Psychology of Leadership. By Abdul Majid. T. Fisher Unwin. London. Price 2/6 net.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA.

The Key of Knowledge By Champat Rai Jain. The Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah.

Folk Tales of Hindustan. By Shaikh Chilli. Panini Office, Allahabad.

Gopala Krishna Gokhale. (in Tamil). By K. Viswanatha Ayyar. R. Thirumalai & Co., Madras. Price As. 8.

Padmini. (in Malayalam). By T. Ramalingam Pillai, M.A., Sreedhara Printing House, Trivandrum. Price As. 12.

Scenes from Social Life. By R. S. Narayanaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Madura. Price As. 2.

Sir C. Sankaran Nair, Kt., C.I.E. The Madras Dravidian Association, Madras. Price As. 4.

Speeches on University Reform. By C. Ramalinga Reddy, Mysore. Price As. 8.

Methods of Teaching Village Christians to Read. By the Rev. H. D. Griswold, Ph. D. The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras. Price As. 2.

Religion and Dharma. By Sister Nivedita. Longmans Green & Co., Bombay.

Good Reading. By Motilal M. Munshi, B.A., LL.B., The Gujerati Printing Press, Bombay. Price As. 8.

The Anglo-Indian Empire. By H. V. Nanjundayya, M.A., M.L., C.I.E. Government Press, Bangalore.

Madras Fisheries Bureau. Bulletin. Government Press, Madras. Price Rs. 1-14.

Towards Liberty By T. L. Crombie. T. P. H. Adyar, Madras. Price As. 6.

How India Wrought for Freedom. By Mrs. Annie Besant. T. P. H. Adyar, Madras. Price Rs. 3.

Raja Sir Dinkar Row, K.C.S.I. By M. W. Burway. Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8.

Abraham Lincoln. (Tamil). By K. Vencatarama Aiyar, B.A. Hindu Educational Trading Co., Kumbakonam. Price As. 12.

India: A Nation. By Mrs. Annie Besant. T. C & E.C. Jack, London. Price 6*d*. net.

The Life and Career of Sasipada Banerji. By B. N. Motiwala. Bombay. Price As. 4.

First Aid in Accidents. (Tamil). By Rao Sahib U. Rama Rau. R. Venkateshwar & Co., Ananda Press, Madras. Price As. 8.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH.

December 24. The Eleventh Indian Industrial Conference and the Bhatia Conference commenced to-day in Bombay, Sir Dorab J. Tata, and Dr. Hira Lal Bhatia presiding respectively.

December 25. The Fortieth Theosophical Convention and the Arya Samaj Anniversary met to-day in Bombay, Mrs. Annie Besant presiding at the former.

December 26. The Theistic Conference, the All-India Hindu Conference, the Bhatia Conference and the Commercial Congress began to-day in Bombay, with the Hon'ble Dr. Nilratan Sircar, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Hira Lal Bhatia and the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoi Currimbhoi presiding respectively.

December 27. The Thirtieth Session of the Indian National Congress began to-day in Bombay, Sir S. P. Sinha presiding.

December 28. The All-India Kshtriya Conference met to-day in Bombay, the Maharaja of Kashmir presiding.

December 30. The Social Conference, the All-India Temperance Conference and the All-India Muslim League met to-day in Bombay, Prof. D. K. Karve, Rai Bahadur Gokul Prasad and Mazar-ul-Haque presiding respectively.

December 31. A big public meeting of the Hindu ladies of Bombay met to-day, under the auspices of several Associations for ladies to adopt a Memorial to H. E. the Viceroy, urging the cause of education for Indian women.

January 1916.

January 1. The Volunteers of the National Congress and the Muslim League were jointly entertained at a party this evening.

January 2. The Anglo-Indian Empire league Conference concluded its deliberations to-day.

January 3. The Benares Conspiracy Case resumed hearing to-day.

January 4. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma was presented with an Address of Welcome at Mandalay to day.

January 5. Their Excellencies the Governor and Lady Willingdon replied to various Addresses presented to them, at Karachi, to-day.

January 6. The Shareholders of the Bombay Cotton Trade Association have donated Rs. 22,500 towards War purposes.

January 7. The East Indian Railway Police are enquiring into the daring escape of a Punjabi life-convict from a running train at Chinsurah.

January 8. Mr. E. S. C. H. Cresswell, a well-known Calcutta merchant, died to-day under tragic circumstances.

January 9. The Maharaja of Durbhanga arrived in Madras to-day.

January 10. The death took place to-day of Sir Samuel Way.

January 11. H. E. Lord Willingdon opened the Marwari Vidyalaya to-day in Bombay.

January 12. A fire broke out near the Madras harbour this afternoon, but the damage was slight.

January 13. The Maharaja of Durbhanga was voted an Address of Welcome to-day by the Hindu citizens of Madras.

January 14. The prosecution in the Benares Conspiracy Case closed their case to-day.

January 15. Sir James Meston received a deputation of leading Shias to-day in Lucknow in connection with the proposed Shiah College.

January 16. The apointment of Lord Chelmsford to succeed Lord Hardinge as Viceroy of India was made to-day.

January 17. Mr. H. V. Lanchester began his lectures on Town-Planning at the Engineering College in Madras to-day.

January 18. The United Provinces Educational Conference opened in Lucknow to-day, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya presiding.

January 19. This morning the Commissioners concluded the recording of the accuseds' statement in the Benares Conspiracy Case.

January 20. In the House of Commons to-day, Mr. Asquith announced that arrangement for the extension of the Allied War Councils were progressing.

January 21 A meeting was held this evening in Calcutta for the promotion of the Baden Powell Girl Guides Movement, Mrs. Carter presiding.

January 22. The Madras Provincial Co-operative Conference opened this afternoon in Madras, the Hon'ble Mr. A. G Cardew presiding.

January 23. Holland is being visited with a series of disasters in fires and floods.

January 24. Surgeon-General Sir Pardey Lukis, Director-General of Medical Services, arrived in Madras this morning and is a guest of H. E. the Governor.

"ALL ABOUT THE WAR—THE INDIAN REVIEW WAR BOOK."—A comprehensive and authentic account of the War with numerous illustrations, portraits, cartoons, maps and diagrams, contributed by officers of the Indian Civil, Military and Medical Services, Ministers of Native States, Engineers, Educationists, Journalists, Lawyers, Publicists and other Specialists. Edited by G. A. Natesan with an introduction by His Excellency Lord Pentland, with an appreciation by H. E. Lord Hardinge. Cloth Bound, 240 Portraits, 107 Illustrations, 37 Cartoons and 16 Maps. Price Rs. 4. To subscribers of the "Indian Review," Rs. 3.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

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TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

INDIA TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW.

An article in the quarterly *Round Table*, dealing with India as it is and as it will be, shows how the new angle of vision is adjusting itself to the true perspective of things regarding India. For example, the writer says :—

> Though it is undoubtedly true that we hold India by the strength of the sea-power, and that it is less British bayonets in Hindustan than British battleships in the North Sea which are responsible for the present sense of security, we must not forget that the Indian princes and peoples had rallied to our side before that sea-power was assured. The Maharaja of Mysore's spontaneous offer of fifty lakhs of rupees to the Supreme Government towards the expenses of the war was the beginning of that Homeric list of gifts and contributions to which there seems to be no end. The money had been saved for expenditure on public works, and the Maharaja of Mysore, by his diversion of this wealth to the prosecution of a European war, publicly proclaimed, to all intents and in a manner plain to the whole of the Indian Empire, that in his opinion reproductive works and other benefits and advantages of civil life were dependent upon the stability of British rule. It was not only an act of splendid loyalty, but of shining statesmanship.

That which is called by some "unrest" in India, the writer welcomes as the most hopeful feature of British rule. Its absence, he says, would signify failure of British rule, for it is the ferment of the living forces of progress and new ideas. Speaking of the blessings of British rule, which are many and varied and which the people of India gratefully recognise and try to deserve and repay to the best of their power, as is evidenced in this great crisis, the writer in the *Round Table* calls attention to one aspect which Englishmen generally are apt to overlook. He writes :—

> We hear a great deal about the disquieting and disintegrating influences of Western education and religions, but little or nothing about the equal or greater disrupting force of machinery. It is a mere accident that British rule in India should have synchronised with the rapid development of mechanical power; it cannot be said that the latter is due to the former. Had an Englishman never set foot on the Coromandel Coast or the Red Ensign never flown beneath Malabar Point, machinery would still have found its way to the Peninsula and the whirl of its wheels have sounded a mournful requiem for scores of village industries. Say what we may, British rule, as regarded by the village weaver, potter, coppersmith, etc.—bear in mind these are not individuals but families and communities—has not been an era of undiluted prosperity.

The writer hopes that this fact will receive the attention it deserves, and that after the war the revival of village industries will be the special concern of all Englishmen. The writer in this connection calls attention to another strange irony by which the British rulers of India have, for all their boasted hygienic wisdom, been powerless to check the ravages of plague and malaria, with the result that the East is "still inclined to look on Western sanitation as a vain thing, and to express annoyance in its own way when it interferes with its old traditions and customs." This, at any rate, is a striking explanation of the so-called Eastern "apathy," so frequently heard of in India, in sanitary reforms on Western lines.

Speaking of India's place in the Empire after the war, the writer has no doubt that if she bears her full share of the shock of war, suffers, as the others parts of the Empire suffer, endures to the end as they endure, she will have won the right to be treated in the Councils of Empire on the same level as they are treated. But here a pertinent question suggests itself to him :—

> If she comes to the Imperial Conference she will bring her own Imperial needs and expect them to be settled in an Imperial spirit. But is the Imperial Conference for all its fine-sounding title capable of this? Remember it is an old Eastern saying, older than the Gospels: 'The son asked bread of the father, and he gave him a stone.' Representation at the Imperial Conference implies in the Indian mind something far more than a native gentleman to sit at table in Downing Street with the Prime Ministers of our Self-governing Dominions.

This echoes the sentiment of all India and of all true Englishmen who love the Empire and all that it stands for, and this sentiment found ardent expression at the last Indian National Congress. The writer proceeds :—

> The problems of Empire after the war are to be new problems, but no less weighty than those which preceded it. The Imperial Conference has its uses, but a deliberative assembly of greater permanence and wider powers will be necessary if the British Empire is to assume a more concrete form in the future. And in this assembly, not merely India, but the component parts of India will have to be adequately represented.

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HINDU POLITY ABOUT B.C. 300.

In an able article contributed to the December number of the *Educational Review*, Mr. V. Rangachariar presents an interesting survey of the pre-Mauryan field of Hindu polity and incidentally explains how far that system conduced to the prosperity and welfare of the people who lived under that administration. Many of the details brought to light now possess but an historical interest, but the curious will not fail to receive suggestion even from them at this distance of time. For instance, we shall mention the ordinary sources of income tapped at that now vanished epoch. The *Arthashastra* of Kautilya is the authority mainly relied on.

Kautilya enumerates six sources of income, the durga, the rural parts, mines, gardens, forests and herds. Taking the city or durga, for instance, we can say what taxes were likely to be collected. Towns would be, for example, places where trade and traffic was large, where the merchant and the manufacturer, the oilmonger and the butcher, the weaver and the dairy-man, the goldsmith and the retail merchant, the prostitute and the gambler, would find demands for their vocations and their commodities. It was there again that corporations of artisans and handicraftsmen throve, it was there that the use of a good currency was appreciated. In such places we can, without any references to extraneous authorities, say what are the likely contributions demanded of the people by the State. We should expect the collection of tolls from merchants, a seignorage for coinage. We should expect license-fees for the sale of liquor and for carrying on houses of prostitution and gambling, contributions from gilds and taxes from the various merchant classes. And these are the demands enumerated by Kautilya. "Tolls, fines, weights and measures," he says, "the town-clerk (Nagaraka), the superintendent of coinage (Lakshanadhyaksha), the superintendent of sales and passports, liquor, slaughter of animals, threads, oils, ghee, sugar (kshara), the State-goldsmith (sanvadnika), the warehouse of merchandise, the prostitute, gambling, building-sites (vastuka), the corporation of artisans and handicraftsmen (karusilpigana), the superintendent of gaols, and taxes collected at the gates and from the people (known as) Bahirakas come under the head of forts."

Passing on to the country, the second limb in the body of income, a similar general *a priori* consideration of the possibilities of exploitation by the State will give us an idea of Kautilya's expectations from the people inhabiting the rural parts. It is in the rural parts that the crown lands, *i.e.*, the lands set apart for the maintenance of the monarch and his household were. It was there that road communications and water communications were to be carefully looked after and necessary provisions made for. Chanakya in his enumeration of the different varieties of the State's income from these, remembers all these. "Produce from crown lands," he says, "portion of produce payable to the Government (bhaga), religious taxes (bali), taxes paid in money (kara), merchants, the superintendent of rivers, ferries, boats and ships, towns, pasture-grounds, road-cess (vartini), ropes (rajju) and robes to find thieves (chora-rajju) come under the head of country parts,

INDIA IN WAR AND AFTER.

Mr. William Black has been urged to write in the columns of the *Christian Guardian* an answer to a malicious insinuation in the form of a flaring headline in a British newspaper to the effect that Lord Kitchener had gone to India to take in hand the quelling of a serious insurrection that had gathered head here. The writer finds no difficulty in attacking the aspersion, as, indeed, who would, after the splendid loyalty of India in the war. According to Mr. Black,

when the war broke out there were many people within the English-speaking section of the British Empire who had the same misgiving as to what India would do as the writer of the headline above referred to gave evidence of. There isn't any doubt at all that Germany really hoped that the excitement and uncertainty of a European war would bring trouble in India, and possibly serious revolution. Pan-Islamism would co-operate with certain revolutionary elements in Bengal and elsewhere, with far-reaching results. And what Germany hoped would come many Britishers feared might.

But as everyone knows what was hoped for and feared did not come.

Instead of it from one end of the country to another all classes and all creeds united in one purpose, how to help most and best in the hour of the Empire's need. With all its congeries of races, speaking upwards of fifty languages and scattered over a territory larger than Europe, exclusive of Russia, the Empire of India has shown itself to be in absolute and intense and self-sacrificing sympathy with the greater Empire in its time of tremendous strain and struggle. Illustrations of this spirit could be given in bewildering number and variety. In men and money and enthusiasm no part of the British Empire has been more ready and hearty in the response than India.

The man who thinks with pride of British traditions and who believes that Britain has tempered justice with mercy in her dealing with subject peoples all through her history can look upon the spectacle which India presents to-day with considerable satisfaction. And the outlook for the future in India's history is bright and hopeful. The thing that British statesmen must learn for the future is, not so much to give greater freedom to the masses of India, for it would seem as if they had up to the present about all the freedom and opportunity they could profitably use, but to give to India's educated sons the opportunity to direct and guide her development according to their own plans and ideals. And we believe they will learn that.

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FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

In a communication made to the current number of the *Asiatic Review*, Mr. J. B. Pennington makes a breezy, but withal, sympathetic reference to the future Government of India. He takes it for granted that the ultimate object of every enlightened thinker is to educate the people of India in such a way as to make them fit for some form of (at least local) Self-Government approximating to the Colonial system. Every reasonable man "must agree with Sir Thomas Munro that it is 'impossible' to govern a country like India for ever from the outside, and that it must, sooner or later, be taught to govern itself."

Now, it is impossible for the people of India, or any other country, to learn the art of government without practice; and the only reasonable question is: How are they to get that practice?

Mr. Pennington observes:—

> We have taught what is often called a 'microscopic minority' to become one of the finest subordinate services in the world; but we have done very little so far, except incidentally, as the *quasi*-independent Indian States to teach them the art of governing others except again in a very subordinate way. How then did we ourselves learn the art of self-government so far as we have learnt it? Chiefly, it must be confessed by fighting amongst ourselves for hundreds of years. But we cannot afford to let the millions of India learn the art of self-government by cutting each other's throats and the survival of the fittest. Nor is it necessary.

In the writer's opinion, it is only by becoming the friends of the people that the Government of India can guide public opinion and lead it into fruitful channels. If the officials show no friendliness in expressing their views on subjects which engage the minds of the people, and become dear to them they cannot expect to win the love and devotion of the people.

This is, however, no new policy. Akbar instituted it, and left a mighty Empire behind him; Aurangzeb departed from it and brought that Empire to ruin.

The only method which can bring strength to the Government is to associate the people with the Government of the country. This has been the policy of both Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge. The wisdom of a generous concession at a proper time in South Africa has proved itself in the present crisis, as it proved itself many years ago in Canada.

All that points to 'decentralization.' What the Hindu, perhaps more than any other man, wants is a local God, but one made of flesh and blood within easy reach of his village to whom he can go with his grievances; not a distant Board or Court of Star Chamber, with a cold-blooded secretary instead of a human soul. Mr. Pennington writes:—

> A great many years ago when I was a very subordinate official I made a note which I have just unearthed to the effect that the 'Madras Presidency was reduced to one dead level of mediocrity by the influence of the Board of Revenue alone'; and the only practicable remedy I have come across in my career is that originally suggested by Mr. Donald Smeaton, C.I.E., so far back as 1904, which, so far as I know, was to all intents and purposes stillborn. His idea was to group our present districts so as to form small provinces and put them under selected 'Indian' Governors with Councils as in Mysore, 'under' (say, rather, 'advised by') British Residents; but that sort of Government is, I think, even yet in advance of the times, if only as Sir John Hewett observed because there is probably not yet a sufficient supply of 'Indians' qualified to act as Governors of even such small provinces. It has always seemed to me that the obvious way to begin the reform is by associating a European official on equal terms with an Indian, and putting them in charge of two or three of our present districts, with powers equivalent to those of the Board of Revenue in Madras.

PRICES AND FREIGHTS.

Mr. Shirras in his 'Memorandum and Statistical Tables relating to Prices and Freights in India since the outbreak of the War,' lays stress on the fact that the level of prices in India, during the opening months of the War, was much below the level which even the best-informed judgment anticipated on the outbreak of war on so large a scale. He says that in the first six months of the war, the rise in prices was undoubtedly counterbalanced to an appreciable extent by the influence exerted by a good monsoon in the contrary direction. The tables that Mr. Shirras gives reveal very marked differences in the effects the war had on different groups of Indian products. The prices of oil-seeds and raw textiles declined steadily; but there was an increase of 4 per cent. in the price of food-grains. The phenomenal increase of 38 per cent. in the price of wheat at the end of December is to be explained by the fact that other factors besides war like the bad crops of Australia and Argentina had their own influence on it. The case of rice is the reverse of that of wheat; but gram rose considerably in all the provinces in spite of a decrease by 68 per cent. in the exports of gram. Mr. Shirras attributes this rise to two causes, scarcity in the districts of supply and increased demand. Since exports fell off, it is plain that the increased demand must have come from India itself, and not as Mr. Shirras concludes, from the operation of world-factors, i.e., factors which affected markets in Western Europe, owing to the outbreak of war.

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HOUSING OF THE UNTOUCHABLES.

In the January number of the *Social Service Quarterly*, Dr. Harold H. Mann, D.SC., M.SC., writes an interesting article on the housing of the depressed classes in Poona. It is the result of first-hand observations of the economic condition of the Mahars, Mangs, the Bhangis, and the Chambhar community dwelling in that city. The method of study pursued consisted in a house to house investigation of the people, how they live, what they work at, and under what conditions they carry on their existence. The experience gained by the writer is remarkable in many directions, but there is one point which stands out above all others. He writes:

The conditions of city life among the depressed classes were so unhealthy and so unsuitable that the population could not maintain itself without continuous immigration. If new-comers from outside were not continually arriving in Poona, the labouring classes, so far as they were represented by the Mahars, the Mangs, the Bhangis, and perhaps, though less certainly, the Chambhars, would speedly die out, or at any rate become largely reduced in numbers.

The first point which must strike any one who considers the data presented by Dr. Harold Mann is the extremely small families among the depressed population. As an average, the actual number of persons per household is below four, except in the case of Chambhars, where it just exceeds that figure. From this the writer concludes that the population must be diminishing as the average family numbers less than four.

Regarding the housing conditions among the untouchable classes, it is observed, that wherever they are met with in the Deccan, the housing conditions are deplorable.

Under ordinary village conditions they are excluded from the village site, and live outside in an area which is rarely visited by others, and in which the houses are, so far as by far the largest proportion is concerned, of the most crude and primitive type. Usually made of grass, with, in some cases, a sheet of corrugated iron forming a part of the roof or walls, sometimes covered with kerosene oil tins beaten out flat, or with thatch composed of grass or leaves, they form under usual circumstances the picture of neglect.

What is the effect of such environs on the people? Dr. Harold Mann writes:

I must own that this inquiry into the conditions of the housing among the depressed classes does not give us any very clear results as to the effect of the character of the housing on the healthiness of the people. The size of families is almost entirely the same in all the three communities (the Mahars, Mangs and Chambhars). . . . though the percentage of *pucca* houses is so different. Among the Bhangis who live almost entirely in *pucca* houses, the family is exactly of the same size as among the Mahars whose housing is of a very *kuchha* character. More than this, there does not seem very constant relation between the size of families in a particular quarter and the proportion of of *pucca* or *kuchha* houses.

What is the remedy? According to Dr. Harold Mann, in his own words:

What I feel is wanted is a constructive policy, by which accomodation shall be secured which will at least be sanitary and in which it will be possible for self-respecting people to live. I proposed in the Poona Municipality some time ago the construction of a model colony as an experiment. The matter was sanctioned, the scheme was prepared, and land was given for the purpose, and its carrying out only awaits the provision of money. The difficulty is that such a scheme could not be expected to yield more than four per cent. on the money expended, and hence would hardly attract private capital. But it seems a matter in which the honour of the municipality is concerned.

All who wish to see our cities to be really the abodes of happy, healthy people must feel that the housing of the untouchable classes is a matter which demands earnest and early attention.

LESSONS OF THE WAR.

According to a writer in the *Hibbert Journal*, the war has raised the issue between modern social democracy as exemplified in England and the bureaucratic militaristic system of Prussianised Germany. The war has also demonstrated the complete vindication of the enlightened British Colonial policy of the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the field of international law, all the belligerents are anxious to set themselves right in the eyes of the neutral nations, and neutral opinion seems to be exercising a perceptible influence on the course of the war. There is bound to be a revulsion of sentiment in favour of the humane regulations contained in the Hague Conferences. In respect of maritime warfare, England has been trying to push her belligerent rights somewhat beyond the terms of the London Declaration in dealing with neutral commerce. The war would be certainly harmful to sociological studies and would revive a number of biases which blind facts and cloud the judgment. It would destroy the search for panaceas and Utopias, as well as the eugenic dream of a 'superman.' The previous equilibrium between labour, capital, and natural resources having been disturbed, a readjustment will come which will distribute the results of production among them in somewhat different proportions. Among historical studies that would be encouraged by the war are the work of history as a subject of study, the importance of international law, the exposition of the different types of nationalities, the disadvantages and advantages of different forms of political government, etc.

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SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WAR.

Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., writing in the last number of the *Socialist Review*, refutes the popular notion that war is good for trade and says that the illusion arises only from the temporary industrial activity caused by the manufacture of the instruments and necessaries of war. The fact that the nation and the people who supply the financial means to carry on the war are different parties in this connection, makes the cost of a war to the nation enormously greater than would be the case if the nation were conducting the war out of wealth and resources which were its own property. If the nation owned all the wealth of the community, it would not require to borrow from its own citizens to finance the war. Or if the whole cost of a war could be met by taxation, then the war would have been paid for, at its conclusion, in the full sense of the word, though its citizens would have been impoverished by the extent of their contributions in taxation. The actual loss to the nation would then be represented by the amount which had been paid for war services in men and material, and by the commercial and industrial dislocation which had resulted. The burden of the new debt which has been incurred in the present war will amount to about £1,600 million at the end of the present financial year; and this would involve the payment of an annual sum of about £100 million in the shape of interest to certain individuals. This dependence on loan-mongers for the prosecution of a war is one of the unavoidable consequences of an economic order in which the State owns no wealth-producing machinery. A collectivist State could wage war far more economically, as it would do so in the main out of the accumulated treasure and current production, and would therefore avoid dependence upon the loan-mongers.

The last War-Loan has created a class of people, numbering over half-a-million who have been given a strong vested interest in the policy of borrowing. The campaign of the War Economy League is a ridiculous farce, since economy is recommended in order that the savings may be invested in a war-loan, *i.e.*, to encourage the ruinous policy of borrowing and to increase the number of those who have a personal interest in that policy. It is idle to pretend that by what has been done, Government has yet approached the end of the possibilities of the taxation. During the Napoleonic Wars, Pitt raised national taxation to a point which absorbed 2/7 of the total income of the nation. Taxation has not yet been carried to such a point as to limit expenditure to any material extent or even to limit luxuries. Even when all should be obtained which can be got by an ideally perfect and graduated income-tax, there will still remain a considerable sum to be raised by other means. Two items which have not yet been touched by the Chancellor of the Exchequer are the estate duties and the spirits duties. The difficulties in the way of carrying out a scheme for the taxation of capital may be considerable, but they are not insuperable. The tax might be fairly graduated, being very small on estates below £5,000 and graduated up to 10 per cent. on estates of a million, and it might be made to yield a sum of £500 million. The nation is to be impressed seriously with the terrible financial situation in which the nation would be left as the result of the present policy of large borrowings. The memorable words of Gladstone might now be revived. "It seems to follow at once that up to the point at which endurance is practicable, payment by war-taxes, rather than taxes in peace, is for the interest of the people at large."

WAR AND HIGHER LEARNING.

Charles Franklin Thwing, President of the Western Reserve University, U. S. A, writing to the current number of the *Hibbert Journal*, estimates the special suffering and effect produced by the war on the normal course of higher learning in all its branches. The sympathy of at least nineteen-twentieths of all academic people in America is with the Allies, and they feel towards Germany a sentiment of pity rather than of anger, and one of anger rather than of hatred. The effects differ according to the character of the studies themselves. The war has diminished the element of personal encounter and reduced the matching of individual brain, wit or prowess, is resulting in an indiscriminate elimination of all the fittest physically in the contending nations and from the standpoint of eugenics is of the greatest calamity that could happen. We have also to recognise the *esprit de corps* and communism which are developed by the war and which may be regarded in the light of virtues though bought at a wholly ruinous price.

It would be extremely difficult to prophesy the effect of war on the whole domain of philosophy. The great conception of Schopenhauer in presenting the world as Will has had a formative and evilly inspiring force in the present war. The ethical conceptions of James and Dewey that the rules of morality must continually change to meet new conditions, will also be brought into prominence.

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HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS.

Writing in the January number of the *East and West*, Mr. H. Narain Row, B.A., B.L, considers certain national tendencies calculated to compose the differences that may exist between the Hindu and Muslim communities in India. The Government have been in the past acutely susceptible of any deflection in the feeling of the Mohamedan community, away from British rule; for it must be remembered that the Musalmans of India are not as isolated from the rest of the world as are the Hindus, and whenever the fortunes of their co-religionists elsewhere are adversely affected by strained relations with Christian nations, the effect of the course of history in other parts of the world on the attitude of Indian Muslims gives rise to curious and suspicious enquiries, and questions are asked in the British Parliament to find out whether the officials in India are awake or are nodding.

Whatever may have been the attitude of Government towards the Mahomedan element in India in past years, the wisdom of adopting any other than a preferential policy in the administration of all Indian communities has been perceived. And the result has been to the good of all. Says the writer:—

> A more important and abiding result of the policy of treating the Hindu and the Musalman demands in the same spirit, and lending an equally ready ear to both, has been that the two communities are coming more and more to perceive, not only the harmlessness, but the utility of pursuing their common ends in harmony with each other. The personal influence of certain Muslim leaders in bridging the gulf between the two communities cannot, indeed, be ignored or undervalued, but besides the personal factor, the trend of events both in India and in other countries, and the Government's declared policy of discountenancing rivalries and deprecating the danger to the public peace therefrom, have given a new direction to the political activities of educated Musalmans. Right up to Lord Minto's time they were in the habit of emphasizing their separate interests more than the general interests represented by the National Congress, and their demand of special electorates marked the acme of their distrust of acquiescence in the reforms advocated by what has been called the Hindu Congress. Their separate interests are indeed watched by the Moslem League.

After all, the concessions demanded by the National Congress are, many of them, of more or less equal benefit to all communities, and when the Government is disposed to grant them, it would be ungracious for the Moslem League to belittle the services and repudiate the aspirations of the more forward political thinkers and workers. The fact that the league has adopted the ideal of "Colonial Self-Government" is of significance.

INTERNATIONAL MORALITY.

Writing in the October number of the *International Journal of Ethics*, Mr. L. S. Woolf estimates the actual effects the ideas of right and wrong have upon the handling of international affairs and explains that diplomats usually reduce their arguments to one of the three following forms: (1) we ought to do this because it is to our interest and it is morally right; (2) we ought to do this because it is to our interest and not morally wrong, and (3) we ought not to do this because it is morally wrong. The international action of Great Britain with regard to the slave-trade in 1815 was prompted by no motive of self-interest and was caused by a remarkable popular wave of positive and not merely negative morality. Again in 1876, Mr. Gladstone's astonishing campaign and speeches on the Bulgarian question produced a gust of popular feeling which swept the nation off its feet into the paths of peace and righteousness and destroyed the axiom of British policy that British interest made it imperative to bolster up Turkey and to keep Russia's hands off her at all costs. In these cases positive international morality has actually dictated national action, even wher there was no question of self-interest. There are of course innumerable cases in which statesmen and nations have claimed and rightly claimed to act from moral motives; but in these cases the dictates of national interests coincided with the dictates of international morality.

Negative international morality would dictate in the following way: "We ought not to do this, even though it is in our interests because it is wrong." It is beyond doubt that the actual standard of international morality, as revealed in the actions of one State towards other States, is very low when compared with the standard of individual morality in civilised or even uncivilised countries. Statesmen, however, even when they admit immoral or non-moral policy, always drape their notions with deductions of right and wrong and justify their action only by pleading necessity. Though a standard of international morality is always assumed and admitted, it has very little effect upon international relations, because of the traditional secrecy of foreign offices, and of the fact that nearly everyone professes a profound lack of interest in and sense of responsibility for his country's actions. Again international actions depend largely upon the traditions and standards of the small governing class actually responsible for them.

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BRITAIN'S WAR-FINANCE.

Mr. J. Ellis Barker, writing to the last number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*, considers the consequences of the nation's gigantic war expenditure upon its economic position and future. He supposes that the war might cost more than 3,000 or 4,000 million £ and perhaps more and that it may swallow up one-third or perhaps one-half of the national capital and may permanently double or even more than double taxation. Great Britain spent on the Napoleonic War about 1,100 million £—a sum about equivalent to the national income of two years and a half, and considerably larger than one-third of the entire national capital, at that epoch. Three-fifths of the cost of that war was raised by loans and two-fifths by taxation. Between 1792 and 1815, taxation was almost quadrupled, and the interest paid on the National Debt grew almost three-and-a-half-fold. Then the taxes on food, drink, tobacco, raw materials, imports and manufactures increased from three to fourfold, the stamp duties were raised at a similar ratio, while the direct taxes on the income and the property of the well-to-do and on their establishments, increased almost seven-fold. The present war has cost so far about 1,300 million £, and it may swallow up anything like 2 to 3 times the present charges incurred. The country will have to make up and more than make up for her war expenditure, however large it may be, by vastly increasing production, by reorganising her industries.

After the conclusion of the terrible Napoleonic War, the expected collapse of British industries and commerce did not take place, but on the contrary they expanded in an unprecedented manner. In no other period of the nation's history, did its wealth progress at a more rapid rate as between 1815 and 1845. The principal cause which led to this marvellous economic development was due to the great burden which 40 years of almost incessant warfare had laid upon the people; and it was the tax-collector who converted the backward and happy-go lucky British nation into a nation of strenuous and intelligent industrial workers.

It is to be hoped that the pressure of the war-taxation will once more stimulate inventiveness and industry, that necessity will cause Englishmen to discover new avenues which lead to prosperity and that the gigantic cost of the present war will be as easily borne as that of the Great War a century ago. The lamentable inefficiency of British production is apparent not only in manufacturing, but in agriculture and mining as well. British coal production per man has been steadily decreasing during the last 30 years and has fatally increased the price of British coal. The coal-miners have succeeded in reducing the output and creating an artificial scarcity. British employers have come to consider business to be a bore, if not a nuisance, and take little note of the scientific and technical progress made in other countries. Transport by railway is also lamentably behindhand and inefficient. And the workmen look upon improved organisation and machinery with positive and undisguised hostility; they believe in a high wage and a low output and consider that every increase in output injures other workers and themselves. The German agricultural area which is only 60 per cent. larger than that of this country produces approximately three times as large a quantity of animal and vegetable food. The English must pay for the war, by introducing in all their industries, the best and most scientific methods, must compel employers of labour to increase production to the utmost, to replace labour-wasting with the best labour-saving machinery and must induce the workers and trade-unions to reverse their insane policy of antagonising all mechanical improvements and of restricting output. Government should increase thrift among the masses, partly by taxing worthless amusements and partly by organising thrift among the workers.

FAILURE OF EDUCATION IN INDIA.

The *Hindustan Review* for December contains an article by Mr. P. N. Bose on "The Failure of Education in India." This failure he attributes to the intrusion of the lower European culture on the higher Indian plains of excessive respect for literacy:—

> The intellectual progress of new India, which it is supposed to secure, is thus of a more or less illusory character. In the face of the immense literary activity of new India, as evidenced by largely circulated numberless newspapers, periodicals, novels, dramas, etc., the like of which was absolutely unknown in old India, such a statement may sound astounding and paradoxical, but there does not appear to us to be any warrant for the inference of intellectual superiority which is drawn from it. It is based upon the unwarrantable assumptions, that the diffusion of literacy on modern lines implies diffusion of right knowledge, and that literacy on old Hindu lines or illiteracy implies ignorance. There are good many people of both sexes in old India who, though innocent of Western education or even illiterate, are better conversant with the affairs pertaining to their spheres of life and are morally and spiritually more advanced than are many literates of corresponding classes in new India. The intellectual development of the former, though its range is restricted, cannot be reasonably presumed to be inferior to that of the latter. The fact of the matter is new India has her full share of the superstitious veneration of the present age for printed matter.

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THE COST OF ADMINISTRATION.

Lala Lajpat Rai, in the *Modern Review*, takes the annual income of an Indian—the official figure in Lord Curzon's time—as Rs. 30. He estimates the purchasing power of the rupee in India, going by his own experience in the three countries, as equal to that of a dollar in the United States, and of a yen in Japan. He then proceeds to compare the salaries paid by the poorest country in the world with those paid by Japan and America, the latter probably the richest country in the world.

HEADS OF GOVERNMENT.

President of U. S.	...	$ 75,000
Prime Minister, Japan	...	Y 12,000
Viceroy, India	...	Rs. 2 50,800
		Plus large allowances.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Cabinet, U. S.	...	$ 12,000
„ Japan	...	Y 8,000
Viceroy's Council, India	...	Rs. 80,000

DEPARTMENTS.

UNITED STATES.

President, Naval Board	...	$ 13,500
Solicitor-General	...	„ 10,000
Assistant „ „	...	„ 9,000
Treasurer	..	„ 8,000
Chief of Staff	...	„ 8,000
Quarter Mastar General	...	„ 8,000
Rest from	...	„ 6,000 to 21,000

JAPAN.

Imperial Household	..	Y 5,500 to 8,000
President, Railway Board	...	„ 7,000
„ Board of Audit	...	„ 6,000
„ Adm. Litigation Court	...	„ 6,000
„ Privy Council	...	„ 6,000
Others from	...	„ 3,700 to 5,000

INDIA.

President, Railway Board	..	Rs. 60,000 to 72,000
Two Members „ „	...	„ 48,000 (each)
Secretaries in 5 Departments	...	„ 48,000 „
Secretary, Education	...	„ 36,000
Comptroller Auditor-General	...	„ 42,000
D. G. Post and Telegraph	...	„ 36,000 to 42,000

PROVINCES.

One U. S. State pays its Governor $12,000 a year; five pay $ 10,000: one $ 8,000; one $ 7,000; 36,000; the rest (43) $ 5,000 or less.

In Japan, Governors of Provinces have Y. 3,700 to Y. 4,500 and allowances of Y. 400 to Y. 600.

The Governors of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, each Rs. 120,000; Lieut.-Governors, Rs. 100,000; Chief Commissioners, Assam and Central Provinces (with Berar) Rs. 62,000 each; Delhi, Rs. 36,000. All have large extra allowances.

OTHER POSTS.

The rates run in about similar proportions for the higher offices, but in India there is a striking and painful peculiarity, the huge gap between the higher offices and the lower. Lala Lajpat Rai illustrates by the Police. The New York Chief Inspector receives $ 3,500 a year, and a Patrolman, our Constable, receives $ 1,400. (The Chief Commissioner has $ 7,500.) In India the Inspectors General have from Rs. 24,000 to Rs. 36,000; their Deputies from Rs. 18,000 to Rs. 21,600; District Superintendents from Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 14,000 and so downwards to constables, who have only from Rs. 120 to Rs. 144 a year.

HIGH AND LOW PAY.

Lala Lajpat Rai concludes:

We do not believe there is a single country in the world where the difference between the remunerations allowed to the highest and the lowest State servants is so disproportionate as in India; yet there is a tendency still further to increase the salaries of the high officials, European and Indian, while even very insignificant increases to the salaries of the lowest servants of the State are very grudgingly allowed. . . . The fact is that the Government in India does not attach sufficient importance to the ordinary man. His needs are often overlooked in the desire to please the higher services, and to keep them contended. Considering that every man in India is supposed to have a family, the condition of the lowest official is extremely miserable, and justifies corruption in their ranks.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA. By T. D. Gajra. ["Indian Education," December 1915.]

INDIA AND THE NAVY. By Mr. S. B. Banerjea, M.A.S. (Lond.) ["The Hindustan Review," December 1915.]

THE LEGAL POSITION OF INDIAN WOMEN. By P. C. Diwanji, M.A., LL.M. ["The International Panorama," January 1916.]

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION IN LOCAL BODIES. By Ghulam Md. Sahib Mahajir. ["The Local Self-Government Gazette," December 1915.]

INDIAN AGRICULTURE. By Mr. V. G. Kale. ["The Wealth of India," December 1915.]

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QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS AND THE MOSLEM LEAGUE ON SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

The following is the full-text of the Resolution on Self-Government for India passed at the last Session of the Congress held in Bombay, December 1915:—

That this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived to introduce further and substantial measures of reform towards the attainment of Self-Government as defined in Article I. of its Constitution, namely, reforming and liberalising the system of government in this country so as to secure to the people an effective control over it by amongst others; (*a*) the introducing of provincial autonomy, including financial independence; (*b*) the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils so as to make them truly and adequately representative of all sections of the people and to give them effective control over the acts of Executive Government by (*c*) reconstruction of the various existing Executive Councils and the establishment of Legislative Councils in provinces where they do not now exist; (*d*) the re-adjustment of relations between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, and a liberal measure of local Self-Government.

In order to work out a scheme for carrying out the above, the following further Resolution was passed:—

That this Congress authorises the All-India Congress Committee to frame a scheme of reform, a programme of continuous work, educative and propagandist, having regard to the principles embodied in this Resolution; it further authorises the said Committee to confer with any committee that may be appointed by the All-India Moslem League for the same purpose and to take such further measures as may be necessary. The said Committee to submit its report on or before 1st September 1916, to the General Secretaries who shall circulate it to the different Provincial Congress Committees as early as possible.

The following is the full-text of the Resolution passed by the All-India Moslem League at its last Session held in the Taj Mahal Hotel at Bombay, 1st January 1916.

The All-India Moslem League resolves that a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to formulate and frame a scheme of reforms, and that the said Committee is authorized to confer with political and other organisations or committees, if any, appointed by any such organisation as they may deem fit, provided always that due regard is paid to the needs and interests of the Musalmans of India in the formulation of the aforesaid scheme of reforms.

The Committee shall submit its report and scheme to the Council of the All-India Moslem League to be presented to the League at its next Annual Sessions,

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

(*Speeches at the National Congress.*)

I. THE HONOURABLE BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In moving this Resolution I am confronted with an initial difficulty. A spectre is conjured up to frighten us out of this Resolution. We are told by our critics, and they are as multitudinous as the stars of heaven, and by our candid friends, whose number is considerable, that to move a resolution of this kind at a time like the present and to formulate proposals of Self-Government now would be to embarrass and hamper the Government. If I could be persuaded of the soundness of this view, I, for my part, would have no part or share in this Resolution, and furthermore I would ask you to drop it. Our attitude—the attitude of the educated community—throughout the crisis of this war has deen one of profound devotion to the Throne and of active co-operation with the Government. Agitation is far from our minds. We may deliberate, discuss, even formulate proposals of reform, but we, men of the Congress, are firmly resolved to embark upon no agitation, no controversy, and not to let loose the forces of public opinion, so as to put pressure upon the Government. The war cannot last for ever, and peace must come. God grant that it may come soon. We must prepare for the peace and for the situation in which we shall find ourselves at the conclusion of peace. I can think of no more patriotic task than that. We shall soon be called upon to play the part of men. Let us equip ourselves for that exalted function.

The idea of readjustment is in the air, not only here in India, but all the world over. The heart of the Empire is set upon it. It is the problem of problems upon which humanity is engaged. What is this war for? Why are these nameless sufferings endured? This is a war of readjustment, a war that will set right the claims of minor nationalities, and uphold and vindicate the sanctity of treaties, charters and proclamations—ours is one of them and similar "scraps of paper."

They are already talking of what will happen after the war in Canada and Australia. They are talking about it from the floor of the House of Commons, in the gatherings of public men and Ministers of State. May we not talk a little too from our standpoint? And are we to be charged

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with embarrassing the Government when we follow the examples of illustrious public men in all quarters of the globe who are weighted with a sense of responsibility at least as onerous as that felt by our critics and our candid friends?

The Resolution says that the time has come when a definite advance should be made for the attainment of our goal, which is Self-Government. There are those who tell us that we are unfit for Self-Government, that the goal is distant, very very distant, so distant as to be illusory, and that not even from the Sinai of hope and faith can we obtain a glimpse of the promised land. A high authority, speaking from his place in Parliament, said that, so far as his imagination could pierce, he could never conceive of a time when India would be fit for Parliamentary institutions. The same authority is the author of the Reform Scheme. I am no prophet and do not desire to be one though my Brahminical ancestors were (*laughter*), but I will say this that it will be one of the bitterest ironies of fate that will hand down Lord Morley to distant generations as the Simon de Montfort of the future Parliament of India (*cheers*).

Let us analyse the problem. Self-Government is the order of nature, the dispensation of Divine Providence. Every community must be the master of its own destinies. That is a part of the Divine Law and the immutable order of the moral universe written in every line of universal history, written in characters of light by an invisible hand. Every deviation, every departure from it, is transient and transitional and like the compass pointing always northward steadily deflects towards the goal which is Self Government.

Self-Government being the natural condition of things it is incumbent upon those who say that we are not fit for Self-Government and that it is a distant goal, so distant as to fade away into the mists of the unseen future—I say it is incumbent upon them to prove their case. The burden of proof is upon them and not upon me. But with the chivalrous spirit characteristic of our great movement I will come to their rescue and take upon myself the burden. I am prepared to descend from the vantage-ground which I occupy and meet my adversary in the open. I am willing to fight him with his own weapons and upon a footing of perfect equality.

Let us survey the past, examine the present, and look around and then pronounce our verdict. In the morning of the world before Rome had been built, before Babylon and Nineveh emerged into the historic arena, our ancestors had founded those village organizations which represent the first beginnings of Self-Government. So well-organised were they, so tenacious of life and vitality that they survived the crash of Empires, the subversion of Thrones, the fall of dynasties, and lived down to our own times with a never-ending life.

Coming down to more recent times what do we find? Wherever we have been tried we have never been found wanting. We have been tried in the matter of Local Self-Government under adverse conditions as admitted by Lord Morley and yet the experiment has proved successful. We have been tried in the higher regions of Self-Government under the Reform Scheme of 1909, and again we have been successful.

Here we have a stupendous gathering of representative men from all parts of India. Look north, south, east and west, is there any other part of the world which can present to the view an assembly equal to this? It has been observed, and rightly so, that Self-Government is government by discussion, and the discussions in this great assembly are carried on with a sense of moderation, self-restraint and regard for constituted authority which is proof positive of our capacity for Self-Government (*cheers*). In this great assembly by the manner in which we conduct our deliberations we demonstrate that we are qualified for government by discussion.

But that is not all. The best training ground for Self-Government are the institutions of Self-Government, and Mr. Gladstone is my authority for it. He says: "Free institutions alone qualify a people for Self-Government. If you deny the people free institutions, you take away from them the most useful academies for training in Self-Government."

Look abroad for an illustration of this truth. Japan was given full Parliamentary institutions immediately after Japan had emerged from mediæval feudalism. Japan was not presumed to be fit for Self-Government; but after fifty years training in the actual work of Self-Government, it is the universal verdict that the experiment of Parliamentary Government in Japan without a previous trial was fully justified.

Take the Philippine Islands, which only the other day became a province of America. America has given her free institutions, and with the best results. Let not our critics start the objection that we are not qualified. When they say so, we reply: You are out of court because you have not given us free institutions which will serve as a training ground,

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The Resolution lays down the principles upon which the scheme of reform is to proceed. First and foremost is Provincial Autonomy. What is Provincial Autonomy? It is the government of the province, not by the bureaucracy of the province, but by the chosen representatives of the people (*cheers*). It is the government of a province by the people of the province for the benefit of the people of that province.

Financial independence is the basis of Provincial Autonomy. The revenues of a province belong to the province. Many years ago, Sir James Westland, speaking from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council, said that the revenues of India belong to the Government of India. I wholly dissent from that view. The revenues of India belong to the people of India—to you and me held in trust by the Government of India for the benefit of the people of India. It is open to our trustees to delegate their authority to a subordinate administration in whom they have confidence. We, who represent the people and voice their throbbing aspirations, appeal to the Government of India to delegate its powers over the revenues of the provinces and to divest itself of all control over those revenues for the self-government of the provinces. You will ask me what will the Government of India do if we take away these revenues. There are Imperial revenues such as Customs, Salt, Railways, Post and Telegraphs and Opium, and they may be supplemented by rateable contributions from the provinces if necessary. We stand on a very firm ground in asking for Provincial Autonomy because the pledge of Provincial Autonomy is given in the great Despatch of the 25th August, 1911. An attempt has been made to attenuate the message contained in that document. Confronted with a hostile House, Lord Crewe declared—he was a bit afraid of Lord Curzon and Company—that this Despatch contained nothing more than a delegation of power from superior to subordinate authority. This view, however, is not borne out by the context. What is more, the assumption was promptly refuted by his Lieutenant who, in the free atmosphere of a liberal club—I am speaking of Mr. Montagu—said that this Despatch represented a new departure in Indian policy and opened out a new vision to the people of India. True it is a new vision. Truly it is the beacon-light that will guide us in the grand march that will lead us to the promised land. We take our stand on this Despatch, and we resolutely stick to it, and in season and out of season call for its redemption. There are other recommendations embodied in the Resolution to which I am speaking.

Let me refer to the expansion and re-constitution of the Legislative Councils. I am a member of two Legislative Councils, and I know something about them and their working. In my own province it was declared with a flourish of trumpets that we had a non-official majority, a very captivating phrase, but a pure, undiluted, unqualified myth.

A non-official majority is very different from a popular majority. I do not remember that we have ever been able to defeat the Government by a non-official majority except on one occasion. Therefore that myth of a non-official majority implying greater power in the popular representatives must be dispelled. We must have an absolute, unqualified majority of popular representatives.

Then I come to another point. We propose resolutions—and I am one of the greatest sinners in that respect—and these resolutions are sometimes graciously accepted and as often ungraciously rejected. When they are accepted what does it matter? A resolution after all is a pious hope and aspiration. The Government is under no statutory obligation to give effect to it. I must, however, say to the credit of Lord Carmichael that so far as His Excellency is personally concerned as the head of the Bengal Government, he is full of liberal sympathies and a resolution accepted by his Government is not always a pious hope. But in a matter of this kind we cannot allow ourselves to be dependent on individual discretion which may often mean individual caprice; and we must see to it that every resolution accepted by a majority in the Legislative Councils shall be binding upon the Government and carried out. (*Hear, hear.*) I am encouraged by the attention you have been giving me but it involves a reciprocal duty on your part, namely, that you will do your best to bring this controversy about Self-Government to a successful, triumphant issue.

Brother Delegates, there remain two more points. I now come to the Executive Councils. My friend the President was a member of that Council. He will not let us into the secrets of his prison-house; but I think if the depths of his heart were sounded, it is possible that we might be able to extract a residue of sub-conscious feeling which would tell us that at times he felt it would have been better if he was associated with an Indian colleague, and as a matter of fact Sir Ali Imam in the admirable speech he made in reply to the dinner given in his honour by the

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inhabitants of Simla told us that at times the cloud of depression hung heavily over his mind and he felt discouraged, and was only supported by the active sympathy of His Excellency the Viceroy. Therefore, I say, we Congressmen ought to come to the rescue of our Indian representatives on the Executive Councils, (*hear, hear*) and resolve that there should be a substantial increase in the number of such representatives. Nor is this all. We think that at least one-half of the members of the Executive Councils should be elected by the elected Indian representatives of the Legislative Councils. We do not want Rajas, Maharajas and Nawab Bahadurs, unless they are popular representatives who will be answerable to us.

We have asked for Provincial Autonomy. We must also press for the independence of the Government of India. We say that the fetters imposed upon the Government of India by the India Office should be withdrawn, and that the Government of India should reflect the public opinion of India and not that of Lancashire. If those fetters are removed, I am confident that the excise duties on Indian cotton goods will disappear.

The Resolution says that the All-India Congress Committee is to formulate Self-Government in concert with the Moslem League. I rejoice that the Moslem League is going to meet to-morrow in this city and hold a session. Our fraternal greetings go out to the Muslim League. We sympathise with them in their patriotic efforts. May the Divine Dispenser of all blessings preside over their deliberations. We are brothers, standing shoulder to shoulder on the same platform for the advancement of the interests of the same mother, a mother whom the Hindu, the Mussulman, the Parsi and the Sikh alike venerate, who lies prostrate at our feet and whom it is the sacred duty of every Indian to rejuvenate, to uplift, elevate, and to prepare for the high destiny which in the decrees of an all-wise Providence has been assigned to her among the nations of the earth.

The ideals of the Moslem League and of the Congress in the matter of Self-Government are the same. The goal is the same. We both want Self-Government within the Empire. A common demand put forward by the Moslem League and the National Congress and backed by the voice of United India and pursued with unflinching tenacity of purpose would be irresistible.

The Subjects Committee of the Congress have authorised the All-India Congress Committee to prepare a programme of continued work of an educative and propagandist character for the spread of the ideals of Self-Government among our people. As an old Congressman this appeals to me most forcibly. Self-Government has always formed the principal plank in the Congress platform ever since the birth of the Congress. In 1890, we sent a deputation to England, and as the result of its labours, the Legislative Councils were reformed and expanded for the first time on a popular basis, and the Parliamentary Statute of 1892 was enacted. From Bengal we sent up a memorial to the House of Commons signed by fifty thousand persons. Again and again Mr. Gokhale visited England as our delegate, and helped in the elaboration of the Reform Scheme. In 1914, another deputation went to England in connection with the reform of the India Councils. Let us make a supreme effort at the present psychological moment to educate people and accomplish this work of propagandist which I hope will culminate in the crowning triumph that will give to us and our country the inestimable boon of Self-Government.

Mr. Asquith has observed in one of his great speeches:—"The Empire rests, not upon the predominance, artificial and superficial, of race or class, but upon the loyal affection of free communities built upon the basis of equal right." We appeal to Mr. Asquith to redeem his words in their application to India. We aspire to be a free community, enjoying equal rights with the subjects of the Crown in other parts of the Empire. Other great statesmen in the United Kingdom and even in the Colonies have spoken in the same strain. The angle of vision of the British democracy in regard to Indian affairs has, indeed, changed—but not, I am afraid, the attitude and outlook of our officials out here in India. Their angle of vision remains the same as before. The Press Act is being worked with a severity which has caused uneasiness throughout the country. The rigours of the Arms Act remain unrelaxed, notwithstanding the prevalence of dacoities in more provinces than one and the helplessness of the Police to protect the people or to suppress the dacoities. We are barred out of the commissioned ranks of the Army despite the fact that our soldiers are freely shedding their blood in the defence of the Empire, and that their courage, resourcefulness and power of initiative have evoked the admiration of the civilized world. We are prevented from enlistment as volunteers. In England the cry is for more men for the front and recent papers indicate that conscription

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is about to be resorted to. Does not India present a most promising field for recruitment which, if properly utilized, would obviate the necessity of conscription? The youth and the manhood of our race are eager to unsheathe the sword in the defence of the Empire; but the call has not yet come. Will it ever come? What is needed is a little more trust and confidence in the people which, I am sure, will be reciprocated with enthusiastic gratitude. Read the open page of Indian history and note the outstanding lesson which it teaches. A stranger, the son of an adventurer, Akbar enthroned himself in the hearts of the people. What was the secret of the wonderful fascination which he exercised over the many millions of his subjects? He loved and trusted them, and they loved and trusted him in an abounding measure. Centuries have elapsed since Akbar has been laid in his grave; his princely house has disappeared; the Moghul Empire has crumbled into dust; but the name of Akbar still excites the profoundest veneration among Hindoos and Mahomedans alike. But we do not despair. The British democracy are the masters of our masters, and when their angle of vision has changed, we may be sure that the outlook of our officials here will undergo a similar transformation in regard to the great principles of Indian policy and administration.

We aspire to Self-Government because we want to be a nation, and secure for ourselves a place in the comity of nations, so that we may fulfil the high destinies assigned to us in the Providence of God. We aspire to Self-Government for the highest ends of life, for the moral elevation and the uplifting of the character of our people. With the brand of political inferiority marked on our brow we cannot grow to the full height of our manhood or of our civic and moral responsibility. The campaign in which we are engaged is thus moral as well as political in its character and complexion, and we are bound to triumph. For we have with us the time forces, the sympathies of civilized mankind, the good wishes of the true and the thinking in all parts of the world and, above all, the blessings of Almighty Providence. Thus equipped we are invincible and irresistible. That is the faith which inspires us and "faith," says the divinely inspired founder of Christianity, "can remove mountains." Self-Government is inscribed on our banner. We hold it aloft, we invite the representatives of all creeds and races to gather round it, and we are resolved to carry it, God willing, to an assured victory. (*Prolonged cheers.*)

II. MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

The Resolution which I have the honour to second before you to-day is, perhaps, the most momentous that has ever been laid before the National Congress during the thirty years of its splendid existence, for not only does it proclaim that a step is to be taken towards the attainment of Self-Government, but also it lays down the principles of reform which, if embodied in the committee's report, will make Self-Government a reality, not in the distant vista of time but within the lifetime of the present generation.

I find a bold demand is made that we should have expanded and reformed Legislative Councils to make them truly and adequately representative of all sections of the people and, most vital of all, to give them an effective control over the acts of the Executive Government. If adequate representation is given, if effective control over the executive is granted, then it will be difficult to say that you have not Self-Government in India. It is the largest step that the Congress has ever taken and it will make the Congress memorable in the grateful memory of the India of the future.

Not only so, but there is the vital proviso that the All-India Congress Committee is to frame not only a scheme of reform but a programme of continuous work, educative and propagandist, not agitation, you must understand, but educative propaganda. I am not clever enough to distinguish between that and popular agitation, but I beg you to cling to the words of the resolution, which are doubtless statesmanlike and desirable.

In the brief time at my disposal I want to put to you three reasons why Self-Government is necessary. One is the practical reason, namely, the need for legislation on certain vital points; the second is the economic condition of the country, the most pressing reason of all; the third the historical justification for the granting of Self-Government to India.

As regards the first there are certain things that press upon the Nation which would be rapidly altered if we had a majority, an effective majority in the Legislative Councils and, if, as I hope, they are made wholly elected. What we require has been laid down for us on very useful lines. It was said, and I believe truly said, that it was impossible for England to train India on her literature and in admiration for her institutions, teach her that taxation without representation was robbery, and to expect her to remain unrepresented and without any effective control

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over the budgets which are passed year after year.

Sometimes people say that by some inscrutable Providence England has come to this land. I see nothing inscrutable in it, for Great Britain, when England came here, was the only free country in Europe, and Providence chose her to come that she might bring India into touch with Western institutions. (*Cheers.*) The ways of Providence become inscrutable only when you have un-British rule in India. Then you may have a conundrum that you will ever find it impossible to solve.

There is another reason, a very practical one, why we believe that if we have really representative institutions we shall be able to carry the measures we desire. This Congress has been asking for thirty years for the separation of the executive and judicial functions and has not gained it, but in some Indian States that separation has already been made. Baroda has done it, Gwalior has done it, and when you have Self-Government you will not ask for it in thirty years, but you will make it in your first year (*cheers*). Your Panchayats, Gwalior, Baroda, Patiala and many other States have already established those village councils successfully, and yet in British India it is impossible to get them thoroughly on foot.

You will sweep away that Arms Act, of which our President has so earnestly complained. You will get rid of the Press Act against which you have already protested. You will get rid of the Seditious Meetings Act, and you will also get relief from the Old Regulation (Regulation 3 of 1818), the shameful revival of the Old Regulations which exists only in India to-day. These are some reasons why we demand legislative assemblies with a majority at least of the representatives of the people.

Take the economic reason. Take the incidence of taxation. It is admitted by the Government that in India there is no effective margin of taxation. It has been pointed out by Mr. Gokhale, among others, that taxation of a country trenches on the subsistence of the labourer. It has been pointed out that India's production amounts to £1 2*s.* per head, and we find that in 1910 the taxation, local and imperial, was 5*s.* 5*d.* per head. You have taxation which threatens bankruptcy of India by the ruin of her agricultural population. Mr. Wacha has told us, and there is no better authority, that the indebtedness of the peasantry rises to Rs. 5,00,00,00,000. Is that no reason for changing the system of Government which produces it?

I ask you to consider in relation to this not only the question of taxation, but the admitted fact that India is the most heavily taxed country in the world, not in amount, not in shillings or rupees, but in proportion to the production of the masses of her people. You cannot measure taxation by counting up a number of coins. You must find the produce of the labourer and say how much you tax.

The next point is that you have admittedly the most costly Government in the civilised world in India, and therefore the necessity for a crushing taxation; nor is it only that the Government is costly, but you have to remember that the taxes that are raised go largely out of the country in what is known as drains, which are bleeding India and asking that the lancet should be placed in the most congested places. You will have to remember that the drains run to about £20,000,000, and such a large amount goes in various charges of interest on capital and is managed in the most extravagant fashion. You must remember that the railways have been dealt with by the State as no business people would deal with them, and they had sold their shares at par when they do not bring in the market very much more than half.

I want you, younger men, passionate youths as you are, to turn your thought to these details of taxation and understand why it is you demand Self-Government for India. Then I ask you to remember the result. Now over eleven resolutions in this Congress have spoken of the horrible poverty of the people. They say that the Congress is a middle class and upper class organisation. If the Congress were the Parliament of India, the poverty of the people would long ago have been redressed. I find in the Ninth Congress Resolution number Eight, after concurring with the views expressed in the previous Congresses, stated that fifty millions of population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation and that in every decade several millions actually perish by taxation. I find Sir William Hunter saying that more than forty millions are always on the verge of starvation. I find Sir Charles Elliot saying that half the population never know what it is to have a full meal. These, Sir, are not impatient idealists. They are historians. (*Cheers.*)

You have to consider that poverty, you have to realise what it means, you have to know the agony of hunger and then think that, as

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Mr. R. C. Dutt has declared, a hundred millions of the agricultural population are always on the verge of starvation. Some amount of impatience is justifiable when the people are suffering to that miserable extent. My fear for India is not the passionate enthusiasm of misguided youths but the spectre of hunger, the frightful spectre and coming bankruptcy which means an awful revolution of the starving people, whom nothing can check or rein.

The third reason is historical. Five thousand years ago this country was trading with ancient Babylon, and from that, three thousand years before the Christ down to 1613 after Christ, there is no break in the commercial and industrial prosperity of India. Five thousand years of Self-Government, believe you.

There were wars and there were revolts. Read history before you speak glibly about the disturbance in mediæval and ancient India. If war was here, war was there. Akbar was reigning when Elizabeth was on the throne. Queen Elizabeth gave the first Charter to the Company to trade with India. In the reign of James the First, the Company was allowed to establish itself in Surat and along the Western Coast. Since that time one King was beheaded and two Civil Wars on behalf of the exiles of the Stuart family have taken place. I do not know that Indian Wars were so very much more mischievous than the wars that prevailed over the whole of Europe during those historical times, (*cheers*) ; for, after all, is it not true that village organisations went on through them all ? Is it not true that villages were left untouched ? Is it not on record that while soldiers were fighting, ploughmen were ploughing the land within the sight of the battling army? The test of the goodness of Government is wealth and prosperity of the people. While India governed herself so long, every country in Europe fought for the Charter, that was the result of Self-Government in India. Whatever faults might have defaced that system to-day, our President has told us that India is the most poverty-stricken country in the world.

I put two things before you as answer to the statement that we are not fit for Self-Government. I submit that five thousand years of success is greater than the theory of as few Englishmen.

We were told that India is a poor cripple, with the limbs broken, tissues lacerated; aided with splints and bandages by benevolent English physicians. India is no sick man. She is a giant who was in sleep and is now awake. (*Cheers.*) Are you fit for Self-Government ? Mr. Gokhale, who knew his people very well, said that you were compelled to come in an atmosphere of inferiority, that made the tallest of you to bow your heads, and that the greatest moral wrong done to India was that she had changed in character under the present method of Government. Men who are mere representatives of India from every part of the land are not children of savages emerging from barbarism needing to be trained in the elements of Self-Government by a Western nation. They are the children of heroes, children of warriors, worthy to govern their own land, (*cheers*). Save for one reason, and that is that the noblest amongst you seem to think you are inferior to Englishmen. If only you will trust yourselves, if only you will believe in your own power, in your own strength. Did not our President Satyendra Sinha sit face to face with the Viceroy in the Executive Council ? Still do you think that an Indian is not worthy to rule in his own land ? Are we to think that he is the one swallow that does not make the summer ? Are we not to believe, as I believe, that there are hundreds like Satyendra, and that they also are worthy to fill such a place if only they had chances to do it ?

I wish that representation might be given to the Legislative Councils, as it means Self-Government in India by the guardians of the present, with the splendid future that lies before you. If, as Surendranath Bannerji has said on this platform, you are not emasculated as a Nation, stand up. For England understands when people plead face to face to give them free institutions. England is a country of free men and she does not understand people being contented to be under the rule of foreign domination. Show England that you are grateful for what she has done, for she has taught you the value of free institutions and has shown you, by the example of hers, how freedom is to be won and how a Nation becomes self-governing. (*Loud cheers*).

A HISTORY OF THE CONGRESS.

INDIAN NATIONAL EVOLUTION.

A SURVEY OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

BY AMVIKA CHARAN MAZUMDAR.

PRICE, RS TWO.

To Subscribers of "The Indian Review," Re. 1-8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras

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III. THE HON'BLE PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.

I have come to the conviction that there is no hope for political advancement but in better social surroundings for the peoples, in the progress of education and in other important directions, which will not be adequately achieved unless you get a real measure of self-government. I confess that you can find no parallel in the case of India under the British Empire. India is not a primitive population, just emerging from the savage state. Five thousand years of civilisation stand behind us. Until yesterday, our people used to rule over this vast continent. The Empire of Asoka was more extensive than the British Empire in India. During the last 1000 years India has suffered from internecine disturbances and foreign invasions. At this date one-third of India is ruled by Indians, rulers of Indian States are none but Indians, and their Dewans are none but Indians. When people with these traditions, history and training take up the question of self-government it is a sight for the gods to weep over. Happily in the midst of sorrows there is reason for comfort. We have long been placed under the rule of a nation which boasts of its love of freedom and is shedding its blood and is sacrificing the flower of its manhood to uphold the cause of liberty, truth, justice and civilisation. Having been placed under such a people, we have received a nationalising education, for which we are deeply grateful. But with that boon of education, with the knowledge we have imbibed, has come the consciousness of a feeling of degradation in finding that we of this wonderful land of ancient traditions are held to be incompetent to govern ourselves. We are asking only for certain steps to lead us to the goal of Self-government. Self-government unqualified would mean that we should have full control over the Army and Navy and our foreign relations. We do not ask for that; we are asking that in matters domestic, which do not affect foreign policy, the Army or the Navy, except in sanctioning expenditure. The people of India should no longer continue to plead by Resolutions which are almost always defeated, by petitions which are almost always disregarded, and by other ways which do not bring any successful result. We do not ask for the departure from India of our rulers. We ask to be liberally associated with them in governing ourselves. We ask, as the Australians, Red Indians and others—any one of whom choosing to appear for the Indian Civil Service examination is admitted into the Government of India —that at least the sons of India should be admitted into that Government.

The great point is, we ask that the system shall continue, but there shall be only a little readjustment, a little shifting of the power, that it should no longer be in the power of the Executive to say "No" by a dead official majority to every reasonable request of the non-official members of Councils; that it should be the duty of the Executive to carry out the wishes of people, as expressed by their representatives in the Councils, to spend money on education, sanitation, the promotion of indigenous industries and other reforms for which we have been praying for the last thirty years. Self-government does not mean the satisfaction of a mere political sentiment, though even that is of great value; it means an opportunity to do what the Government of the day have failed to do, despite repeated requests. We want an opportunity to carry out those reforms upon which the people are united, and I hope and trust that every Indian who recognises his duty to the Motherland, will stand boldly forward to advocate the cause and carry on all the agitation necessary to achieve that end. The Resolution does not express a mere pious wish. There are friends prepared to go to England to agitate and work from year's end to year's end until they have achieved the goal. I appeal to everyone to put in his share of support in this great cause. I have no doubt this hope of ours will be realised. Our Shastras and Vedas say: a man becomes what he desires to become. I pray you, therefore, to earnestly and prayerfully desire to be freemen, cease to think that you are serfs or slaves, cease to think that you have no capacity to govern yourselves, cease to think that the differences which may and do exist amongst us constitute an obstacle which cannot be overcome. Believe that you are as good as any mortal man born in any clime or land, believe that all you need is the opportunity to show what you can achieve, and, God willing, success will come to you earlier than you expect.

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MR. GANDHI ON INDIANS AND THE COLONIES.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, in moving the Resolution on India and the Colonies at the Congress, said :—

Mr. President and Friends,—The Resolution that stands in my name reads thus :—

The Congress regrets that the existing laws affecting Indians in South Africa and Canada have not, in spite of the liberal and imperialistic declarations of Colonial statesmen, been justly and equitably administered, and this Congress trusts that the Self-Governing Colonies will extend to the Indian emigrants equal rights with European emigrants and that the Imperial Government will use all possible means to secure the rights which have been hitherto unjustly withheld from them, thus causing widespread dissatisfaction and discontent.

Friends,—It is an irony of fate that whilst this vast assembly will be regretting the hostile attitude that has been adopted by the Self-Governing Colonies, a Contingent of your countrymen formed in South Africa will be nearing the theatre of war in order to help the sick and the wounded, and I am in possession of facts in connection with this Contingent formed in South Africa which shows that it is composed of the middle classes which, in accordance with the *Times of India*, are going to form the future self-governing nation. Those men are drawn from ex-indentured Indians and their children, from the petty hawkers, the toilers, the traders, and yet the Colonies do not consider it necessary to alter their attitudes, nor do I see the logic in altering their policy. It is the fashion now-a-days to consider that because our humble share in not being disloyal to the Government at the present juncture we are entitled to the rights which have been hitherto withheld from us as if those rights were withheld because our loyalty was suspected. No, my friends, if they have been withheld from us, the reasons are different and those reasons will have to be altered. They are due, some of them to undying prejudices, to economic causes and these will have to be examined; but prejudice will have to be cut down. And what are the hardships that our countrymen are labouring under in South Africa, in Canada, and the other Self-Governing Colonies? In South Africa the Settlement of 1914 secures what the passive resisters were fighting for and nothing more, and they were fighting for the restoration of legal equality in connection with emigrants from British India and nothing more.

That legal equality has been restored, but the domestic troubles still remain and if it was not the custom unfortunately inherited for the last forty years that the predominant language in this assembly should be English, our Madras friends will have taken good care to have learnt one of the northern vernaculars, and then there are men enough in South Africa who would tell you about the difficulties that we have to go through even now in South Africa in connection with holding landed property, in connection with men who having been once domiciled in South Africa return to South Africa, their difficulties in connection with the admission of their children, their difficulties in connection with holding licenses of trade. These are, if I may so call them, bread and butter difficulties. There are other difficulties which I shall not enumerate just now. In Canada it is not possible for those members of the Sikhs who are domiciled there to bring their wives and their children. (*Cries of shame, shame.*) The law is the same, but administration is widely unequal, so unequal that they cannot bring their wives and children, and the law or the administration still remains the same in spite of declarations about justice and what not, in view of the hostilities and in view of the splendid aid which India is said to have rendered to the Empire. How are these difficulties to be met. I do not intend to go into details, but the Congress proposes that this difficulty can be met by an appeal to the sense of justice of the Colonial statesmen and by an appeal to the Imperial Government. I fear that the Congress can only do this, but the Resolution so far as it goes in one respect is inadequate to the occasion. Lord Hardinge, only a few months ago, made a fervent appeal to Indian publicists and to Indian public statesmen for helping him to an honourable solution which will retain the dignity of India, at the same time, not because of any trouble to the Self-Governing Colonies. Lord Hardinge is still waiting for an answer, that answer is not supplied by the Congress, nor can it be by the Congress ; it is to be supplied by an association, the specialists, if I may so call them. The Congress has given them the lead, and it is for these associations to frame the details in which they will have to examine the rival claims and to offer to Lord Hardinge a solution which shall be saturated with details, a solution which will satisfy the Colonial Governments as well as the Indian people and will not take away anything whatsoever from the just demands that this Resolution makes. With these words I have much pleasure in proposing this Resolution.

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INDIAN PRINCES AT THE FRONT.

Saint Nihal Singh, writing in the *Observer* on "The Rajas' Gifts," says:—

Only those who know of the sumptuous arrangements that exist in the Rajahs' palaces to insure their comfort can appreciate the depth of devotion to the British cause that impels them to bear the hardships of compaign life. At home they have large and commodious palaces, with scores of attendants, generations of whose ancestors have served the Rajahs, and who perform every possible function for their masters, even in some instances to the point of cutting away the meat from the bone, or placing a spoonful of rice in the Ruler's mouth. Even the most important Raja at the Front has to share his small room with another, and must content himself with a single attendant, who must simultaneously serve as private secretary, aide-de-camp, major domo, and valet. So anxious have some cadets been to come to the Front that they have put aside their pride of race and volunteered to serve as hostlers, if that position would enable them to get into the fight. It is characteristic of the culture of these personages that the hardship that they have felt the most has been the necessity of going without their customary baths. Privations, however, have no terrors for India's fighters, be they Rajas or commoners. Indeed, one of the most distinguishing traits of character of many of the Indian Rulers is to inure themselves to hardships. The Maharaja of Patiala, who was compelled by illness to abandon his journey to the Front, sleeps on straw, under ordinary Army blankets, when his troops are engaged in manœuvres.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN INDORE.

The excellent example set by Their Highnesses the Gaekwar of Baroda and the Maharaja of Mysore in making elementary education compulsory in their States has not been lost on their brother Feudatory Chiefs. The Maharaja Holkar of Indore has just followed in their wake and has issued a cricular declaring this kind of education compulsory throughout his State. We hope this measure of the pioneers of reform among our Ruling Chiefs will serve as an eye-opener to our Government and induce other princes of India to introduce this much-desired reform into their territories.

RAJPUTANA AIRCRAFT FUND.

The Maharao of Kotah has contributed Rs. 30,000 as an opening subscription to the Rajputana Aircraft Fund, and the Maharana of Udaipur has promised a contribution of Rs. 1,00,000 to the same object.

RAJPIPLA'S GIFT.

His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla has offered to His Majesty's Government through His Excellency the Governor of Bombay an armed aeroplane in commemoration of his installation on the *gadi*.

THE CHIEF OF THE OUDH STATE.

The Chief of the Oudh State in the Southern Mahratha country is making arrangements of the introduction of the Panchayat system in his State. It will be remembered that he recently introduced compulsory primary education in his State.

KISHENGARH AND JHALLAWAR.

The Maharaja of Kishengarh has subscribed half-a-lakh to the Hindu University, and the Raj Rana of Jhallawar one thousand rupees per annum in perpetuity.

MYSORE IMPERIAL SERVICE LANCERS.

In the course of a speech at a meeting of the Mysore Imperial Service Lancers' War Fund Committee, who have so far collected about Rs. 10,000, the Yuvaraj of Mysore remarked: "It is true that our Lancers form but a very small section of the mighty army of the British Empire that is engaged in this gigantic struggle. But none the less I am sure you all agree that we feel very proud of the fact that we have been allowed, in however small a degree it may be, to contribute towards this war, not silver bullets only, but if I may say so, human bullets also, and have thus been given a chance to share in a practical manner in the great trial that the Empire is going through. When I was in Simla, a special message that Lord Hardinge asked me to give my brother was his best congratulations on the excellent manner in which our troops have behaved."

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INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

SOME INDIAN COMMERCIAL PROBLEMS.*

[*By the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy.*]

The strain which the war has caused to the public finances in India and the need of an early recoupment invests this question, (customs duties) with an importance much beyond its normal importance. In any scheme of additional taxation—not an unlikely contingency should the war continue some time longer—the customs will and ought to have, not only an important, but a predominant position. In every country these duties, barring one or two exceptions, are the most productive sources of revenue. In India, however, this source has been insufficiently tapped. Whether Free Trade or Protection wins in the end, there can be no doubt that a very careful revision of the tariff has become increasingly necessary in view of the financial needs of Government. In this matter of tariff Indian commercial opinion ought certainly to prevail, and one of the principal objects of the Associated Indian Chamber of Commerce is to press this opinion upon the attention of Government with all the force and all the weight which such a central and responsible Committee can lend to it.

There is important work to be done by the Associated Chamber in regard to another group of subjects, *viz.*, those relating to facilities of communication within the country and at sea. Comment on the absolute necessity of these facilities is superfluous. The whole point is, how best to secure them. Our attention must be focussed upon three main heads of improvements for facilitating the movement of heavy goods. For international commerce the essential conditions are *quick transit* and *low freights*. We have not much to complain about the first, but the present scale of freights, although not very high absolutely, is comparatively speaking somewhat higher than what would meet the exigencies of Indian commerce. Inland, the improvement of our waterways and railways must take precedence of all other measures. The country is backward as regards the first. The waterways are very inadequately developed; indeed, in certain respects we are losing ground. Channels which were once navigable and which once served as highways for the cheap transport of heavy merchandise have either become completely silted up or choked with weeds and their mouths blocked by bars. The rapid extension of railways has also contributed to the neglect of the water-courses. No serious attempt has yet been made to restore the river systems of the country to their former satisfactory condition. The result is, we have numerous stagnant pools, marshes and lagoons which are the breeding ground of malaria and other diseases. The natural drainage of the land is thus becoming blocked. The improvement of the rivers and water-courses will not only restore this drainage and facilitate the movements of merchandise, but will provide canals for the purposes of irrigation at a minimum of cost. Larger production of raw materials through improved irrigation will certainly increase our exports, at the same time that it will add to the financial resources of the agriculturists and enable them to consume larger quantities of finished articles whether manufactured at home or imported from abroad.

Great vigilance is necessary in the matter of railway development. Expansion is not the only point. . . . It is a question if any ambitious scheme of construction should be taken in hand before the necessary improvements on the existing lines have been fully carried out. As matters stand at present, the inland railways are defective both as regards cheap transit and quick transit. Railway rates are at present adjusted in such a way as to be more favourable to foreign articles than to articles which are exchanged as between province and province and district and district. We have got a resolution before us drawing the attention of the Government to this as well as to the long standing grievances of our merchants to the form of Railway Risk Notes B. and H., which operate harshly upon them. Railways are public carriers, and it is one of their first duties to indemnify the merchants against any losses which they may suffer through their neglect or some mischief of their servants. If they take a greater responsibility on their shoulders it will mean greater traffic for themselves, for it will be creating confidence in Railways on the part of the commercial community. Over and above these questions of Railway administration is the question of the Railway finance. Railway loans are raised in Great Britain, and it is a long standing demand that Railway rupee loans should be thrown open to the Indian people. This is an opportune moment for effecting the great change and affording to the people of India an opportunity to have their share in the railway development of this country, as Great Britain will not respond at present to any Indian or Colonial

* From the Presidential Address to the Commercial Congress.

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loans, so pressing are her own financial needs.

Connected with this subject of increased railway facilities is the important question of extension of branch lines or feeder lines. The urgency of a rapid expansion of these lines is obvious, and even people who condemn further construction of trunk or main lines advocate their construction at an accelerated pace. Next in importance to their need for opening up outlying areas is the attraction for safe investment they offer to shy capital. The experience of the last few years shows how these feeder lines have helped to draw out the unemployed capital of the country. This is a distinct gain to the cause of commerce and industry. But latterly a difficulty has arisen. Since the revision of the rules relating to the construction of feeder lines, the introduction of the present branch line terms under which the Secretary of State is pleased to guarantee a return of 3½ per cent. a year upon the capital and the financial success of the Light Railways, British directors of the main lines, with the evident object of monopolising this branch of the railway business also, have begun to raise difficulties. Under existing arrangements these British companies have a predominant voice in the matter of sanction of the feeder Railways, although Government finds for them the bulk of the capital required for the construction of the trunk Railways and guarantees interest both upon their portion of the capital and the debentures. This is unjustifiable in principle and injurious in effect to Indian interests. Messrs. Killick, Nixon & Co.'s railways from Nadiad to Kapadvanj and from Godhra to Lunavada would never have been constructed had not the Government given out of the Imperial Railway Revenue "Rebate-terms" refused by the B. B. and C. I. Railway Company, although that Company has only a five per cent. share in the surplus profits of that Railway system. Generally speaking, the objection is that the main lines run the risk of being "short circuited" by the Feeder lines, but this is an imaginary evil, as Government, having the largest stake in the main lines, may well be expected to consider carefully the probable financial bearings before sanctioning a new scheme. The real reason appears to be that the British companies working in India want to check Indian competition and to stifle Indian enterprise, as will be clear from the fact that they are trying to form subsidiary companies with British capital for the construction of feeder lines. And this is a matter about which the Indian public ought to be on the *qui vive*, and the Associated Indian Chamber, with all the power and dignity attaching to such a central body, must fight out the case for them.

But, more important than all, perhaps, to Indian Commerce and Industry are the complicated questions relating to Indian currency, banking facilities, location and employment of the Government funds, and the utilisation of Indian capital in the financing of Indian railways and irrigation canals. The Indian Finance and Currency Committee's Report on all these points has been before the Indian public for months past, but owing to the war, has nowhere received that attention which the paramount importance of the subjects dealt with deserve. . . . . .
The conclusions of the Committee in respect of some of the more important of these points do not commend themselves to the Indian public, especially the Indian commercial public. They fail to do full justice to Indian interests. The important question of a State Bank was not directly before the Committee, and it would be unfair to criticise its recommendation of a separate investigation by a small expert committee. But the Finance Commissioners' findings about the suggested gold currency, gold mint, location of the Gold Standard Reserve and of the surplus balances, the diversion of the gold portion of the Paper Currency Reserve, the employment of the profits on the coinage of rupees and the scheme of advances to approved borrowers in London, are open to question. They do not at least agree with Indian sentiment, and it is permissible to entertain serious doubts about their soundness. We see how India has absorbed a large quantity of gold during recent times. This absorption rose from Rs. 7½ crores in 1890-91 to Rs. 12 crores in 1903-04, and to Rs. 21 crores in 1907-08, to Rs. 25½ crores in 1911-12, in 1912-13 to Rs. 31½ crores and in 1913-14 to Rs. 37½ crores. This need not cause any nervousness to Lombard Street and drive them into finding out ways and methods of preventing what they call drain of gold to India. Rather, if there is a natural currency here, there will be no necessity for all that nervousness about the bogey of the Gold Standard reserve, and the so-called hoarded gold of India will come out through the gold mint to help and finance the many schemes of trade and industry which stand in need of financial support.

It is not enough, however, to establish the Associated Indian Chamber of Commerce, but in order to ensure its usefulness, we must further secure for it adequate representation on the Imperial Legislative Council.

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SIR DORABJI J. TATA ON JAPANESE TRADE AND INDUSTRIES.

In his Presidential Address to the Eleventh Session of the Indian Industrial Conference, Sir Dorabji J. Tata said :—

Industrial education in the widest sense of the term is then primarily the function of the State. But a good many people wish the State to go far beyond this rôle and to enter into their actual field of industrial enterprise. They instance in this connection the co-operation of Japan. Now as much misapprehension exists on this subject I will digress for a few moments in order to put before you the result of inquiries which I instituted; the full investigation will be published in another form.

The most important articles of Japanese imports into India are glassware, matches, cement, and cotton goods. People ask why Japan should beat us even in cotton goods, and the most common explanation put forward is, that the bounties paid by the Japanese Government to cotton manufacturers enable them to beard us in our own homes. But is this the right explanation? The result of my inquiries is that no bounty of any sort is paid by the Government on cotton goods coming to India. Not that there are no bounties. Bounties are paid to develop particular markets but not by the Government; they are paid by the Japanese Millowners' Association. This Union has enabled Japan to :—

1. Apply effective short time working every time that is seemed incumbent in the interests of the industry.

2. Secure cheap transportation charges for their cotton from India or America, particularly India.

3. Open up new markets by sacrifices made in common in the shape of bounties, but as far as I can ascertain no such bounties are paid even by the Japanese Millowners' Association on any cotton yarn, cloths or hosiery exported to India.

Another direction in which this cry of bounties is loudly heard is in our yarn trade with China. It is common knowledge that we are losing ground rapidly in that market and here again we rest satisfied with the parrot cry 'bounties and subsidies' which prevents our going to the real defects and remedying them. What we should do is to find out by a careful study of the facts what the Japanese do to overcome the great disadvantage of having to bring their raw material thousands of miles, and next what they are doing to improve the quality of their output and to meet the tastes and requirement of Chinese buyers.

Next to cotton goods the imports from Japan that most attract attention are glassware and matches, and attempts are being made to provide ourselves with these, almost necessities of every-day life. The Talegon Works have shown how this can be done for glassware, and a leaf may well be taken out of their book for new works elsewhere. The fundamentals that we have to bear constantly in mind are that :—

1. The consumer we have to appeal to is the masses.
2. The income of these masses is extremely small.
3. Consequently it is low price and not good finish that is the most important consideration.

The same applies to matches. I have noticed that papers have been read before this Conference giving elaborate estimates of machinery, plant, etc. These are all adapted to the costly but very efficient European labour. Our capital, labour, and other conditions approximate far more to Japan than to Europe, and intending promoters should turn not to Europe but to Japan for a model and for expert workmen to train our own labour in these directions.

There is another factor besides the above fundamentals that should help us to rapid success in the development of the match and glassware industries. I mean here what is termed 'Natural Protection.' A great deal has been said on this and other platforms of the need for us of a Protective Tariff and of what such a tariff has done for Japan. It will therefore come as a surprise to many of you here to learn that Japan had no fiscal autonomy till about 1898, but only a Conventional Tariff with a 5 per cent. duty which did not come even to 5 per cent. where it has been fixed specifically instead of *ad valorem*. Japan's early efforts between the inauguration of the new regime in 1868, and the recovery of fiscal autonomy in, say, 1898, were therefore all made not under a protective tariff but a 5 per cent. tariff. We have this same 5 per cent. in India, particularly on matches and glassware with which Japan flooded our markets even bofore 1898, while we are even to-day—20 years later—without any glassware or match industry to speak of. What is wanted is not to dump down a factory in the first town we can think of; but to study the facts of the situation thoroughly and take advantage of the national protection. I speak in other words of the handi-

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cap of freights on both sea and land and all the incidental charges that long haulages involve. I see some one advertising for suitable land for a glass factory in Bombay. He is deliberately throwing away the best protection he has against foreign competition because Bombay is not a consuming market but a very large distributing market, and what he makes and sells in Bombay will utimately have to travel many hundreds of miles into the interior. By locating his industry at an inland centre he will be placing himself at a great initial advantage as against Japanese or other foreign glassware that must pay all the haulage to such interior points. By further study of the situation a location will perhaps be found that has the additional advantage of having the right raw material at hand, saving further heavy haulage charges and reducing the cost. In bulky and very cheap articles like lamp-ware or matches such haulage charges will be found to amount to anything between 20 and 40 per cent., and it should be the aim of prospective industrialists so to locate their works as to get the fullest advantage of this natural protection. As a further illustration of the importance of this point, I would like to add that before deciding upon the floatation of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., it took us over a year of study to fix upon a site for the works, which combined the greatest number of advantages—especially with a view to 'Natural Protection'.

COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE IN 1914-15.

In the year 1914-15, only 107 companies were registered in the whole of British India with an authorized capital of Rs. 3,94 lakhs against 345 companies with an authorized capital of Rs. 66,64 lakhs in the preceding year, and 284 companies and Rs. 12,19 lakhs in the year 1912-13. The 'serious' set-back is ascribed partly to war conditions and partly to the 'stringent' provisions of the Companies Act. The number of companies registered with an authorized capital of Rs. 20 lakhs and above was 5, those with a capital of between Rs. 10 and 20 lakhs numbered 7, and companies with between Rs. 4 and 8 lakhs, were 18.

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS.

The Eleventh Session of the Indian Industrial Conference was held in Bombay on the 24th December 1915. Sir Dorabji J. Tata presided and Sir Dinshaw Petit welcomed those present on behalf of the Reception Committee. The following are the principal Resolutions passed at the sitting which extended over three days :—

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

(*a*) That having regard to the fact that the progress and prosperity of every nation depends in these times on industrial and technical education, this Conference earnestly recommends the establishment of a technological faculty at principal Indian Universities and the development of the already existing technical institutions and the opening of new ones and the gradual introduction of technical instruction in primary and secondary schools. (*b*) Recognising that no system of industrial and technological education, howsoever developed it may be, can be successful without a sufficient encouragement being given to persons who have received such education, this Conference appeals to men of capital and industry to help young Indians, technically trained, in finding practical work and employment.

FISCAL AUTONOMY.

This Conference desires to place on record its opinion that for the well-being of India it is the duty both of Government and the public to stimulate the old and foster new industries; while appreciating all that has been done by Imperial and Provincial Governments in this direction, recommends for the same the following measures :— (*a*) Fiscal autonomy should be granted to India in regard to the levying of duties, both on imports and exports. (*b*) Where the Departments of Industries do exist, they should be so organised as to effectively assist in the creation and development of industries, and in the Presidencies and Provinces where they do not exist they should be established. (*c*) Industrial survey should be taken of industries possible to be developed in the country.

EXCISE DUTY.

This Conference earnestly urges the repeal of the excise duty on cotton goods, which is an inequitable tax and considers it very desirable in the interests of Indian industries that countervailing duties should be levied on bounty-fed subsidised goods from foregin countries, when they compete to the injury of indigenous industries.

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FAVOURED NATION TREATMENT.

That this Conference trusts that in any treaties which may be arranged between the different International Powers hereafter, the Imperial Government will arrange that so far as Indian fiscal interests are conce[illegible]dia shall be allowed a voice through her own representatives in the settlement and, that, at any rate, she shall be accorded the most favoured nation treatment.

INDENTURED LABOUR.

This Conference tenders its respectful thanks to H. E. Lord Hardinge, Viceroy, and Government of India, for having recommended the abolition of the system of indentured labour to the Rt. Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India and, in view of its highly injurious and immoral effects, urges that the system be abolished as soon as possible.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN ENGLAND.

While recognising the efforts made by the Secretary of State for India for the better training of Indian technical students in the United Kingdom and on the Continent, this Conference strongly recommends that he should, in placing orders for the Government of India, give preference to such firms, other things being equal, which offer facilities to Indian students for practical training.

INDIAN COMMERCIAL ATTACHES.

This Conference is of opinion that Indian Commercial attachés should be appointed to principal British Consulates to look after Indian commercial interests and that standing museums of Indian products should be maintained at these Consulates and also at London. The Conference welcomes the creating of the post of Trade Commissioner for India in London and hopes that it will be a permament one held by persons, preferably Indian, fully conversant with Indian commercial and industrial conditions.

PURCHASE OF STORES.

This Conference earnestly urges the Government to purchase all their requirements as far as practicable from this country and to put their Resolution of 1909, regarding the same more and more into effect.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES.

This Conference is of opinion that it is in the interests of the progress and well-being of the country that efforts should be made both by Government and the public for the starting and reviving of various minor and cottage industries.

COMMERCIAL EXHIBITIONS.

This Conference while welcoming the principle introduced by the Commercial Department of the Government of India of holding exhibitions at principal cities in India begs to suggest that there should be standing exhibitions of this nature at all the Presidency Towns and important trade centres.

INDUSTRIAL BANKS.

This Conference recommends the establishment of Industrial Banks, similar to those found in foreign countries.

FRUIT INDUSTY IN INDIA.

Mr. and Mrs. A. Howard, the Imperial Economic Botanists, have for some time past been making investigations and experiments in the Fruit Experiment Station at Quetta, the results of which are embodied in a recent Bulletin entitled "Some experiments in the Packing and Transport of Fruit in India." It is painful to learn that the methods of production are primitive compared with those of other countries in which the cultivation has been taken on modern lines, and the crops detained per unit of area fall both in quantity and quality. Mr. and Mrs. Howard observes that this "can only rise from a low standard of agriculture." The soil and climate as well as the varieties grown are not at fault and the obvious conclusion is that "the poor results obtained are the direct consequences of the primitive methods in vogue." In order to understand the rough handling, experienced at all stages in the process of working, fruits of all kinds are picked green and unripe and at a stage when the full development of flavour is impossible. Want of attention to growing and the close planting of the trees contribute also to the damage. The packages used are unsuitable owing to absence of ventilation, which affects the flavour and much bruising and crushing take place. It will thus appear that the defects are not unavoidable and if we brought to this business ordinary care aud knowledge, there is no reason why we should not enjoy large internal and external trade in fruit. It is a great pity, that the possibilities of fruit culture as a source of profit to the agriculturist have not been adequately investigated by our rural economists.

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AGRICULTURAL SECTION

MR. WACHA ON INDIAN AGRICULTURE.

In his Address of Welcome to the Indian Commercial Congress, the Hon'ble Mr. Wacha said :—

Commerce cannot exist without agricultural products which could be safely exported to foreign countries after what may be necessary for home consumption. So, too, with industries and manufactures. It is the combination of these triple factors which educes commerce, that is to say, exchange of products of one country with another. It should, therefore, be the constant aim and object of this Commercial Congress to stimulate the agricultural (including the breeding of live stock) and mineral prosperity of the land. That is to say, agriculture should be so extended and improved as to enable our hapless ryots to produce more at less cost so as to leave them a fair margin of profit. And in this connection I wish to lay the greatest stress on the institution of Agricultural Banks on the lines of the Egyptian Agricultural Bank with such modifications as may be deemed essential. No doubt, the Government has with laudable zeal during the last decade paid greater attention to the improvement of agriculture by a variety of means and have also spent a large *modicum* of revenue on that behalf. Yet much still remains to be accomplished and could be only accomplished by following the example of the United States of America. That country is a model one for purposes of agricultural improvement, and it is superfluous to state here that the Government of India should by and by spend larger and larger sums out of the annual revenue for the achievement of this great national object which really signifies the material salvation of the country. Every rupee spent on the extension and improvement of Agriculture must be deemed wholly reproductive. So far as to the duty of the State in India. But more than the State private enterprise ought to take upon itself a thorough organisation of agricultural industry and agricultural credit on sound lines suggested by the prosperity of agriculture in the United States. The Government, at the best, can only be an auxiliary. It is the people themselves on whom lies the great responsibility of promoting the country's material prosperity by the larger and larger efforts they may put forth in the matter of agricultural organisation and credit. It is also needful to point out the great utility of further exploiting the rich mineral resources of the country, an active impetus to which Sir Thomas Holland so admirably gave when at the head of the Geological Department. In the near future mineralogy and metallurgy should greatly attract the attention of men of the great enterprise and courage of the late Mr. Tata. The war has made us all quite alive to the variety of metallic ores which might be utilised for purposes both of the arts of war and peace in the great British Empire.

Lastly, there may be immense progress in foreign and inland trade but that would not necessarily signify the prosperity of millions of cultivators. It is only when Indian agriculture is placed on a sound economic footing which would conduce to the prosperity of the ryot that the country itself could be said to grow in wealth. The larger, therefore, the exports of agricultural and mineral products from the country, while leaving a fair margin of profit to the ryots, the greater the balance of trade in favour of the country *pari passu* with such a financial policy of the Government as would steadily lead to diminish sterling obligations abroad.

SIR FAZULBHOY CURRIMBHOY ON AGRICULTURE.

In his Presidential Address to the First Session of the Commercial Congress, the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy said :—

I would point out that this country being mainly agricultural, it is right and proper that we should concentrate our attention on agricultural questions also and not be obsessed by purely industrial questions. Some of our Indian Chambers have long urged on the attention of Government the necessity of neglecting the claims of irrigation, while they are spending so much to develop the Railway system. I should like to suggest that better and more improved methods of irrigation should be adopted in order that the irrigation grants may be fully utilised and that we may never be haunted with that classic phrase of the late Finance Minister about Indian Budgets being a mere gamble in rain. In the meanwhile we have got a resolution at this Congress proposing to the Government that more attention should be paid than hitherto to the question of well irrigation which, while being comparatively cheap, will provide facilities for even poor cultivators and will be practicable in districts where there are no big rivers. It must be said to the credit of Government that they have established agricultural experimental stations and developed the agricultural department to a large extent. In this connection I am reminded of the wise words of the advice His Excellency Lord Willingdon recently gave to the students of the Agricultural College of Poona, when he observed that Indian landlords should, like their compeers in England, be more practically connected with their farms and not shy of manual labour, words of advice which may be well taken to heart. His Excellency did well also in drawing the attention of our people to the question of the improvement of the breeds of cattle, which, it is obvious, are deteriorating fast. Government efforts will not be sufficient in this direction unless they are supplemented by systematic and scientific cattle-farms started by people themselves. I am laying so much stress on these agricultural problems as in an agricultural country like India they are the very soul of trade and commerce. For instance, where would we be without cotton and jute, grain and seeds and numerous other agricultural products of which India has been from times immemorial and even now an emporium.

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Literary

THE PRESS ASSOCIATION AND THE PRESS ACT.

One of the Resolutions accepted by the National Congress embodied a protest against the continuation of the Indian Press Act and urged its repeal. Mr. B. G. Horniman, who moved the Resolution, dwelt in doing so on the reasons that called for the removal of the statute. He characterised it as "a measure of most extraordinarily drastic provisions unparallelled. . . . in any civilised country of the world to-day." The state of affairs in the country which gave rise to this legislation had long passed away, and Mr. Horniman challenged any official to stand forward to-day and make a case for the existence of the Act. Secondly, in Mr. Horniman's words, "the Act must be repealed, because it is mixed with grave hardships and disabilities on the whole journalistic profession and printing trade in the country."

Subsequently, Mr. Horniman convened a meeting in Bombay of editors and proprietors of newspapers, proprietors and managers of printing presses, and it was then resolved to start a Press Association of India, and a committee was appointed to draft its constitution. The committee was empowered to approach the Viceroy to receive a deputation from the representatives of the Press of India and to work towards bringing about a repeal of the Press Act of 1910.

The Constitution of this Press Association, as approved at this meeting, states that the object of the Association shall be to protect the Press of the country by all lawful means, from arbitrary laws and their administration from all attempts of legislature to encroach on its liberty, or of the Executive authorities to interfere with the freedom of work of the journalists and Press proprietors, and for the purposes of mutual help and protection. Membership will be open to the proprietor, or the editor of any registered newspaper or periodical, and the proprietor or the manager of printing presses in India. The affairs of the Association will be managed by a council consisting of not more than six members from each province. Executive business will be managed by a committee consisting of one representative of each province. The council shall have power to take up cases brought to its notice, in which members of the Association are being prosecuted or oppressed or troubled by law or authorities. Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, acts as the Honorary Secretary of the Association.

THE "INDIAN ENGINEER."

The "Indian Engineer" (Madras) is the latest recruit into the ranks of technical journals in this country. As this form of enterprise, Indian or Anglo-Indian, is comparatively rare in India, the new periodical will be welcomed by those for whose tastes it caters. In an "Ourselves" printed on the first page of the journal, the twin purpose of the venture is explained to be a thorough examination of the conditions obtaining in every industry in the land and to serve as a *via media* for all those engaged in the engineering profession. We wish the journal a useful career. The annual subscription is Rs. 6 post free, a moderate charge considering the cost of getting up a journal so as to appeal to a highly specialised profession as Engineering.

CITIES IN EVOLUTION.

Mr. F. J. Gould, reviewing in the December number of the *Positivist Review* Mr. Geddes' latest book, "Cities in Evolution," explains the Professor's idea that a city should be the most-typical expression of industrial, artistic and religious splendour. Comte's remark that "cities are in truth themselves beings, so organically complete that as each is capable of separate life it instinctively aspires to become the centre of the vast organism of Humanity," is fully in consonance with Geddes' ideal. But this instinctive aspiration is subject to tragical delays and perils; while the Industrial Revolution, the Railway Age, the candid and enthusiastic worship of money, created strange alienations in our towns and villages. "As the neo-technic order comes in—its skill directed by life towards life and for life—he, the working man as in all true cities of the past, aristo-democratised into productive citizen,—he will set his mind towards house-building and town-planning, even towards city-design; and all these upon a scale to rival—nay surpass—the past glories of history. He will demand and create noble streets of noble houses, gardens and parks, and before long, monuments, temples of his renewed ideals, surpassing those of old." But to accomplish this ideal the Professor needs, above all, the 'arousal of woman' and a more liberal propaganda than the mere conversion of councillors and aldermen. The site, the industry and the soul of the people—the 'place, work, folk' formula of the Professor—should all combine in constituting the local genius, so that each city, though aiming at the highest standard of hygiene and picturesqueness, should have its distinctive and original beauty.

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Educational

THE VERNACULAR AS A MEDIUM.

The importance of vernacular as the medium of education is being every day increasingly recognised by all thoughtful well-wishers of our country; and it is therefore with great gratification that we welcome the pronouncements on this subject by two distinguished men, Lord Hardinge and Sir Rabidranath Tagore. H. E. the Viceroy, in declaring open tho new buildings of the Lahore Veterinary College, remarked :—

I have been particularly interested to learn that the main course of studies is conducted in the vernacular while English is the language of the post-graduate course. There is more than one school of thought as to whether the medium of instruction in our higher educational institutions should be English or the vernacular, but I think few will be found to question the wisdom of the policy abopted here, for many of those who are most fitted by their home surroundings for a useful veterinary career have neither the time nor the inclination to become versed in Western culture, and it is hardly open to qestion that it must be far easier for them to imbibe a knowledge of veterinary science when imparted in their own tongue than if it was complicated by the mysteries of a foreign language. On the other hand post-graduate courses necessitate the study of a wider range of literature, and there are obvious reasons for their being conducted in English.

Sir Rabindranath, on the same day last week, in addressing an audience at the Ram Mohun Library, Calcutta, said :—

People should learn English as the language of the State and for hundreds of other reasons, but at the sacred alter of learning the vernacular-knowing man was no criminal or a Shudra. He knew as a teacher that there were students who were naturally wanting in language. They experienced the greatest difficulties in the higher classes and it was no wonder why cramming occupied the place of real learning. He suggested that the Calcutta University in its teaching branch should have a vernacular section in which education should be given in the Bengali. Let it be only a humble beginning and in the course of time it will force itself upon the University and claim its due position as a vehicle of teaching. There was no doubt a difficulty of books in the verncaular, but once the University recognised the vernaculars as even an optional medium of education, books would be forthcoming.

THE PROPOSED UNIVERSITY FOR BURMA.

Sir Harcourt Butler recently received a deputation from the Burma Educational Syndicate in regard to the constitution of the proposed University for Burma. His Honour informed the Deputation that the Director of Public Instruction had already worked out a scheme for the University. It was now proposed to utilize the staffs and buildings of the constituent colleges and supplement them by a small Central University staff. The Director of Public Instruction will take action so that the Burma University Bill can be completed and submitted to the Government of India as early as possible.

STATE SCHOLARSHIPS.

The following communique has been issued :—

The Government of India have lately been considering the adequacy of the rates of State scholarships, tenable abroad and especially those held at Oxford and Cambridge. After consultation with Local Governments and with the sanction of the Secretary of State it has been decided that :

(1) The value of the Government of India scholarships annually placed at the disposal of the Indian universities and of the scholarship granted each year to a male student of the domiciled community shall be raised from £200 to £250 a year when held in a college at Oxford or Cambridge ;

(2) the value of the language or Oriental scholarships shall be raised from £150 to £200 a year on the understanding that scholars will be required in future to pay their own university fees and it will be further increased to £250 a year on the same understanding when held in a college at Oxford or Cambridge ;

(3) before a male scholar leaves India to take up his scholarship, his parent or guardian should show that he has sent to the Secretary for Indian students in London a sum of £25 for initial outfit expenses. In the case of a technical scholar the sum of £15 will be sufficient.

The increased rate of £250 under head (1) has been made applicable to all scholars at colleges at Oxford and Cambridge with effect from the 1st October 1914.

The Government of India propose shortly to issue a general resolution on the State Scholarship and to embody these changes in it.

VERNACULAR EDUCATION.

We notice that one of the Resolutions passed at the recent All-India Hindi Literary Conference thanked the Education Department of the United Provinces for having Hindi as the medium of instruction up to the 8th Standard, and requested that attention be paid to the language of the books with regard to style and the use of Hindi equivalents. The Resolution also requested all other Local Governments to adopt the Vernaculars as the medium of instruction, at least up to the 8th Standard.

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Legal

THE MADRAS ADVOCATE-GENERALSHIP.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, B.A., B.L., Vakil of the High Court, has been appointed to act as Advocate-General during the absence on leave for nine months of the Hon'ble Mr. Corbet. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar is a lawyer of brilliant parts, and is now enjoying the most extensive and lucrative practice at the Bar. Having had his probation and training under the late eminent lawyer and jurist, Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar made his mark quickly in the profession. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar is a man of acute and vigorous intellect, is imbued with a keen sense of public spirit and has been taking an active and leading part in the public life of this Presidency. He is the President of the Social Reform Association, a Vice-President of the Madras Mahajana Sabha, a Fellow of the Madras University, and was one of the Secretaries to the last Madras Congress, and has been the President of several District Conferences. He has been very generous in his contributions to public causes. Last year he gave the Madras University Rs. 10,000 for a research scholarship to perpetuate the memory of Gokhale; and only a few weeks before he promised a donation of Rs. 10,000 to the Hindu University, Benares.

THE PUNJAB CHIEF COURT'S RESTRICTION.

The unwise restriction, by the Punjab Chief Court, of the number of pleaders to be enrolled every year in that Province has recently been the subject of a good deal of agitation there. A Fellow of the University urged the Syndicate to move in the matter, but without effect. He then moved the Faculty of Law who are said to have examined the matter carefully. It is not yet known what recommendations have been made by the Faculty, but we hope the Syndicate will reconsider the question and remove the restriction which is certainly unnatural and unjustifiable. As the *Tribune* says, the restriction must be completely got rid of, especially in view of the position in which our young men often find themselves, which may be summarised thus :

Our young men desire to take up law for a career, but the Chief Court say they admit 30 and no more. Our young men then desire to become teachers. But the Training College shuts its doors against them and says it has no accommodation except for a few. They turn to the Medical College and find they are not wanted there either. Each one of the Arts Colleges is also complaining of want of accommodation. The College of Agriculture is the monopoly of a statutory "tribe". The College of Engineering is closed to most students. And we all know what is the fate of those students who vainly seek to obtain the requisite training in England.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT.

It is directed that after rule 12 of the Defence of India Rules under the Defence of India Act, the following rule shall be inserted :—

12*a* (1) Any officer of Government authorised in this behalf by a general or special order of the Local Government may arrest, without warrant, any person against whom a reasonable suspicion exists that he has acted, is acting or is about to act with intent to assist the King's enemies in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of British India. (2) Any officer exercising the power conferred by this rule may use any and every means necessary to enforce the same. (3) Any officer making an arrest under this rule shall forthwith report the fact to the Local Government and pending the receipt of the orders of the Local Government may, by order in writing, commit any person he so arrested to such custody as the Local Government may by general or special order specify in this behalf. Provided that no person shall be detained in custody for a period exceeding fifteen days without the order of the Local Government. Provided further that no person shall be detained in custody under this rule for a period beyond a month.

COMBATANTS AND NON-COMBATANTS.

Both at sea and on land the dividing line between the combatant and the non-combatant is becoming blurred, remarks the *Law Magazine and Review*. Every citizen is an actual or a potential member of the Army Ordnance Corps. Every merchantman is an actual or potential scout or ram. The protection promised to the invaded populace, on condition of their remaining quiet, has proved illusory. The peaceful dweller at the seaside finds the proximity of a signal station or a railway line draws down on his villa a rain of naval shells. It seems really probable that the theoretical immunity of private property from confiscation, which in Napoleon's time Lord Ellenborough thought so unassailable (in *Wolff* v. *Oxholm*), will not much longer be maintained.

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Medical.

INDIAN MEDICAL SYSTEMS.

A Deputation, consisting of (1) Haziq-ul-Mulk, H. M. Ajmal Khan, (2) the Hon'ble Lala Sukhbir Singh and (3) Nawab Ishaq Khan, recently waited on the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock, the Home Member. With the Home Member were the Hon. Sir Pardey Lukis, Surgeon-General and Director-General of the Indian Medical Service, and Mr. S. R. Hignell, Deputy Secretary. The Deputation placed before the Home Member matters which were calculated to affect injuriously the position of the Vaids and Tabibs by certain provisions of the Medical Registration Acts of the several Provinces.

The points raised by the Deputation were sympathetically considered by the Hon. the Home Member and the Director-General, and a good result is anticipated.

The second point which was laid before the Hon Member related to the improvement of the Unani and Ayurvaidic systems in use in this country and official aid for their development. A very sympathetic hearing was given to this interesting subject also.

AYURVEDA AND THE HINDU UNIVERSITY.

At the All-India Ayurvedic Conference, Kaviraj Dwijendranath Roy, Kaviranjan of Bankipur, proposed the following Resolution :— "This Conference begs to thank the authorities of the Hindu University for including Ayurveda in the faculty of Oriental learning and further request them to consult the Ayurveda Vidyapitha in determinning the course of instruction in Ayurveda, both theoretical and practical." In doing so he said :—Mr. President and Gentlemen,—You all know that the Hindu University is going to have an Oriental Faculty for encouragement of the study of our ancient literatures and sciences and that they have included Ayurveda in the Faculty. I am sure I voice the unanimous sentiment of this assembly when I say that we are thankful to the authorities of the Universities providing for the teaching of Ayurveda. At the same time we hope that suitable arrangements will also be made for the teaching of surgery aud midwifery, both theoretical and practical. Absence of teaching institutions, lack of sympathy and the disheartening effect of chill penury have so long been responsible for the lamentable neglect which our countrymen have shown to the great science of Ayurveda (the science of life) which at one time was the glory of our forefathers. The tide, however, has turned, signs of a better time are already noticeable and our countrymen are awaking to the necessity of bringing back to life once again what they have lost and almost forgotten. The step which the University is going to take will be a move in right direction. But they must have expert advice, and we suggest that when determining that course of the Ayurvedic studies, they should consult the Ayurveda Bida Pitha and make arrangements for research works in co-operation with that body.

THE U. M. TUBERCULOSIS SANATORIUM.

The authorities of the Union Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Madanapalle have issued a handsomely printed report of the opening ceremony of the institution performed recently by H. E. the Governor. The report is illustrated by a number of photographs of the staff and building, and gives an interesting and comprehensive account of the humanitarian work, which the various Christian Missions in Southern India are helping to maintain.

MILK AND INFANTILE MORTALITY.

In reporting on the sale of adulterated and impoverished milk iu the Borough, the Sanitary Inspector for Lowestoft (England) observes that : "When one considers that milk forms the principal food of infants during the first year of life, it will be seen how important it is that a pure and whole milk should be supplied to the public. In order to feed an infant on cow's milk, the milk has to be reduced to a certain degree so that it is suitable for assimilation by the child, and yet contain sufficient nourishment to maintain life. If the milk supplied is already adulterated and poor in quality, and has to undergo a further reduction, it will be seen that the child is not receiving its fair supply of food, and must suffer physically in consequence. Therefore, I think, you will agree that it is essential that the milk supply in the Borough should be pure, wholesome, and of the best quality."

POONA AYURVEDIC DISPENSARY.

The Collector of Poona has written to Mr. Hari Nayaran Apte, President of the Poona City Municipality, informing him that the Government have decided to amend Section 11 of the Bombay Medical Act by reserving to the Governor-in-Council the power to allow, in special cases, unregistered persons to hold the appointment of the nature referred to in that Section, and in the meanwhile to permit the Poona City Municipality to maintain its Ayurvedic dispensary.

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Science.

DR. J. C. BOSE.

The following appreciation of Dr. J. C. Bose's discoveries is by the editor of the *Scientific American*:—"By a remarkable series of experiments of unimaginable delicacy, the Indian scientist has discovered that plants have a nervous system. He has discovered that a cabbage or a raddish responds to external forces very much as a human being; that it winces at a blow, is tired by exertion, is intoxicated by alcohol, stupefied by chloroform and degenerates through laziness. His experiments promise not only to revolutionise plant physiology, but to open great new fields experimentation in applied sciences, such as medicine and scientific agriculture. He belongs to the dynasty of scientists who have discovered great natural laws. His discovery of nerves in plants, and his success in inducing paralysis in them and afterwards effecting cure will enable physicians to treat successfully various forms of human paralysis. There can be nothing so wonderful as the true story of the growth of a plant as revealed by his most marvellous instrument, the Crescograph. In less than quarter of an hour the action of fertilisers, food, electric currents and various stimulants can be determined. In the boundless regions beginning with the inorganic proceeding to organic life and its sentient manifestations, the Indian scientist discovered an underlying unity in its bewildering diversity. He subjected all matter to questioning shocks and discovered that there is no difference in the reply. Patiently he added fact to fact in his explorations in the realms of the living and the non-living and was amazed to find dividing frontiers vanishing. At last he reached a new conception, which included in one magnificent sweep, the dust beneath our feet, the protoplasmic ooze floating on a stagnant pool and man himself."

AIR FILTER.

Professor Richet of Paris invented some time ago an air filter which consists of a small ventilator worked by electricity, and beneath the fans of the ventilator is a reservoir of glycerine. The rotation of the fans scatters the glycerine in very fine drops along the walls of the cylinder containing the ventilator. Two thousand cubic metres of air can pass through the cylinder. The air is purified thus. The particles of air constantly come into contact with a little cyclone of liquid particles which carry with them as they fall the germs, dust, microbes and spores which are always present in the air. Thus the air is mechanically sterilised. The invention is highly useful, and if it is used largely it would, as Professor Richet thinks, materially diminish the risks of contagion by the germs in such cases as small-pox, consumption, etc.

TRIPLANES.

The *Scientific American* learns that Germany will soon begin the construction of aeroplanes (triplanes) of enormous dimensions. These machines are to be three times as big and strong as the ordinary flying machine. They are to carry as many as twenty men. This crew has to work four machine-guns and one light field-piece mounted on a special light armoured turret. Eight Maybach motors, similar to those used by the Zeppelin airships, are to drive the apparatus through the air. The motors are coupled in pairs and drive four propellers. The propellers may be shifted in position so that they serve for steering in a horizontal plane. Manual steering is resorted to only for elevating or depressing the machine. All other movements are effected by the motors. The triplane will fly with two propellers only, if need be, and travels at high speed when four are turning.

APPROACH OF A THUNDERSTORM.

According to the *Electrical World*, an Electric Service Company in New York City is successfully using an ingenious electrical device which will indicate the approach of a thunderstorm several hours before any clouds appear. The Company uses this device in order to give ample time to provide for increased illumination when the thunder clouds darken the sky. The following is a very brief description of the apparatus: The storm-detector apparatus, which resembles a wireless receiving equipment, operated by faint impulses from electrical disturbances in the vicinity. Receiving antennae intercept the impulses, which cause a relay to close an alarm-bell circuit. At first the signals are far apart, but as the electrical disturbance approaches, the bell rings more frequently. From an hour to half an hour before the storm breaks, depending on the intensity thereof, the bell will ring continuously. In the meantime steam may be raised to operate generators of electricity which are placed in readiness to supply additional energy when the demand increases.

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Personal.

THE ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE.

The All-India Moslem League has elected the Hon'ble the Raja of Mahmudabad as its President in the place of H. H. the Aga Khan and re-elected Mr. Wazir Hasan as its secretary. Both of them have distinguished themselves by eminent public services, and the members of the League could not hope to have a worthier president and secretary. Their great merit is that neither of them is a reactionary or a bigot. They stand for the best interests of their own community but also for the cultivation of harmonious relations with other communities. They stand for progress and reform. They have done good work in the past and may be trusted to do even better in future under more favourable conditions.

THE GURKHA.

A very human picture of the Gurkha is given in the current *Bystander*:—

A strange little fellow, Johnny Gurkha. I have seen him receive the *medaille militaire* without a smile, and I have heard him roar with laughter while two of his subaltern *sahibs* indulged in a "rough-and-tumble" outside the mess. He has fought the Hun without the slightest idea of the reason for such fighting. In "Johnny's" eyes his *sahib* can make no mistake. He adores him. For the French he has merely a tolerant regard. He is mildly amused at the enormous value they set upon a chicken or an egg, and he pities them deeply for being compelled to live in so poisonous a climate. Indeed, his attitude towards our Allies has in it not a little of patronage. For what sort of a *Mem Sahib* was this who would ask 5 frs. for a chicken and three annas for an egg? His only amusements in Northern France consist in kicking about a football and conversing at infinite length. A Gurkha's conversational powers are absolutely inexhaustible. He will begin to chat at 5 a.m., and at 9 p.m. he will still be found in deep converse with the same friend. He seldom—happily for his *sahibs*—indulges in song, but he has a passion for a gramophone, and if presented with one will only cease working it when there is a breakdown in the machinery.

THE LATE PROFESSOR FAWCETT.

The following interesting reference to the late Professor Fawcett's work for India occurs at the end of a review in the *Nation* of a new biography by Miss Winifred Holt:—

"Fawcett belonged to a school which was confidently sure of its conclusions, because in a world where most politicians never wished to go below the surface they thought they had reached the foundations.....He used his great powers not to pursue his own ends, but to get rid of definite wrongs.....He saw that a thing was wrong and he attacked it, whether his conduct was convenient to his political friends or not.....Take his record as "Member for India." Sir William Lee-Warner said truly of him that the poverty of the ryot affected him as if he suffered himself. It was a characteristic incident that first brought him out as Indian champion. He found that India was going to be made to pay for a ball which the British Government was giving in honour of a foreign visitor. Mill urged him not to protest, as there were other and graver abuses; but Fawcett insisted. From that time he was always on the look-out for injustice to India, and the impression he made can be judged by the fact that whereas the Indian Budget used to be discussed at the end of the session, when it occupied a few hours, in 1879 it was discussed in May, and the debate lasted three days. In this respect, unhappily, Parliament has reverted to its earlier ways."

THE LATE MR. U. RAY.

The late Mr. U. Ray was a well-known pioneer among Indians of three-colour and process printing. Mr. Ray was a careful craftsman and possessed in addition a wide knowledge of the theory of photography and colour printing. He was a frequent contributor to the technical journals of England and America on questions connected with reproduction and the work of his press in Gurpar road is a well-known feature of the periodical press of Bengal. Mr. Ray, who was fifty-two at the time of death, was a member of the Brahmo community. The late Mr. Ray was a man of cultured tastes and was known as artist, writer and musician. For many years he was editor of *Mukul*, a magazine for young people, and he was until his illness much interested in the similar publication *Sandesh*, while his articles in *Prabashi* and elsewhere were read with attention. Mr. Ray had also written on musical topics and was himself a capable violinist.

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Political

SIR HARCOURT BUTLER.

Sir Harcourt Butler, Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, made a notable speech in reply to an address that was presented to him by the municipality of Mandalay. He said :—

"Do you fully realise the great opportunity which you have under British rule of conserving and developing your national life within the circuit of the British Empire, the greatest and truest the world has ever known? Do you realize the significance of the acceptance by the Viceroy of the resolution that India should be represented in the Conferences of the Empire with the assurance from his Majesty's Government that this resolution should have 'sympathetic consideration?' To my mind this is the most pregnant political event since the Government of India passed under the Crown in 1858. From the day when India was left out of the benefit of the scholarship scheme provided by the will of that grand imperialist, Cecil Rhodes, I have steadily set before me as the ultimate object of our policy that India should in time and by careful process be admitted into free partnership in the Empire. Imagine my delight when Lord Hardinge, by his influence and love of India, was able to take the first step towards the realization of this ideal."

THE I. C. S. BILL.

The *English Mail* wrote the following on the I. C. S. Bill :—

"Appointments made by influence or patronage would work indescribable harm, and the prestige of the service would suffer materially by an invasion of this kind into its ranks to the detriment of India. The Indian Civil Service examination is, of course, by no means the only educative test, our university degrees affording ample security on this point. If, however, competition is abolished, even as a temporary measure, the whole fabric of this much-honoured Indian service will be undermined, as sheer merit has hitherto been the foundation of its pre-eminence—a distinction which will soon be dissipated if even the shadow of jobbery is once introduced into the proceedings. It is to be hoped, therefore, that Lord Islington's Bill will receive its quietus in the Commons, and that no such drastic expedient will be found necessary for the recruitment of the service."

THE HON. MR. P. C. LYON ON SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The Hon. Mr. P. C. Lyon delivered an interesting lecture to students, at Calcutta, on the evening of January 17, on the aspirations of a country for self-government. Referring to national development the speaker said that for real progress they must look to the nation and not to Government. Government could only help ; but motive power must come from themselves. As an illustration of what he meant he referred to the great speech of Sir S. P. Sinha as President of the Congress. Delegates at one time thought they were fortunate in capturing Sir Satyendra but they all realised that Sir Satyendra had captured Congress. That meant a great deal. That meant that this great Bengali gentleman had persuaded Congress and made them understand what his patriotism meant and what a great thing it was. Sir Satyendra asked in his speech for a declaration of the policy of Government. What Sir Satyendra meant was that there was a tendency among some Government officials to consider, like Germans, that a machine was the whole thing, that it never had a soul or spirit, and that it was enough to se that machine worked properly, and that they should go on seeing that routine work went on for ever. What Sir Satyendra wanted to say was that there should be a declaration from Government that this machine was really to help some thing far greater, to help in the development of the nation, to help it in its throes. The declaration asked for was that Government was to help fully in the development of the country and the forward policy which would end in the goal of national development, and that was self-government.

National development in politics was summed up in one word, self-government. It must begin low down and grow. They did not want to substitute one government for another by conquest, but to govern by themselves. They had a task to perform before they arrived at the goal. What they wanted was to take up the work already started of training and educating the people in the villages. They should teach the people in the villages co-operation. What was wanted was to restore the ancient bonds of co-operation and love, to train the nation to know and understand its own interests, to care for its neighbour, not to hate the law and tranquillity which were its salvation, but to co-operate for the public good, and to base public action on the love of humanity.

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General.

THE CENTRAL UNITY OF THE REFORM MOVEMENT.

Under the peculiar conditions of Indian social questions offer perhaps greater difficulties and complexities than political or other questions. To all appearances Indian society is a conglomeration of races or communities and it is often deemed impossible to speak on a common platform of the various needs of the various members of Indian social polity. To my mind that aspect is rather an apparent one. At bottom the cause of social reform, or for that matter all reform, is one and the same whatever the community or country. The principles and processes of reform movement have a central unity that unfolds and sustains the various forms they assume under different conditions. . . .

Human nature is one all over the world and social matters so far as they are human, cannot but present a certain community of character. Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees and other peoples of whom Indian Society is composed, have therefore to tackle fundamentally the same problems as regards social life.

Reform is nothing but a conscious and deliberate endeavour to change, to throw off the dead crust of use and wont and to put on a new and living coat of health. We cannot help changing. In spite of ourselves we are not to-day what we have been. "Why not then change intelligently," asks the reformer. It is the privilege of man alone to consciously adjust himself with his surroundings, and all that the reformer does in the case of social life is to consciously probe social evils and devise, as an intelligent being, means to remove them. This is a phase of the movement that is not confined to any single community. It is among all the same. . .

I may go still further and say that everywhere the reform movement has to deal with the same set of conditions. It has to deal with open and positive opposition, with stealthy but cowardly bitterness, with cold contempt, with stolid indifference, with passive sympathy, with active co-operation, with violent revolution, and in some exceptional cases with the rage of despair. This is the common experience of the reformer, be he Parsee, Hindu or any other. We may, nay, we ought, therefore, to join hands and correlate our deliberations and our activities.

To me all methods of reform are welcome, all attitudes that are vitally independent, are helpful. Why, I would welcome even active opposition. For those who go away from us will meet us in the end. I would not dogmatise in the matter. I know opposition, hatred, bitterness have a sincerity of life about them, and if Life is one in the main, they must ultimately subserve the ends of life and turn into love. I therefore welcome all methods of reform and all workers in the cause from the old cautious orthodox to the go-ahead heterodox. Every one of them can, according to his lights, help the cause onwards. All that I would insist upon is thorough sincerity. With that stamped upon us, we may go forward each one in his own way.

There is one prejudice against reform, however, that is very hard to die, and I cannot pass on without clearly stating our, at any rate, my position with regard to that. When we ask our brethren and sisters to overhaul social customs and institutions, we are accused of irreverence, of an irreligious spirit. Let me give a flat and emphatic denial to the charge. Far be it from me and from us to lay sacrilegious hands upon the teachings and precepts that are still pulsating with a spiritual life, and that are a perennial source of guidance to frail, tottering man. It is not there that the iconoclastic axe of the reformer is ever laid. He is impatient, as all nature is, of the dead and the effete, which, he, as the representative of the living principle of the race, cannot rest till he has done away with, lest it should rot and putrify and give rise to fatal pestilence. Let no one therefore labour under the misconception that reform is an undermining of faith and a violence to the susceptibilities of the religious and righteous. On the other hand faith in the ultimate triumph of Good is the very essence of the spirit of Reform. The reform movement, therefore, would not seek to undo that which is the very source of all life and health. It would only seek to bury the dead and clear the ground for all healthy and vital operations of social life. Let us all serve the cause of social reform in that spirit—in the spirit of one to whom righting social wrong and injustice is a sacred mission, and we need not fear the results. Fired as if with a call from on high, let us seek to do our share in the work; let us, as brothers, bound by love and sympathy, compare notes and learn and teach, teach and learn, so that even if we fail in the immediate future, our very failures will be as good as successes.—*From the Presidential Address of Prof. D. K. Karve, B.A., to the Indian Social Conference.*

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.
EDITED BY G. A. NATESAN.

Vol. XIX. FEBRUARY, 1918. No. 2

A LETTER FROM SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN.

TELEGRAMS, HUNTLEY, STATION, BARBER'S BRIDGE.

MEREDITH.
GLOUCESTER.

Christmas 1917

Dear N. Natesan

I have received no Christmas gift that has given me more pleasure than your little volume of "What India wants" It is an admirable statement of India's claim - tracing its history, quoting high authorities; setting forth present grievances & indicating the one great remedy of Self Government. My Wife & I are deeply touched by the kind words of the Dedication. If there has been a mild form of martyrdom, there have been full compensations.

Yours sincerely
W. Wedderburn.

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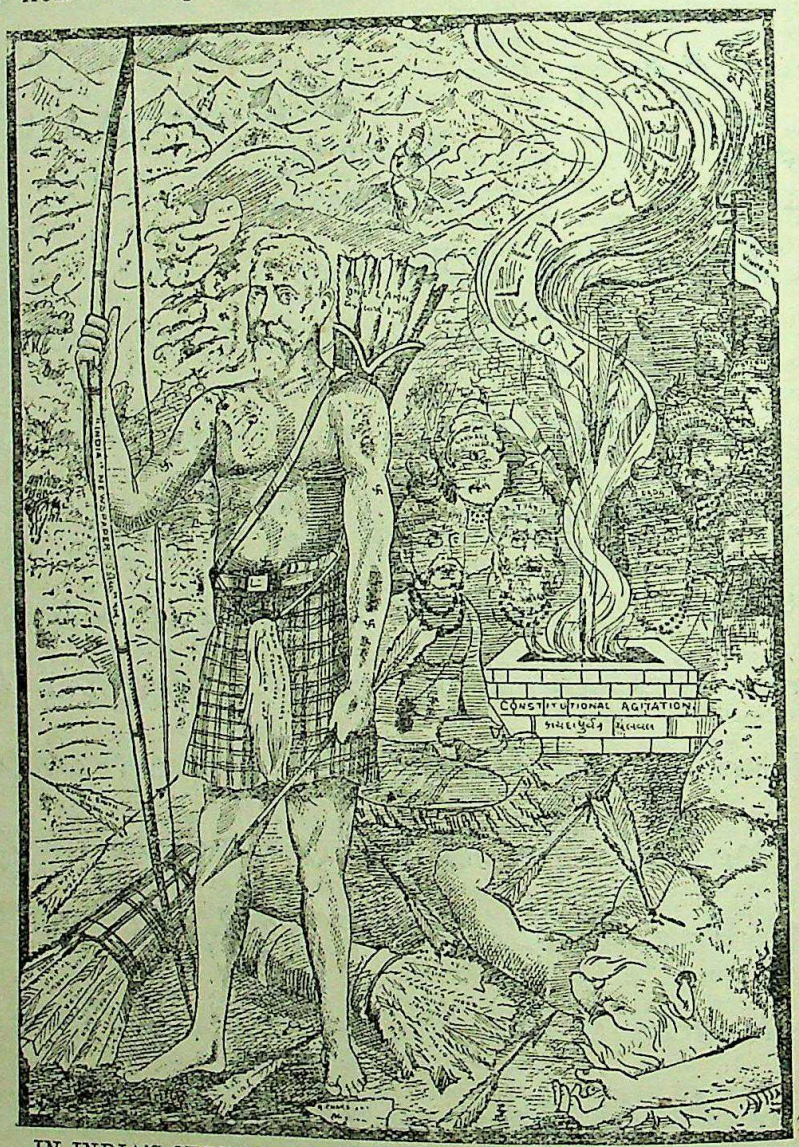
THE LATE SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN

BY THE HON. SIR DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA.

I

Sir William Wedderburn belonged to that small and rare but typical class of the great British nation whose chief trait of character, apart from their high intellectual, moral and social qualifications, is *noblesse oblige*. Scion of a distinguished family whose ancestry has been traced to six centuries back, there was to be plainly discerned in his person all those hereditary environments which differentiated the average Briton from one in whose vein runs the blood of all that is truly noble and gentle. An experienced judge of human nature had only to meet and converse with him but once for an hour or two to discover and admire what a fine specimen he was of all those virtues which go to make up what we call the "perfect gentleman." Educated in the University of Edinburgh,



IN INDIA'S SERVICE: IN INDIA'S DEFENCE!—*Hindi Punch.*

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which has often been compared to the classic academy of ancient Athens, the home of so many Scotch scholars and divines, statesmen, historians, poets and philosophers, Sir William possessed in no small a degree that culture which contributed so much to the cultivation of the faculty of broad-mindedness and the refinement of natural talents. From the earliest days of his career as a Civil Servant in India, Sir (then Mr.) William Wedderburn, whose immediate ancestors had for a hundred years also served in the same capacity, it was recognised in whichever locality his duties took him, he was known to have the deepest sympathy with Indians of all classes and his great solicitude for their political, social and material welfare. But his chiefest care was the amelioration, as far as it lay in him, of the condition of the indigent ryot, ground down between the upper stone of the revenue officer and the nether stone of the district or village money-lender. As he grew older in the service he was more and more convinced of the imperative necessity of relieving the luckless agriculturist from the heavy burden of his debt. He was never one of the majority of the Service who asserted, mostly without the book, that it was entirely owing to the ryot's unthriftiness and his extravagant expenditure on marriage and other domestic events. The allegations, though true, were grossly exaggerated. The primary cause of all the wants and woes of the peasant could be readily traced to the burden of enhanced revenue assessments which, as a consequence, led to borrowing from the money-lender at a heavy rate of interest. This view which Sir William firmly held was greatly emphasised by the first Famine Commission under the presidency of that most able and practical expert, the late Sir James Caird. There is overwhelming material in those ponderous volumes of the Commissions' report on the condition of the agricultural masses of India which he who runs may read even to-day with the greatest profit and instruction in order to be able to compare notes with the present condition of the Indian peasantry. He may judge for himself by an accurate comparison whether that condition has improved or deteriorated. But this much may be said without fear of contradiction that the private departmental inquiry which Lord Dufferin had instituted in 1887 proved to the hilt, from the carefully edited report of the Government published in 1888, that it was scarcely any better than it was after the first general famine of 1876-77. Even six years before the date of that report well-founded articles, based on facts, had appeared in some of the London journals, notably in the *Spectator*, then in the very vigour of its manhood and edited by a journalist of great independence who had acquired large experience in India. There was one article in that journal headed "The Great Danger in India" which at the time attracted no little notice of the authorities. It was therein openly asserted that the ultimate danger lay in the hopelessly distressed and indebted condition of the ryot. It would be impossible to overlook that danger as the rebellion of the belly was the worst of its kind to be apprehended in any country. A little later, in 1885, the late Sir Henry Cotton, in the first edition of his "New India," had also well portrayed the dangers of the Indian agricultural problem in words not to be mistaken. And as a further absolute testimony to the same gruesome fact, there was the appointment of the Commission in 1878-9, under the presidency of a most experienced and accomplished revenue officer of the United Provinces, the late Sir Auckland Colvin, to thoroughly investigate the condition of the agriculturists in the Deccan where grievous agrarian riots had taken place. The report of that Commission made most depressing reading and which eventually led to the enactment by the Government of India

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of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, in 1880. It was this report primarily and the one of the Caird Famine Commission which led Sir William to publish his most excellent brochure on Revenue Enhancements. His active mind and his great solicitude for the welfare of the Deccan ryots, later on, prompted him to call together a meeting of some of the most influential citizens and capitalists of Poona to consider and frame a practical scheme whereby the agricultural indebtedness of the ryot might be greatly diminished and the lot of that waif and stray of cultivating Indian humanity, living as it did on a bare subsistence, somewhat improved. Even Sir Louis Mallet, Under Secretary of State for India, and an expert authority on land economics, observed in one of his masterly minutes that the poor ryot in all parts of India was the victim of the Revenue Survey Officer who only knew how to increase revenue assessments for his Government at the termination of the thirty years' settlement of all ryotwari lands. And, as if to heap Ossa on Pelion, there was that exceedingly comprehensive monograph of Mr. Allan Octavian Hume on Indian agriculture, dolorously depicting the dismal and almost hopeless condition of the peasant.

Thus it would be seen how amply Sir William was supported in his own views on the burden of revenue enhancements in regard to which he, as a District Judge, had often to decide law suits instituted by the money-lenders. The conclusion which the Poona meeting arrived at was the establishment, as an experiment in one of the worst indebted districts of the Deccan a land or agricultural bank. A practical scheme was drawn up which was blessed by Sir James Fergusson, the Governor of Bombay, from his own knowledge and experience of the success of land banks in New Zealand. It was formally submitted to the Government of India with Lord Ripon, of happy memory, as the Viceroy and with Sir Evelyn Baring (the first Lord Cromer) as his most able Finance Minister. The scheme passed that ordeal also having been most cordially supported by the Government. It was recommended to the then Secretary of State who cursed and pigeon-holed it, and it is a fact that it lies in some dusty pigeon-hole of the India Office, of non-progressive fame, to this hour. Meanwhile such was his solicitude for the Indian peasantry that in order to advance the progress of the scheme a further stage, he went to London, there to enlist the sympathy of many a prominent British parliamentarian and others. John Bright was convinced that it was a most practical scheme and he gladly presided at the meeting convened for the purpose and made a most eloquent appeal to the authorities at the seat of the Central Government. But it met, as just observed, with an adverse fate, most unluckily for the Indian ryot. Pigeon-holed as the scheme has been for well nigh 36 years past, Heaven only knows whether it ever would be resurrected, and whether the Council of India would seriously wake up to its grave responsibility in this matter. Poor India has no prospects for the present of a valued friend like John Bright or Professor Fawcett or Mr. Charles Bradlaugh. Sir William afterwards published in a pamphlet form this scheme of agricultural banks.

No retired English Civilian has since ever moved his little finger in this respect as strenuously, perseveringly and single-mindedly as Sir William did to the last day of his life which was devoted to promote the best interests of India and India alone. This was *the* one subject nearest to his heart, along with the political progress of Indians.

This then, is the most outstanding feature of Sir William's Civilian career. If he was greatly endeared to the Indian people for so many years, it may be unhesitatingly asserted it was primarily

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for his deep and abiding solicitude and sympathy for the Indian peasantry.

The other outstanding feature, but of a secondary character, was Sir William's whole-hearted support of Lord Ripon's memorable scheme of Local Self-Government which, at least in the Bombay Presidency still acts as a red rag to the bull of the Bureaucracy. But on this subject as well as his persistent and consistent advocacy of education in all its branches, technical included, it is not needful to expatiate in this place. Suffice to say a grateful public held a public meeting in honour of the retiring Civilian in1887 and voted a handsome fund to perpetuate his memory. The late Mr. Telang observed that "it is one of the important features of Sir William's career that he has taken the most active, the most intelligent and the most useful interest in the progress and advancement of education in the country." And here the fact should be remembered of the very cordial and friendly relations he cultivated with the people among whom he lived and moved during his entire official career. Wherever he went he instinctively attracted all classes of the people by his great personality, his gentleness, his godliness, and his nobility of character. During the five years which preceded his retirement there was in Bombay a trinity indeed of highly cultured, highly bred, and highly sympathetic Lords in the persons of Sir Raymond West, Principal William Wordsworth and Sir William Wedderburn. This bright and illuminating constellation of the intellectuals was familiarly known as the three W's, and the Bombay generation of those days knew too well what marvellous influence, each in his own sphere, and all combined, exercised on Indians of light and leading of whom the other three stars of the first magnitude were Telang, Pherozeshah and Tyabji; and this trio became exceedingly marked with the advent of that great statesman and philosophical radical, Lord Reay, as the Governor of Bombay.

Sir William left the shores of India, esteemed and regarded by the people of the Bombay Presidency. Even then his name was a household word and he had declared that so long as Providence spared his life he would, in his retirement, devote his whole time and energy exclusively to the promotion of the welfare of Indians: specially their political advancement; and he faithfully and solemnly discharged his promise as all Indians so well know. Such indeed was his love and regard for India. It would be too long for these columns in this issue of the *Indian Review* to narrate the exceedingly unparalleled and unexampled career of Sir William Wedderburn as a retired Civilian, but a true friend of India; also some of the personal recollections and reminiscences of the present writer. These must be reserved for the next issue. All that might be said in conclusion, in this place, is that Sir William Wedderburn had proved in his life-time one of the noblest of noble Englishmen who loved India dearly and worked hard for it, day and night for thirty long years, sacrificing thousands of Rupees to repay his gratitude, as he thought it, for the salt that he had eaten of India. As Sir P. M. Mehta observed at the great public meeting in the Town Hall on the eve of his departure from the shores of India: "that Sir William Wedderburn lived in the hearts of the people of this country with respect, with admiration, and with gratitude. We count Sir William among the true friends of this country, because he has given loyal and sincere adhesion to those principles of justice and righteousness on which the declared policy of the Crown and Parliament for the Government of this country is founded."

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN'S SPEECHES & WRITINGS. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 3. To Subscribers of *I.R.*, Rs. 2-8. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

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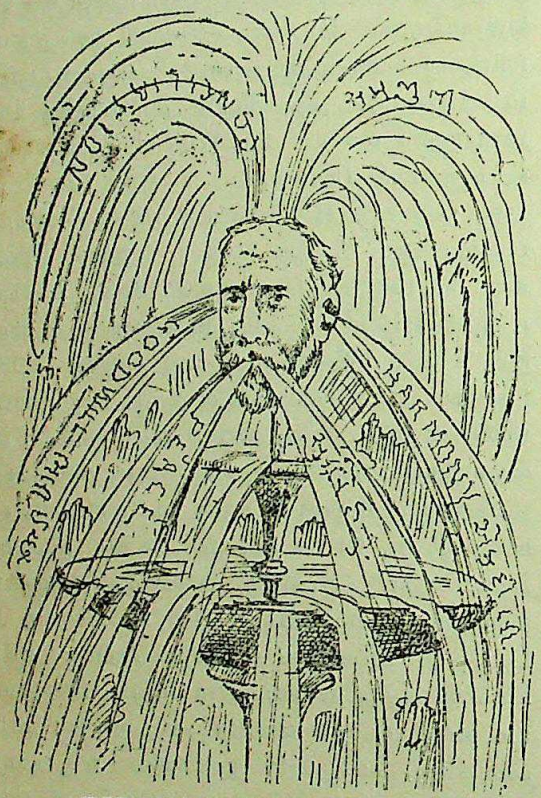
Sir William Wedderburn: An Appreciation

BY

THE HON. MR. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

THE sound and mature opinion of the late Sir William Wedderburn should have been of the greatest value to the Right Honourable Mr. Montagu and others who have in their various ways and degrees to decide the fate of India. He had been for over a generation the lid-less watcher in England of the interests of India and ever since the question of constitutional reform took shape, he had been giving and



THE WEDDERBURN FOUNTAIN.

receiving suggestions as to the lines on which it should proceed. In the first week of January last, he sent me a cablegram urging that Mr. Hirday Nath Kunzru, the head of our Society in Allahabad, should be sent to England at once to prepare the ground for the Congress deputation which should not be long in going. I have heard a Governor in India say that whether the Conservative or the Liberal ministry be in office, no big step of any kind affecting India would be taken without Sir William Wedderburn having been privately consulted. There are not wanting cavillers in both countries who say that Sir William commanded more reverence than influence; that he was regarded as a sort of well-intentioned crank, who thought of Indian affairs exclusively and could not, therefore, be trusted to see their full bearing on larger affairs. In truth, however, nothing has ever been done of value to humanity except by those who concentrated on what they cared for and concentration necessarily means the exclusion from view of many things of consequence. Sir William's love of India and anxiety to promote the interests of India were a passion—a passion that gives joy to life and redeems humanity from grossness. He gave his pension to the service of India. He gave some of his own money too to her service. He knew her faults and her weaknesses; but he dealt with her gently and his reproof scarcely differed from kindly exhortation. Mr. Gokhale was once struck by the extraordinary resemblance of a portrait in Sir William's house to himself and asked who it could be. He was told it was his brother, who, along with a child, had lost their lives in the Indian Mutiny! Sir William had never alluded to the incident before and he seldom alluded to it afterwards. Injuries not half so grievous, other natures would find it impossible to forget or forgive; nay, they have engendered undying hatred. The goodness that leads instead to love, to service and to sacrifice touches divinity. It is found only in the saintliest natures. In fact, in single-minded devotion, in the clear sight which no difficulty could cloud and no defeat could dim, in the complete surrender of the self, which minded no efforts, however great and never made any allusion to them, it would be difficult to find Sir William's match except amongst the great *rishis* of the land he loved. Spiritually he really was of India.

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Towards the Goal

BY

SIR ABBAS ALI BAIG, C.S.I.

Late Member, India Council.

MR. G. A. Natesan's admirable brochure "What India Wants"* is published at a most opportune time when both India and Great Britain are responding to the pressure of the great events which must in the near future profoundly change the fortunes of the Empire and re-adjust the position of India as a *partner* in the scheme of the British Commonwealth of free nations. The value of the publication is greatly enhanced by a wealth of luminous extracts skilfully marshalled from the writings and speeches of some of the most talented and far-sighted statesmen, who have moulded the destiny of British rule in India. These informing extracts show how closely the great principles and the high purpose underlying the policy of some of Britain's noblest sons of the type of Malcolm, Elphinstone and Munro accord with the main features of the reforms which Mr. Natesan discusses. Incidentally Mr. Natesan's arguments constitute a vigorous indictment of the narrow spirit in which Section 87 of the Charter Act of 1833 and the pledges of three successive Sovereigns have been treated by the servants of the Crown charged with the sacred duty of giving full effect to them.

Mr. Natesan has indentified himself with the Congress-Muslim League scheme of reforms. Whatever scheme of reforms may eventually be adopted in a statesmanlike response to the rapidly changing conditions through which the country is passing—and no such scheme can have an element of finality—it is certain that the dawn of a new era in the political history of India is approaching and a great stride forward towards the goal of responsible Government is imminent.

* Written as a Foreword to Mr. Natesan's "What India Wants," but received too late to be included in the book.

SALAT

BY

MUSHTARI BEGUM.

(An English-Muslim Lady).

When dawn's fair glow illumes the sky
And paints it with an artist's brush,
The Lord in Fajar's pray'r I meet
And with Him hold communion sweet.

Subhana Rabbiyal Azim!

When noonday's scorching sun is high,
In Zuhr again my heart upsoars,
From work and toil and weary strife
I prize this respite more than life.

Subhana Rabbiyal Azim!

The endless stream of pray'r pours forth
From Al-Amin through ages on,
While now the hour brings Asar in,
And makes in pray'r the whole world kin.

Subhana Rabbiyal Azim!

In sunset's glow Maghrib I say,
Low prostrate' fore the Lord of All;
Towards the Qibla lost in awe
Within my being I withdraw!

Subhana Rabbiyal Azim

The toils of day are ended now,
Before I rest Isha I say;
With soul set free by sleep,—I fly
To my Beloved Lord on high!

Subhana Rabbiyal Azim!

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KING PRATAPA RUDRA DEVA

BY MR. TARINI CHARAN RATH, B. A.

PRATAPA Rudra Deva Gajapathi was a very famous king of ancient Orissa who ruled an extensive country, during the first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. He belonged to the Solar Dynasty and with him the fame and glory of the ancient kingdom of Orissa may be said to have waned. His country extended from the Ganges in the north to the mouth of the Krishna river in the south and he even carried arms as far as Rameswara at the extreme south, successfully for a time. He was the son of Purushottama Deva Gajapathi of Kanchi-Kaveri fame by his beloved Queen Padmavati or Rupambika, the daughter of the King of Karnata, whom he had taken prisoner during his expeditions. King Kapilendra or Kapileswara Deva of Orissa was the grand-father of Pratapa Rudra. He founded the Solar Dynasty after the extinction of the well-known Gangetic family. Pratapa Rudra Deva was the author or compiler of the most valuable treatise on Hindu Law, known by the name of 'Sarasvati Vilasa' or 'Recreations of the Goddess of Learning' which is even to this day an authority along with the Mitakshara in Orissa and South India. Several writers on Hindu Law commencing from Sir Charles Grey (afterwards Chief Justice of Bengal) to Mayne including Grady, Macnaghten, Morley, Strange, Thompson, Tagore and others have spoken highly of this legal compilation of the Orissan King. But owing to the confusion and dismemberment that followed the demise of the Great King in Orissa, the valuable treatise on Hindu Law seems to have not been given due prominence in the country. It appears to have been better known in South Orissa (Madras Presidency) than in its northern portion. The date of the compilation may be safely assigned to 1515 A.D.

For sometime the work was but blindly attributed to the Telingana King Pratapa Rudra Deva Ganapati of the Kakatiya Dynasty of Warangal. The book is in high-flown Sanskrit language and anybody who has the patience to go through it will certainly find out the real author. Palm leaf manuscript copies of the book have been found even in Travancore, Mysore, Coimbatore, Tanjore and other places in the South, written in the Old Grantha, Tamil and Telugu characters.

The work is an extensive one comprising the whole body of Hindu religious, moral and civil laws of the country. It does not omit even the customary law of land tenure. In the introduction to the book it is stated that the King composed it with a view to remedy the difficulties arising from the existence at that time of several authoritative works on Law, whose doctrines were in conflict with one another. On the fundamental question of the character of the ownership of property, the treatise is the most pronounced of all the works as yet known, on the secular side of the controversy.

The King is celebrated for his great wisdom, ability, valour, learning and religious knowledge. His skill in the arts of war and civil government was eminent. The introductory chapter of the book records his extensive literary accomplishments. He is said to have composed commentaries and popular narratives. He was a director of dramas and arranged the Dharmasastra. He was very fond of disputes and controversies on points of Theology. He was devout and built several temples. The Great Vaishnava Reformer Sri Chaitanya came to Orissa in his time and was much adored by him.

The book clearly makes mention of the successful and famous Kanchi-Kaveri expedition of his father King Purushottama Deva which is not fully believed by some infidels, though few, even from the existence of other evidence on the point. Rev. Thomas Foulkes translated from the original Sanskrit the portion of the book on Daya Bhaga or Law of Inheritance in 1881. This book is now out of print and not available.

The Uriya nation may rightly feel proud of such a worthy production of their ancient Kings. But it is to be regretted that the work has not been yet fully published and translated. It is hoped that steps will be taken soon, in the direction, by all concerned and also by the benign Government which has been doing so much in respect of such ancient and valuable Oriental records.

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WORLD FEDERATION

BY MR. V. B. METTA, BAR-AT-LAW.

WHAT Vision of Life do European thinkers and seers see at the end of this mighty War?—They see the vision of what they call 'The World-Federation.'—A great and exalted idea truly! We must, however, judge it—not by its title, which is unsurpassably noble, but by the smaller details given by some of them, which go to make it up. We must find out whether their eyes see everything clearly and correctly, and whether their moral notions are self-seeking and utilitarian or absolute and ideal for all races of mankind.

And what is the conclusion that we come to—after we have penetrated the glowing epidermis of their ideal?—Well we regret to find that most of them are unconsciously selfish and narrow. Beneath all their talk of the welfare of humanity—we find that these European thinkers are thinking—not of the Tennysonian 'federation of the world'—but of the federation of a part of it,—namely, Europe. They want the nations of Europe to live at peace with each other henceforth. The East—(except Japan) and the uncivilized races of mankind are hardly ever mentioned by them!—Why?—Because they are weak and consequently not able to impose their will upon others! Surely Europe is not to exist for the good of the world—but the world is to exist for the good of Europe!

True morality, consists—not merely, in behaving better in the future, but also in undoing the mischief which we might have done in the past—if possible. The races of Europe and America must give up their ill-gotten possessions in other parts of the world, if they have been really illumined by the rays of ideal morality now. It is not merely the weak and small nations of Europe and America, who should be allowed to develop themselves along their own lines in the future, but the races of the East, and of the Dark Continent also. There should be no spheres of influence in Persia or China henceforth. America must give up the Philipines to the Filipinos. Rama, the present king of Siam, is said to be doing a great deal for reforming and improving his country. There is no doubt that he would be able to do a great deal more than what he has done, if Western Nations cease to ask for special rights and privileges in his country. It is anything but right to say that Eastern countries like Persia and China have failed or are not fit to reform themselves. They have had no freedom or time given them to work out their own salvation. Had the Western Powers continuously interfered with the development of Japan—for their own selfish ends in the seventies and eighties of the last century,—the Island-Empire would never have emerged as a Great Power to-day—in spite of all the burning patriotism and magnificent heroism of her children. There is a long interval of time between the sowing of a seed—and the bearing of fruit by the tree which comes out of that seed. When so much arduous toil, so much restraint, so much failure is necessary for an individual to pass from one stage to another successfully,—how much more difficult it is for a nation—with its innumerable currents and cross-currents to pass from one stage of civilization to another!

The true test for judging the greatness of a civilization is its capacity for making its actions—the legitimate children of its thoughts and ideals at all times and under all circumstances. In the past, many races and countries aspired to create enduring civilizations but failed,—and have now disappeared from the face of the earth. It remains to be seen whether the self-trumpeting modern Europe will succeed in doing that—which only India and China have partially succeeded in doing up till now in the history of mankind.

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SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

BY MR. N. C. KELKAR, B.A., LL.B.

Editor of "The Mahratha."

INDIA is grateful for what England has done for her so far. But India believes in the definition of gratitude as 'a lively expectation of favours yet to come.' And she is determined that she will not herself take rest nor allow rest to England so long as she has not obtained her heart's desire, viz., Self-Government within the British Empire and equal partnership with the self-governing Colonies in the British Commonwealth. Her aspiration has been definitely formulated; and there can be now no going back from it. India will not, and cannot, accept any half-way house to her ambition; and if that ambition is not to be realised in full, she will rather prefer to be, as she was, in true Oriental fashion!

> The East bowed before the blast
> In patient deep disdain;
> She let the legions thunder past
> Then plunged in thought again.

Why should India care who rules her if she is not to have under him a self-respectful status as a nation? She refuses to regard her present position of milchcow to the British Empire as dignified. She cannot appreciate the argument that she has got what she had not got before, viz., internal peace and contact with a civilised nation like England. There is no glory in being a bondsman, though attached to the retinue of the most illustrious master in the world. If India had internecine wars, she was living in an atmosphere which favoured the fullest growth of at least individual persons and communities. The clash of arms is much better for mankind than emasculating peace. Erring but responsible manhood is preferable to a life-long, though secure, tutelage. The rugged national life, the uneven social surface in pre-British times, was certainly preferable to the dead level and the dull uniformity established by the steam-roller of British Rule, in which first-class eminence is impossible and aspiring tall poppies are always in danger of being cut down. In pre-British times there was ever room at the top for whomsoever that possessed eminent qualities. A shepherd like Malhar Rao Holkar, who in his childhood spun wool and tended the flock in the field, could carve out, by his sword and statesmanship, a principality worth a crore and a half by the time he reached the middle age. Mahadaji Scindia, who was for twenty years the successful rival of the English at the Imperial Court of Delhi in the last quarter of the 18th century, was the son of a mere page who took care of the Peishwa's slippers. Under the British rule for over 150 years there has not arisen a man who was deemed able or distinguished enough to be a Revenue Commissioner in Civil Service or a Second Lieutenant in the Army. Even a Shivaji could not, as was once observed by Babu Surendranath Banerjea, hope under the British rulers to rise above the rank of a Subhedar-Major. What has British rule, it may again be asked, done for the agriculturist either beyond ensuring peace so that he may reap the corn he has sown? The rural population under British rule has been deprived of even such self-government as it enjoyed in pre-British days.

Evidently this could not have gone on for a long time, even if the great war had not come! But now that the war *has* come, now that the British Government has realised the possibilities of the strength to be derived from a contented and self-governing India to the empire in the future, and has also declared itself to be the natural guardian of the political freedom of nations in the world, small or great, India is inclined to put point-blank the challenging question to England:

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"Are you or are you not going to give political freedom to India just as you say you are going to win it by war for Belgium or Serbia? Has or has not India any claims upon you in that respect? If yes, then what is the scheme by which you are going to restore political freedom to this great nation? Despairing of a constructive policy and an honest scheme spontaneously emanating from you, the best brains in India have voluntarily framed a scheme of their own; and the Indian nation now demands that it should be at once put into operation as affording a wide enough workable basis for a fair experiment of nation-making in this country, and embodying a minimum of political reforms, a minimum, that is to say, of political power which the country thinks and feels is unreservedly or unconditionally due to her, a minimum which cannot be divided into parts without destroying its desired efficacy or without disappointing the people to such an extent as to make them lose faith in British statesmanship. And England would be judged by the response which she may give to this challenge.

The Congress-League scheme, reserving as it does to the Government of India the fullest measure of control and administration in most of the great imperial departments, cannot itself be valued at more than eight annas in the whole rupee of national self-government such as the British Colonies at present actually enjoy. That scheme, therefore, does not admit of any more cheese-paring economy or instalments. The Secretary of State for India would entirely misunderstand his mission to this land, if he thought that his presence was required only to arbitrate between a close-fisted Bureaucracy and an extravagant educated class as regards a claim for decentralisation of mere administrative business. Mr. Montagu is not looked to by India as a shrewd umpire who knows how best to settle a small bargain between two petty dealers. His task is not to apply the differential calculus so skilfully as to seem to be giving to the Indian people something without really taking away anything of value from the bureaucracy. He would be doing injustice to himself if he did not regard himself in as responsible a position with regard to Canada or Sir Herny Campbell-Bannerman with regard to South Africa. Here were instances in which political discontent was as deep as it is now in India, and in which the grant of full responsible government was recognised as the *only* real and abiding solution of the problem of pacifying the nation. There the theory of instalments was regarded as simply out of the question, and the same must be the case with India also. The minimum as embodied in the Congress League scheme is the minimum that India must receive if she should begin to feel that she is really a partner in the Empire and not a menial drudge; if she should rise to the required pitch of enthusiasm to put forth all her energy and resources for the cause of the Empire and share, in her own right, in the glory of the Empire. The minimum embodied in the scheme is that portion of the edifice of self-government which cannot admit of being done in parts. It contains just that measure, and no more, of the power of the purse and of the control of administration, which is necessary to inspire India with respect for herself and love for the Empire. If the bureaucracy does not possess imagination enough to perceive, it is our business to teach it to them, that the mere establishment of a barren peace, and the mechanical consolidation of territorial acquisitions, cannot entitle any rulers to the esteem, much less to the love, of a people who had a glorious political past and who legitimately aspire to a glorious political future. With a liberated and a loving India, England may overcome any dangers that threaten the British Empire. But in a discontented and emasculated India England may find only a mill-stone round

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her neck, heavy enough in its turn to drown her in the seething and surging waters of an international struggle ; for, as was once observed by the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, a policy of force and despotism cannot fail to bring on its attending Nemesis. England's experience of discontented Ireland has not been pleasant enough ; and India, if not conciliated by the grant of self-government, is sure to prove another Ireland. A saner politician than Dr. Rash Behari Ghose cannot be imagined ; and yet he could not help saying in the course of his speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the twenty-second Congress held at Calcutta : "The pinch-beck Imperialism in England is made up of barbarous ambitions, passions and sentiments wholly alien to the culture and civilisation of the 20th century. To those brummagem Imperialists I would say : Do not misread the signs of the times. Do not be deluded by theories of racial inferiority. The choice lies before you between a contented people proud to be the citizens of the greatest empire the world has ever seen and another Ireland in the East, or—I am uttering no idle threat, I am not speaking at random, for I knew something of the present temper of the rising generation in Bengal—perhaps another Russia." A situation like this can be adequately dealt with only by the sympathetic imagination of a generous statesman, who can think in large dimensions, and not by the subtlety of a pettifogging politician whose skill lies only in investigating mathematical or evolutionary minima in political concessions. May we not hope that Mr. Montagu will rise to the occasion and transform India from a dangerously discontented dependent into a cordial co-operator and a faithful freind of the British Empire ?—*From a Memorandum prepared for the Bombay Home Rule League.*

THEISM AND BHAKTI

BY

PROF. N. G. WELINKAR, M.A., LL.B.

CRITICS of our movement (Theistic Movement) tell us that though Hinduism has been prolific in Bhatkas or Devotees, it affords no experience of genuine *Bhakti* (Devotion), no witness of spiritual communion, of devout prayer and soul-satisfying response. The cries of desire, they say, are more prominent in the devout utterances of our Bhaktas than the triumphant assurance of salvation sought and obtained. The Indian Bhaktas, that is to say, are groping but never finding. How far this is from being the truth of the matter, in what rich and many-toned harmony the soul of the Indian Bhaktas has uttered its song of deliverance and joy is known to every Indian Theist. Indeed, this sense of self-fulfilment in intimate oneness with God is to my mind the distinctive note of the Indian literature of devotion. Which Brahma is unacquinted with Guru Nanak's joyous outburst, "Vanished the doubt of my soul, when I had a vision of Thee," or Kabir's song beginning, "I have found a mine of jewels." Here are two expressions one of longing and supplication and the other a joyous outpouring of gratitude for grace and mercy received by our much cherished Western India Bhakta Tukaram whose devotional songs are the joy and consolation of the toiling millions of the Maharashtra. The metrical translations which I give I have taken from a delightful article entitled "the Indian Poetry of Devotion" from the pen of Rev. Dr. Macnicol of Poona in the latest issue of the *Hibbert Journal.*

I.

"Thy greatness none can comprehend
All dumb the Vedas are ;
For-spent the powers of mortal mind—
They cannot climb so far.
How can I compass him whose light
Illumes both sun and star.

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The serpent of a thousand tongues
Cannot tell thy praise;
Then how poor I? Thy children we
Mother of loving ways.
Within the shadow of thy grace
Ah, hide us Tuka says."

II.

Holding my hand thou leadest me,
My comrade everywhere.
As I go on and lean on thee,
My burden thou do'st bear.

If as I go, in my distress
I frantic words should say
Thou settest right my foolishness,
And takest my shame away.

Thus thou to me new hope dost send,
A new world bringest in;
Now know I every man a friend,
And all I meet my kin.

So like a happy child, I play
In thy dear world, O God,
And everywhere,—I, Tuka say,—
Thy bliss is spread abroad."

Let me give you one more quotation from another Saint of the *Bhakti* School from our Maharashtra, the poet Eknath who was both a great devotee and a great thinker. The extract I give is taken from his "Bhagwat" and is about the import and value of *Bhakti*: For the translation I am again indebted to Dr. Macnicol.

The Superiority of Bhakti to Yoga—

Though one restrains the senses yet they are not restrained. Though one renounces sensual desire, yet they are not renounced. Again and again they return to torment one. For that reason the flame of *Hari Bhakti* was lit by the Veda. There is no need to suppress the senses; the desire of sensual pleasure ceases of itself. So mighty is the power that lies in Hari Bhakti. Know this assuredly: The senses that Yogis, suppress Bhaktas devote to the worship of Bhagwat. The things that Yogis forsake Bhaktas offer to Bhagvat. Yogis forsake the things of sense and forsaking them they suffer in the flesh; the followers of *Bhakti* offer them to Bhagvat and hence they become for ever emancipated. Wife, child, house, self, offer them to Bhagvat. That is the perfect Bhagvat Dharma. In this, above all else, does worship consist.

The Superiority of Bhakti to Jnyana—

Though he has no knowledge of the Vedas, still by one so ignorant may the real Self be apprehended. The condition of Brahman may be easily attained and possessed. To that end did God send forth the light *Hari Bhakti*.....Worshipping Bhagvat by faith the man who has no knowledge is delivered. Women, Sudras and all others—place them on board this boat and they all together and easily can be borne by the power of faith and worship to the other bank. To cross thither without swimming, to gain possession without painful effort, to obtain Brahman by an easy means for this end Narayan sent forth the light of *Bhakti*. The special quality of Bhagvat Dharma is that the simple-hearted are borne safe across the ocean of the world. Brahman is attained by easy means.

What Bhakti is—

He who puts his trust in the worship of Bhagvat —rules and restrictions become his slaves. When he renders the ritual service of his heart, the World-Spirit is made glad. The marks of a Saint are his power of devotion, how he tramples on the works of his *dharma* how he sweeps clean the place of *varnasrama*, how he makes a *bon-fire* of Karma.

He who knows not *sruti* or *smriti* but worships, by faith, in the way of Bhagvat, him never for a moment does the burden of rules and restrictions obstruct. Those who lacking the two eyes, *sruti* and *smriti*, are blind, even they fleeing by the might of faith to the worship of Hari by reason of their heart's full love meet with no stumbling block. Those who follow this the Bhagvat Dharma, Karma cannot hinder. He whose will rules Karma that Purshottama (Supreme Person) is obtained by the worship of faith. Those who render service according to the *Bhagvat Dharma* to them the duty of their own Dharma becomes as a bond-slave. It cannot stand in their presence! How, then, can it possibly hinder them? Whatever is done, with purpose of reward or what is done without, what the Vedas, what custom, what our own nature prescribes, offer them, one and all, to Bhagvat. Behold that is the Bhagvat Dharma!

He whom the duty of his Dharma cannot hinder, hears his secret. Purshottama has been manifested in his heart by means of the knowledge of the illimitable Self.

Whenever the eye sees the visible, then the Bhakta sees there God Himself. Thus by means of worship he offers up his vision, namely, the objects that he sees. In like manner when he hears with his ear, it is an offering to Brahman. Without deliberate intent, know this, spontaneously and naturally Bhagvat is worshipped.

The Being who brings together the scent and the things that has scent, *he* becomes to the Bhakta the very sense of smell by reason of love. When the sweets of taste are tested then its flavour is God Himself. *He* abides in the delight of taste and the Bhakta perceives that the enjoyment of taste is an offering to the Brahman. When by our body we touch then in the body the unembodied Self is manifested. Whatever the Bhakta touches, whatever he enjoys, lo! it is an offering to Brahman. Wherever the Bhakta sets his foot, that path is God. Then in every step he takes, lo! his worship is an offering to Brahman.

This *Bhakti*, so well described by Saint Eknath, we Indian Theists should put in the fore-front of our religious life—both individual and congregational. By means of its mighty and mysterious powers we shall achieve greater results than we can ever hope to do by the employment of what are called modern methods, useful and needful though these latter are in their own way,

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Discussions, lectures, apologetic literature all these are good and these we will have—but they will not bear a quarter or a tenth of the fruit which *Bhakti* will bear if we encourage its devout practice in our homes and in our *mandirs*, and in forms that are hallowed and endeared to the people by age-long usage. By *Bhakti* deep and unfeigned and clothed in an indigenous garb we shall, first of all, touch the heart of the masses of our country who constitute the real nation. It has been repeatedly urged by critical observers of our movement that it is only a movement of intellectuals and does not appeal to the people at all. We must in all honesty acknowledge the substantial truth of this charge. The way to reach the great mass of our countrymen, to touch the national soul, is by the practice of worship and devotion, according to the Indian pattern. In his Presidential address delivered at the Bombay Theistic Conference two years ago Dr. Sarkar truly observed: "In the past we have been content to divest the Theistic Faith of its supernatural, irrational and non-moral wrappings." Yes we have to confess that in our effort to moralize and rationalize the ancestral faith we have deprived it of much of its power of appeal derived from the ancient ceremonial and symbolism in which the masses of our countrymen find their best consolation amid the trouble and sorrows of life and their best hope hereafter.

Bhakti of a genuine, national type—only purified of every idolatrous or unethical suggestion—is sure to win for us the masses for whose love and trust every true-hearted Brahmo longs. And *Bhakti* will achieve yet more. It will give us power to successfully combat the two most deadly foes of religion—materialism and intellectualism. Materialism is the bane of Western civilisation and wherever that civilisation has spread materialism has gone with it and threatens to-day to draw educated India into its deadly grip. The essential evil of materialism is that it views matter as the ultimate reality of the universe, and so, instead of giving to it a merely ministerial position, exalts it to the over-lordship of life. And of all tyrannies, the most debasing tyranny is the tyranny of matter. It is the worst kind of idolatry for it dethrones and disowns the noblest part of our nature—the Divine within us, our spiritual self, and by doing this poisons the very springs of nobility in man. Our illustrious scientist Sir J. C. Bose spoke words of the deepest truth when at the opening of his Research Laboratory he said: "Not in matter but in thought, not in possession but in ideals are to be found the seeds of immortality. Not through material acquisition but in generous diffusion of ideas and ideals can the true empire of humanity be established." And while resisting materialism we have also to resist intellectualism with which materialism almost invariably allies itself. Intellectualism believes in the sufficiency of the mere intellect for all human ends. It acknowledges no other power than brain-power. It breeds the pride of knowledge and scoffs at the ideas of faith, inspiration and intuition. Intellectualism is capturing educated India. Our educated countrymen are manifesting tremendous interest in the training and development of the intellect alone. In Indian education this absorbs all the energy of teacher and pupil. How few realise that spiritual education is the very core of a sound training? How few care for the training of the will and the emotions? In our social life we lavish our admiration on the man of brilliant intellect—the man who can make a clever speech or write a clever book. We theists who believe in the supreme value of the spiritual life, we who hold that all true power is at bottom spiritual, that without the culture of the soul knowledge only leads to arrogance and aggression, we should earnestly endeavour to stem the rising tide of materialism and intellectualism by the cultivation of the spiritual life in our homes and in our churches and the surest way to the achievement of this end is the way of *Bhakti* which has been pointed out to us by our saints and sages.—*Presidential Address to the last Theistic Conference.*

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Sarojini Naidu's Speeches and Writings

A REVIEW BY

MR. A. S. RAJAM, B.A. (HONS.)

A friendly critic of Mrs. Naidu feels rather pained that the flare of the public platform is luring her away from her "moon-enchanted estuary of dreams." He fears, as no doubt many others interested in her literary genius do, that the excitement of political life might obscure the clear vision of the poet, that absorption in the dry details of politics and association with its cavils and controversies might stifle the fulness and freedom of her songs. But the call of duty has sounded for Mrs. Naidu. She has questioned Death and Fate whether she should quit this mortal life of hers before achieving her destined deed of song or service for her country's need. She asks :

> Shall spring that wakes mine ancient land again
> Call to my wild and suffering heart in vain ?

She has naturally come out and at the cost of her health, has been addressing large gatherings in all parts of India. Wherever she goes thousands flock to her. Mrs. Naidu is beyond all doubt the sweetest and the most fascinating of our speakers. Her delivery is perfect. Her command over an English style of flawless perfection is simply marvellous. She lends to her speaking the manifold charms of her extraordinary personality. Her Speeches* make exceedingly pleasant reading and there are passages which stand well on the borderland of poetry and literature. The use of the idea of dawn in her recent speech on "The Hope of To-morrow" gives a passage of exceeding melody, while her speeches on the Vision of Patriotism (p. 107) and Ideals of Islam (p. 165) are exceptionally good. Her speech on Indenture delivered at Allahabad is a model of eloquence.

The leading note of her speeches as of her public life is the Unity of the Hindu and the Moslem. She said at Madras: "I shall always recognise with pride that what the Hindu Mazzini gives to India the Muslim Garibaldi gives to India and they make a perfect type to make an Indian patriot. . . . It is the spirit of the sword that we want to be brought to this great land. We want that courage that a soldier kept the sword swift in defence of the country, to revenge any insult to the honour of the manhood or womanhood that is defended. The young Muslim has to put his contribution—not the sword made of steel but the sword of the Islamic spirit which has been re-tempered in the older fires of the Vedic cult—the sword of Muslim love dedicated to the service of Vedic India."

It will be useless to expect from Mrs. Naidu's speeches any presentation of facts in regular order, any quotation of figures, or even close and cogent argumentation. It is well that it is so. We have enough of dryness and drought in our political temperature. It is relieving to find our political life touched to music by an artist and singer. Politics with us is not a matter of votes and ballot-boxes, of councils and bills and acts, of parties and guilds and corporations. It is something higher and purer and more idealistic. It is the resurrection of a great people. It is the renaissance of an ancient and unageing land. It is the striving of a race for emancipation. It is the passing of winter to the caverns of the north, and the coming in of spring which cannot call in vain to our poets and singers. Mrs. Naidu gives to our politics a touch of the ideal, a ray of sweetness and light and lifts it from the sordid levels of ambition, jealousy, and struggle to the higher levels of art, music and beauty.

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* *Sarojini Naidu's Speeches and Writings*. Price Re. 1. To subscribers of the "Indian Review," As. 12. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

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CHEMICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA

BY SIR THOMAS HOLAND.

THE principal chemical problems in connection with Government activities are divided among; (*a*) agriculture; (*b*) forest products; (*c*) drugs, perfumes, essential oils and dyes; (*d*) tanning; (*e*) sugar and alcohol manufacture: (*f*) saltpetre refining; (*g*) salt and khari manufacture; (*h*) mineralogy; (*i*) metalurgical inspection; (*j*) explosives manufacture.

For administrative purposes these might be controlled in three groups:—(*a*) Agricultural Chemistry, with the chief laboratory at Pusa. (*b*) Organic Chemistry, with two chief laboratories at Dehra Dun and Bangalore. (*c*) Mineral Chemistry, with the chief laboratory at Kalimati or Calcutta.

Each group might be placed in charge of a senior officer, one of whom will be Chief Chemist to the Government of India or it might possibly be better to have three Deputy Chief Chemists for the three groups with a Chief Chemist at Dehra Dun and Simla, his status and functions being analogous to those of the present Surveyor-General. Junior members of the service could be lent to the Local Government and principal Government departments for terms normally limited to five years. These officers would carry on purely routine duties and, in some cases, teaching the principal problems of research being undertaken at the chief laboratories according to their nature. All results of scientific and practical value would be published in the records of the Indian Chemical Department, which would be issued in three series and edited by the three deputy chiefs. Once a year the whole staff of chemists might assemble for a week's Conference successively at Pusa, Dehra Dun, Bangalore and Calcutta. This Conference should be attended by private chemists, including manufacturing chemists and chemical members of the Education Department. Papers read at this Conference, if approved by a small committee might be published in the records which would thus establish at once a definite position of authority and value in scientific literature.

In considering the question of co-ordinating chemical reserach, it is obvious that a systematic investigation of Indian raw materials especially vegetable products is about the most urgent. In spite of the valuable results obtained at Dehra Dun, at the Indian Institute of Science, at the Imperial Institute in London and in our various colleges, only the fringe of this subject has so far been touched. For this work the chemist requires the co-operation of the Departments of Agriculture, Forests and Botany. It thus appears desirable to organise the chemical fraternity for representation on the Board of Scientific Advice. The co-ordination attempted during the past year by the Munitions Board has been accomplished by our friendly co-operation through Dr. Simonsen as Secretary of the Congress. Our first object has been to meet some urgent demands arising directly from the war. But we have done very little so far and must be content with small things so long as we are in India, so desperately short of chemists free of heavy routine work. This conference will result, I hope, in valuable suggestions for operations in the immediate future as well as in advance of value to the Industrial Commission which will be required to report on the question of official organisation of the scientific services to meet industrial needs. In addition to the question of official organisation it has been suggested that we might consider a proposal to establish in India a section of the Society of Chemical Industry. The size of the country is against the adoption of any one capital city as a centre. An alternative discussion, which is at variance with the usual organisation of the society, is to form a section which will meet annually as a branch of the Science Congress.—*Presidential Address to the Chemical Conference, Lahore.*

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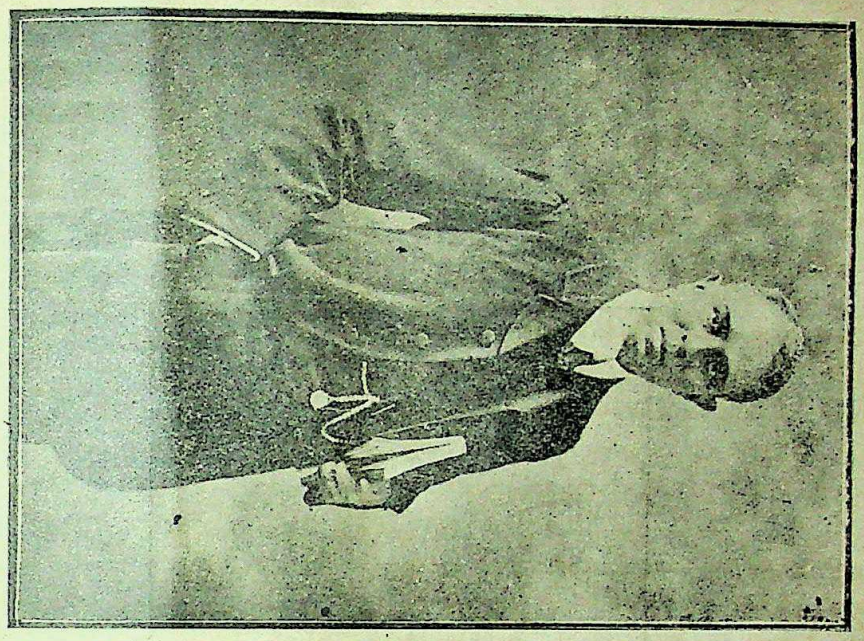

PROF. N. G. WELINKAR, M.A., LL.B.
President, Theistic Conference.

SIR KRISHNA GOVIND GUPTA
Chairman, Recp. Com., Theistic Conference.

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THE LATE PUNDIT SUNDAR LAL

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ANCIENT PUBLIC LIBRARIES

BY MR. C. I. VARUGHISE.

THE origin of libraries is lost in obscurity. The honour of having first made collections of books, rather writings is, by some, ascribed to the Hebrews; and by others to the Egyptians. Osymandyadas, one of the ancient kings of Egypt who flourished some 600 years after the Deluge, is said to have been the first who founded a library. The temple in which he kept his books was dedicated to religion and to literature, and placed under the special protection of the gods with whose statues it was magnificently adorned; it was still further embellished by a well-known inscription, for ever grateful to the votary of literature; on the entrance was engraven, "The Nourishment of the Soul." It probably contained works of very remote antiquity, and also books accounted sacred by the Egyptians, all of which perished amidst the destructive ravages which followed the Persian invasion under Cambyses. There was also according to some old authors, a fine library at Memphis, deposited in the temple of Phtha, from which Homer has been accused of having stolen both the Iliad and the Odyssey, and afterwards published them as his own. From this charge, however, the bard has been vindicated by various writers and by different arguments.

But the most superb Library of Egypt, perhaps of the ancient world, was that of Alexandria. About the year 290 B.C., Ptolemy Soter, a learned prince founded an academy at Alexandria called the Museum, where there assembled a society of learned men, devoted to the study of science and philosophy; and for their use he formed a collection of books, the number of which has been variously computed, by Epiphanius at 54,000 and by Josephus at 200,000. His son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, an equally liberal and enlightened prince, collected great numbers of books in the Temple of Serapis, in addition to those accumulated by his father, and at his death left in it upwards of 100,000 volumes. He had agents in every part of Asia and of Greece, commissioned to search out and purchase the rarest and most valuable writings; and amongst those procured were the works of Aristotle, and the Septuagint version of the Jewish Scriptures, which was undertaken at the suggestion of Demetrius Phalereus, his first Librarian. The measures adopted by this monarch for augmenting the Alexandrian Library were pursued by his successor Ptolemy Euergetes, with unscrupulous vigour. He caused all books imported into Egypt by Greeks or other foreigners to be seized and sent to the Museum, where they were transcribed by persons employed for the purpose; and when this was done, the copies were delivered to the owners and the originals deposited in the Library. He refused to supply corn to the famished Athenians until they had presented him with the original MSS of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripedes; and in returning elegant copies of these autographs, he allowed the owners to retain the fifteen talents, more than £3,000 sterling which he had pledged with them as a princely security. As the Museum, where the library was originally founded, stood near the royal palace in that quarter of the city called Brucheion, all writings were at first deposited there; but when this building had been completely occupied with books to the number of 400,000, a supplemental library was erected within the Serapeion, or Temple of Serapis, and this gradually increased till it contained 300,000 volumes, making in both libraries a grand total of 700,000, volumes.

The Alexandrian Library continued in all its splendour until the first Alexandrian war, when during the plunder of the city, the Brucheion portion of the collection was accidentally destroyed by fire, owing to the recklessness of the auxiliary

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troops. But the library in the Serapeion still remained, and was augmented by frequent donations, particularly by that of the Pergamean Library of 200,000 volumes presented by Mark Antony to Cleopatra so that it soon equalled the former both in the number and in the value of its contents. (This library at Pergamus was founded by King Eumenes, and enlarged by his successor, Attalus. It soon became so extensive that the Ptolemies, afraid that it would speedily rival their own collection at Alexandria, issued an edict forbidding the exportation of papyrus. But this prohibition so far from attaining the unworthy object for which it was destined, proved rather beneficial; for, the Pergameans, having exhausted their stock of papyrus, set their wits to work, and invented parchment as a substitute). At length, after various revolutions under the Roman Emperors, during which the collection was sometimes plundered and sometimes re-established, it (the library in the Serapeion) was utterly destroyed by the Saracens at the command of Caliph Omar, when they acquired possession of Alexandria in 642 A. D. Amrou the victorious general was himself inclined to spare this inestimable treasury of ancient science and learning, but the ignorant and fanatical Caliph to whom he applied for instructions, ordered it to be destroyed. "If these writings of the Greeks agree with the Koran, they are useless, and need not be preserved; if they disagree they are pernicious, and ought to be destroyed." The sentence of destruction was executed with blind obedience. The volumes of papyrus or parchment were distributed as fuel among the five thousand baths of the city, but such was their incredible number, that it took six months to consume them. This act of barbarism, recorded by one historian, is considered somewhat doubtful by another, in consequence of its not being mentioned by two of the most ancient chroniclers. It seems inconsistent with the character of Amrou as a poet and man of superior intelligence; but that the Alexandrian Library was thus destroyed is a fact generally credited and deeply deplored by historians.

Among the Greeks, as among other nations, the first libraries consisted merely of archives, deposited for the sake of preservation, in the temple of the gods. Peisistratus the Tyrant of Athens was the first to establish a public library in his native city, which always took the lead in everything relating to science and literature in Greece. Here he deposited the works of Homer which he had collected together with great difficulty and at a very considerable expense; and the Athenians themselves were at much pains to increase the collection. The fortunes of this library were varied and singular. It was transported to Persia by Xerxes, brought back by Seleucus Nicator, plundered by Sulla, and at last restored by the Emperor Hadrian. On the invasion of the Roman Empire by the Goths, Greece was ravaged; and on the sack of Athens, they had collected all the libraries, and were on the point of setting fire to this funeral pile of ancient learning, when one of their chiefs interposed, and dissuaded them from their design, observing that as long as the Greeks were addicted to the study of books, they would never apply themselves to that of arms.

The first library established at Rome was that founded by Paullus Emilius in 167 B. C Having subdued Perseus King of Macedonia, he enriched the city of Roma with the library of the conquered monarch, which was subsequently augmented by Sulla. On his return from Asia, where he had successfully terminated the first war against Mithridates, Sulla visited Athens whence he took with him the library of Apellicon, the Teian, in which were the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus. Lucullus another conqueror of Mithridates, was not less distinguished by his taste for books. The number of volumes in the

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library was immense, and they were written in the most distinct and elegant manner. But the use which he made of his collection was still more honourable to that princely Roman than the acquisition or possession of it. It was a library whose walls, galleries and cabinets were open to all visitors; and the ingenious Greeks, when at leisure, resorted to this abode of the Muses, to hold literary conversation, in which Lucullus himself loved to join. But although Sulla and Lucullus liberally gave public access to their literary treasures, still their libraries can in strictness, be considered only as private collections. Among the various projects which Julius Cæsar had formed for the embellishment of Rome was that of a public library, which should contain the largest possible collection of Greek and Latin works; and he had assigned to Varro the duty of selecting and arranging them. But this design was frustrated by the assassination of the Dictator, and the establishment of public libraries did not take place in Rome until the reign of Augustus.

The honour of having first established these valuable institutions is ascribed by the elder Pliny to Asinius Pollio, who erected a public library in the Court of Liberty, on the Aventine Hill. The credit which he gained thereby was so great that the emperors became ambitious to illustrate their reigns by the foundation of libraries, many of which they called after their own names. Augustus himself was an author, and in one of those magnificent buildings called Thermae, ornamented with porticos, galleries, and statues, with shady walks and refreshing baths, he testified his love of literature by adding a grand library which he fondly called after the name of his sister Octavia. The Palatine Library, formed by the same emperor in the Temple of Apollo, became the haunt of the poets, as Horace, Juvenal and Perseus have ommemorated. There were deposited the corrected books of the Sybils and it would seem that it consisted of two distinct collections —one Greek and the other Latin. This library having survived the various revolutions of the Roman Empire, existed until the time of Gregory the Great, whose mistaken zeal led him to order all the writings of the ancients to be destroyed. The successors of Augustus, though they did not equally encourage learning, were not altogether neglectful of its interests. Tiberius founded a library in the new Temple of Apollo, and instituted another called the Tiberian, in his own house, consisting chiefly of works relating to the empire and the acts of its sovereigns. Vespasian, following the example of his predecessors, established a library in the Temple of Peace, which he erected after the burning of the city by order of Nero. Domitian at the commencement of his reign, restored at great expense, the libraries which had been destroyed by the conflagration, collecting copies of books from every quarter, and sending persons to Alexandria to transcribe volumes in that celebrated collection, or to correct copies which had been made elsewhere. But the most magnificent of all the libraries founded by the sovereigns of Imperial Rome was that of the Emperor Ulpius Trajanus, from whom it was called the Ulpian Library. It was erected in Trajan's Forum, but afterwards removed to the Viminal Hill, to ornament the baths of Diocletian. In this library were deposited the elephantine books, written upon tablets of ivory, wherein were recorded the transactions of the emperors, the proceedings of the Senate and Roman magistrates, and the affairs of the provinces. The Ulpian Library consisted of both Greek and Latin works. The library of Domitian having been consumed by lightning in the reign of Commodus, was not restored until the time of Gordian, who rebuilt the edifice, and founded a new library, adding thereto the collections of books bequeathed to him by Quintus Serenus,

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Samonicus the physician, and amounting to no fewer than 72,000 volumes. In addition to the imperial libraries, there were others to which the public had access in the principal cities and colonies of the empire.

When Constantine the Great made Byzantium the seat of his empire, he decorated the city with splendid edifices, and called it after his own name. Desirous to make reparation to the Christians for the injuries they had suffered during the reign of his predecessor, he commanded the most diligent search to be made after those books which Diocletian had doomed to destruction. He caused transcripts to be made of such as had escaped the fury of the presecutor, and having collected others from various quarters, he formed the whole into a library at Constantinople. At the death of Constantine, the number of books in the imperial library was only 6,900. But it was successively enlarged by the Emperors Julian and Theodosius the Younger, who augmented it to 120,000 volumes. Of these more than half were burned during the seventh century by command of the Emperor Leo III, who thus sought to destory all the monuments that might be quoted in proof respecting his opposition to the worship of images. In this library was deposited the only authentic copy of the proceedings of the Council of Nice; it is also said to have contained the poems of Homer, written in gold letters, together with a magnificent copy of the Four Gospels, bound in plates of gold, enriched with precious stones, all of which perished in the conflagration. The convulsions, which distracted the lower empire were by no means favourable to the interests of literature. In the eleventh century learning flourished for a short time during the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. This emperor is said to have employed many learned Greeks in collecting books, and forming a library, the arrangement of which he himself superintended. But the final subversion of the Eastern Empire, and the capture of Constantinople in 1453 dispersed the literati of Greece over Western Europe, and placed the literary remains of that capital at the mercy of the conqueror. The imperial library was, however, preserved by the express command of Mahmud, and continued to be kept in some apartments of the seralgio. But it is commonly supposed that it was sacrificed in a fit of devotion by Amurath IV.

Now, may I close with a prayer? Will some kind friend give an account of the famous libraries of ancient India?

THE RAJPUT QUEEN.*

BY

PROF. P. SESHADRI, M.A.

The Rahtore Jeswant Singh retreating came
From field of battle; through the live-long day
His men had fought against the mailed array
Of Delhi's teeming Moslem hordes, aflame
With wrath; they fought as men of Rajput name
And birth alone could fight and hundreds lay
Along the banks of Nerbada, away
From where their offspring played the childish game
And women kept their daily vigil sad,
For warrior sons and husbands doomed to death.
But all in vain—and when with weary breath
Defeated Jeswant came, his consort bade
The gates be closed against him, for she said
"A Rajput comes victorious or dead."

* From Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan.*

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THE PROBLEM OF NATIVE STATES

BY PROF. H. G. LIMAYE, M.A.

Fergusson College, Poona.

IN a note submitted to the Right Honourable Mr. Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy Mr. G. R. Abhyankar of Sangli* raises the whole question of Native States, their status in the Empire, their rights and disabilities, and above all the very delicate question of the rights of the subjects of these States, and the necessity of providing regular constitutions for them. It is a sign of the times that such a note should be published and opportunity should be offered to have all these questions discussed openly. The wave of a new political consciousness that is passing over the nation at the present moment has, it appears, reached even the subjects of Native States. In British India even the most backward communities have been roused into activity. Sections of the people that for years were engrossed in their own private pursuits, never minded what others were doing or troubled about public affairs, have suddenly realised that they possess political rights and that they have a political destiny. Agriculturists, *Ahirs*, the various groups of the backward classes and even the depressed masses, have come forward to claim separate representation on Legislative Councils. With all these signs of a new life before us, we cannot help being reminded of the happenings in a distant land about a hundred and thirty years ago. On the eve of the French resolution the French people issued *Cahiers* instructions to their representatives showing the great depth to which their hearts had been stirred by the new ideas that were then permeating French Society. Even so are the various representations submitted to the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy. Fortunately for us we need not apprehend any developments on the lines of those in France. We have here an administration which is progressive, with all its drawbacks being controlled and directed by a Cabinet inspired by the high ideals of the free British people.

In this general awakening the States themselves have taken part. Their rulers who, till quite recently maintained an attitude of supreme indifference towards the political aspirations of the people of India, have, through their selected representative, blessed the cause of Indian Nationalism, and are now engaged in formulating their own demands. Mr. Abhyankar puts forward a strong plea in support of the improvement of their status. He traces the history of their relations with the British Government and shows how and when these relations began. The great object of the British Government was to cripple their power, to curb their turbulance and to isolate them completely from one another and from the outside world. The object was secured directly or indirectly by the provisions of the treaties made between the British Government and these States, with the result that the latter became completely helpless and dependent upon the former. This could not however, be for the good of the States, nor did it strengthen the position of the British Government in international politics. The crisis through which the British Empire is now passing, proved this to the hilt. The rally of the Indian Princes round the Flag at such a time has been the admiration of the Empire and the despair of its enemies. They did the very best that they could. But they might have done immensely better. They might have solved for the Empire the great

* Native States and the Post-War Reforms, G. R. Abhyankar, B.A., LL.B. Sangli, S.M.C.

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question of man-power. They have sent their troops to the front in thousands. They might have sent them in hundreds of thousands, if their armies had been drilled, equipped and organised on modern lines. Even now they maintain an army of nearly two-hundred thousand men. But it is no better than a feudal levy, splendid indeed for show, but worthless in use, and a costly plaything. This has not been the result of accident. It has been the result of the deliberate policy of the British government. It is to be hoped that the mistake has been seen and hence-forward the excellent material will not be allowed to run to waste in this manner. An efficient army of the Native States in numbers as large as, or perhaps larger than, the army of British India may raise questions of training and equipment, of discipline and command. Mr. Abhyankar proposes the erection of a Council of Defence made up of the Executive Council of the Viceroy with some military experts and the representatives of the Princes and Chiefs.

The disabilities and the grievances of the Princes are dealt with in considerable detail in this note. The doings of the Political Officers, Residents and Political Agents, who consider themselves the masters of Native States, questions of disputed succession, of minorities, marriages, mal-administration, jurisdiction over European British subjects, freedom of movement within British territories, intercourse with brother-chiefs, these and others of a like character require deep consideration and sympathetic treatment. Mr. Abhyankar proposes that Conferences of Princes and Chiefs should be established for the purpose and judicial tribunals should be substituted for executive authorities.

By far the most important of the suggestions made by Mr. Abhyankar is that constitutions should be created for all States so that arbitrary government would be at an end and the subjects of the Native States would enjoy the same rights and privileges as those of British India. There is no denying the fact that public men in British India have not devoted sufficient attention to the improvement of the internal administration of Native States, nor have they advocated the cause of the subjects against their rulers. Perhaps their hands were too full with their own problems. Perhaps there were technical and legal objections to an agitation about the affairs of Native States. Whatever the cause, the result is that the subjects of Native States with all the advantages of indigeneous rule, are without most of the political rights which are enjoyed by the citizens of British India. It is in the fitness of things that Mr. Abhyankar, himself a subject of a Native State should plead vigorously for the amelioration of their political condition. He points out with justice that the responsibility for this stagnation lies at the door of the British Government. It has guaranteed the Native States not only against foreign aggression but also against internal disorders. The princes have in consequence a feeling of artificial security and in some cases they carry on the work of administration in a manner which is most distasteful to their subjects. But they are helpless, because the British Government with all its might stands behind the ruler to support him. In a free State the danger of a popular rising is a natural and wholesome check upon the arbitrary acts of its ruler. The presence of the British Government and its guarantee removed it in the case of Native States. Therefore, it naturally follows that it is the duty of the British Government to remedy the wrong it has done. The British Government must now guarantee to the subjects of Native States their political liberty and the development of free institutions just as it has guaranteed to their rulers freedom from disturbances within the States.

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THE STARVING INDIAN RAYAT

BY SIR DANIEL HAMILTON.

AWAY back in the year 1780, or thereabouts Adam Smith wrote in the "Wealth of Nations" that "in Bengal, money is frequently lent to the farmers at 40, 50 and 60 per cent. interest, and the succeeding crop is mortgaged for the payment." And in 1913 the MacLagan Commission wrote almost word for word:—"The money-lenders' rates we have found in many places to be as much as 38, 48 and 60 per cent. per annum." A bank rate of 38, 48 or 60 per cent. Is this all there is to show for 140 years of British rule? How much longer is the flag that stands for freedom to float over 300 millions of people who sit, mostly, in bondage? How much longer are the law-courts which stand for justice, to assist in plundering the people? I know that a Usury Act designed to check the usurer was passed the other day, and I wish it well; but when I read that the Act is so framed that no honest 'mahajan' has anything to fear from it, I can only conclude that it is more an evidence of the good intentions of a benevolent Government, than a serious attempt to destroy the evil which paralyses the whole body politic. What India wants is an Act written not with a goose-quill dipped in milk and water, but with an iron pen dipped in the blood of the mahajan; for, until the banking system for which the mahajan stands is dead, India will not live.

Gentleman, the foundations of India rest in the villages. The "rayat" is India and India is the "rayat" but in these stormy days the still small voice of the "rayat" is drowned in the political whirlwind. His silence is, to him, neither golden, nor silver nor copper; only a leaden weight of debt around his neck, to be united some time after 1932. The man who raises the £20,000,000 sterling to pay the army, and the crops by which we and all our industries live, has to stand aside and make way for the man who raises nothing but wind and dust. Apparently peace does not pay. To be peaceful is to be poor. What will happen when food prices soar skywards after the war I do not know, but if Government is wise it will not rely too much on the peaceful character of the people; for even the worm will turn, and if Government does not lay its plans now to turn him in the right direction, the sedition monger will turn him in the wrong. The other day in the Sunderbans, I heard of a man in khaki, no friend of the Government, going round the bazaars telling the people that, in view of the present high prices, Government would not mind much if they looted the shops, and the huts were being looted of cloth and salt. What are the people to do? The big money they got for their jute and paddy before the war, all went to the mahajan. The jute growers who, if they had had a banking system, ought to be rolling in money, are selling their brass-pots to buy food, and the paddy growers are no better off. The family clothing which formerly cost fifteen rupees for the year, now costs forty, another five rupees is wanted for salt, another five for kerosene oil, and so on. Where is the money to come from, and where does it go but to the mahajan?

India is the most lightly-taxed country in the Empire, but what is the lightness worth to the man with a broken back? India is the brightest in the British Crown, but where is the brightness when the dimness is more visible than the lustre? Under the British peace lies a mass of veiled violence and dull-dealt humanity, a banked fire of sedition ready for the spark. . . . I beg to submit that, in the interests of peaceful progress, it is the duty of Government to so push on with the development of the co-operative credit movement that India shall be covered with a co-operative banking system before 1923, or at latest 1928.—*Speech at the Co-operative Credit Societies' Conference.*

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INDIGENOUS SYSTEMS OF MEDICINE

BY THE HON. DR. NILRATAN SIRCAR.

FROM the historical point of view, we all know that the accumulated wisdom of the race in every branch of art and of applied science has had its roots in practical instinct; and in the case of the healing art, these instincts, hygienic, sanitary, medicinal have had a pre-historical beginning like many other biological and sociological instincts. Our ancestors built on these instincts but they did not stop there; they advanced to empirical recipes based on the experience of generations. This is the empricism that precedes science, next came methodical observation and inductions and classifications mixed with inevitable error and superstition, and these in their turn led to hypothesis and speculations, all embodied in the form of "Sutras"—comprehensive synthetic enunciations which seek to cover with formal precision a vast assemblage of observed science. Thus a provisional science was reached; in fact, a rudiment of positive science, but which fell far short of positive experimental science on account of its being wanting in that precision of quantitative measurement and experimental verification based on quantitative measurement which has characterised the true scientific method.

But in every art of life our science can still go to school to learn the wisdom of untaught instinct and native tradition just as the accomplished aviator can get suggestions from the movements of a bird. The provisional science of the indigenous school has done yeoman service in cultivating the medicinal resources of the Indian climate and environment; thereby building up no mean storehouse of drugs and medicines. The Indian *Materia Medica* cannot be ignored, if we have in mind the relativity of the medical art and if we would avoid the imputation of being doctrinal in a sphere which is concrete and matter of fact. What we require is to carry our scientific test of the medicines of the Hindu and Unani systems in their action upon the Indian constitution and in their uses generally. This should be followed by a scientific examination of the more important principles of particular treatment according to these systems. In this task, we must interest the sympathy and the imagination of the rising generation of medical students and practitioners working in laboratories, in hospitals and near the bedsides of the private patients. And it appears to me that unless we introduce in the curriculum of our medical college subjects like Indian *Materia Medica* and Indian Therapeutics, and above all the comparative study of medical science, our efforts are doomed to be barren and unavailing.

A school of tropical diseases and a number of bacteriological research institutes and hygienic institutes are now accomplished facts in India. We are very grateful for all these. But this movement is bound to extend in other directions; our goal must be a school of Therapeutics and Medicine in relation to the actualities of Indian environment, hygiennic as well as morbific and the Indian constitution as acted upon by that environment. We cannot afford to ignore the relativity of the medical art, for here the governing factor is that of adaptation; in other words, distribution of life with regional adjustment working by the process of natural selection, segregation and convergence. In disease as in health, the organism responds to the variations in the zone of life. And we must follow up the work carried on in the past by our ancestors.—*From the Welcome Address to the First All-India Medical Conference, December*, 1917.

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TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA.

BY MR. E. F. TIPPLE.

(*Thomason Civil Engineering College, Roorkee, U.P.*)

A BRIEF glance at the past history of the Indian Industrial Conference is sufficient to show that technical education has always been a subject of special interest at these annual meetings. At the present time, therefore, when two Commissions are completing investigations, which, from their terms of reference, must be intimately associated with this same subject, there seems good reason for reviewing past achievements in this important field of educational endeavour and for utilising such a review in an attempt to outline possible avenues of advance.

It must be admitted that there has already been a considerable amount of writing on this subject, and that, unfortunately, but little good appears to have resulted : this, however, in reality merely indicates the need for further writing, until some clear and definite ideas begin to crystallise out from the mass of statements available, and thereby to disclose certain fundamental and guiding principles, which must be borne in mind, when any attempt is made to formulate a scheme for the advancement of technical education.

Nowadays, any such scheme, so soon as it is published, will be subjected to a battery of criticism, and it is of great public importance that such criticism should, on the whole, be well informed. In the past, this has not always been the case, and such delay, as there has been, in getting a system of technical education into working order in this country, has not been entirely due to the slowness of Government methods, but in part to unnecessary difficulties which have been created by ill-informed criticism. It must be admitted that, for success, any scheme put forward must inspire public confidence, and this fact places an onerous duty upon the shoulders of the Indian leaders of public opinion ; since they in the main regulate the confidence in question. It is the more necessary, therefore, that a strenuous endeavour should be made under the auspices of this Conference, to lay down for future guidance those fundamental educational principles, which any scheme of technical education must embody, if it is to meet with general approval and to possess any real chance of success. Under existing circumstances, any formulated scheme will have to meet public criticism in India and expert educational criticism in England ; it is, consequently, of the utmost importance that leading Indian opinion should be well informed educationally, and that no representative gathering, such as this Conference, should grant the hall-mark of its approval to any scheme, which, from an educational point of view may be regarded as in any way unsound, or withhold it from one, which is sound.

In the report of the fourth meeting of this Conference held at Madras in 1908, there appears an interesting paper by Dr. Morris Travers, in which, among other matters, he directs particular attention to the two distinct grades for which provision must be made in any working scheme of technical education. The provision of these two distinct grades is a matter of fundamental importance. They are *firstly*, the higher grade necessary for the education of those, who will ultimately undertake the skilled management of some particular industry or the practice of some particular profession ; and *secondly*, the lower grade required for the training of the workmen or artisans including foremen.

These two grades may, for convenience, he states, be specified as "technical education" and "industrial training" respectively.

The first type requires its students to possess initially a sound scientific secondary education comprising a good working knowledge of element-

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ary mathematics, chemistry and physics including mechanics and geometrical drawing, and, in India at the present time, English. The "technical education" reared on such foundations must, as Dr. Morris Travers pointed out, be the work of institutions of University rank.

The second type merely requires its pupils to possess a primary education; the "industrial training" reared on these foundations is the work of trade schools, which, as experience has shown, must, for success, be situated in centres where the trades taught are actually practised; hence textile and leather trade schools are suitable for Cawnpore, carpentry for Bareilly, etc.

All industrial countries, in which the factory system has become established, have been compelled to recognise the need for these two distinct grades of technical education. The reason for this is that the extension of the factory system kills the old system of handicrafts with its correlated system of apprenticeship, thereby depriving the artisan of the educational and social advantages enjoyed under the old apprenticeship arrangement. No educational system, in Western countries, has hitherto completely replaced all the advantages of the older system, but the establishment of what are known as continuation trade schools supplementing a compulsory system of primary education, does much to mitigate the social evils which result from the introduction of an unrestricted factory system of industrial manufacture. Such schools make provision for those sections of an industrial population whose circumstances compel them early to face the struggle for existence.

In India, the gradual growth of industrial centres like Bombay with its cotton mills, Calcutta with its jute mills, Cawnpore with its textile, leather and other miscellaneous manufactures, has produced in these cities, an industrial condition which now closely approximates to that existing in the large manufacturing centres of Western countries, and a corresponding educational organization is becoming an increasing need in such Indian districts. Such an organisation, however, necessitates, in addition to trade or industrial schools, provision for the higher grade training at the same time, which can only be supplied at technical institutions of university rank.

Now it happens that in India the leading technical institutions are the engineering colleges at Roorkee, Sibpur, Madras and Poona, which were originally established for the sole purpose of recruiting for the Public Works Department. At the time of their foundation, industrial expansion on moderen lines had not commenced in India, and practically the only need for men, technically trained in the Western sense, was in the Public Works Department. The colleges, therefore, were initially constituted to meet the needs of this department, and this accounts for the peculiar organisation at present existing in them with their civil engineering, and upper and lower subordinate sections.

This has tended to disguise in India the fundamental distinction existing between "technical education" and "industrial training." The resulting confusion has seriously hampered the growth of a complete system of technical education in the country, since the colleges, through their lower grade classes, have prevented the healthy development of industrial schools in industrial centres.

Moreover, the students trained in the higher classes of existing Indian engineering colleges, have naturally regarded themselves as qualifying for professional employment. The majority of these students realise that on leaving college, they are unfitted for such employment immediately, and in most cases, they are willing to go through the mill of apprenticeship and to trust to subsequent promotion on merit. Meanwhile employers have been inclined, by reason of the

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lower grade classes existing at these same colleges, to regard such institutions as merely industrial schools, while unfortunately the product of the lower grade classes has been tempted to place too high a value upon the type of training, it has received. The result has been those evils which are so frequently shown up in evidence on Indian technical education, *e.g.*, discontented apprentices —the lower grade product—who value themselves rather too highly; and the higher grade product, among whom are many who are somewhat too sensitive, because they feel that they are often being regarded merely as workmen. In consequence of this, both have frequently proved of little value to commercial employers of labour.

Such general reasons indicate the necessity for making provision for higher and lower grade technical education separately. Other reasons of a more purely educational character also exist. The technical college is much more expensive to equip and staff than is the industrial school, and the number of students capable of taking the college course with profit, is correspondingly smaller than in the case of the school. Consequently the number of the schools must largely exceed that of the colleges and many of the college students must, therefore, come from a considerable distance to live in college, away from their homes. The college work, being of a higher type, further necessitates increased expense for books and other educational equipment, and thus the cost of the training to the student himself is necessarily greater. All this means that, save in cases of exceptional ability, the pupils of the technical college will be drawn from a different social grade from that to which the pupils of an industrial or trade school would ordinarily belong. Such schools, as stated, should be situated in the industrial centres, where the trades taught are actually practised, and the pupils would mainly be drawn from those sections of the population having association with the trades chosen. The training supplied, must be kept in close touch with the actual conditions of the industry, and the practical work must be conducted, so far as possible, under factory conditions; though this does not mean that any definite attempt should be made to cause the products of such work to pay for the upkeep of the school. It has been found that attempts of this kind always tend to hamper the educational efficiency of the school concerned.

It is clear, therefore, that the two grades—"technical education" and "industrial training"—meet the educational requirements of two distinct sections of the poulation, and denote trainings of two intrinsically different types. It is, consequently, of fundamental importance that provision should be made for them in two distinct types of institution, *viz.*, the technical college of university rank and the industrial school situated in a suitable industrial centre.

In this connection, great care must be taken that, in the demand which is frequently being made for the establishment of polytechnics in India, it may be made clear beyond the possibility of doubt, that what is not an institution on the lines of the so-called polytechnic in England, but the type which must, unfortunately, be known at the present time as German. The German polytechnic is an institution of University standing. In England the term is not restricted to any very definite type, and many English polytechnics, in the miscellaneous nature of the educational work which they undertake, resemble too closely the existing engineering colleges of India and attempt to provide both the higher and the lower grade training. In English educational circles, the opinion prevails that, despite much good work accomplished, the majority of English polytechnics give no adequate educational return commensurate with cost of their upkeep.

Some further points of difficulty now arise in India and are involved in the statement that the technical college should be of university rank,

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The Indian universities are mainly regarded as the gateways to Government service, and nearly all the most promising students have that goal alone fixed before them. Moreover, the more popular of the courses at the universities are of purely literary character and the school courses in this country are mainly arranged to be introductory to these. Furthermore, the early age 15 to 16, at which it is customary to attempt matriculation in India, has hampered the development of a high standard of secondary education.

These facts have complicated the problem of technical education in this country, and have involved it with other questions, such as the introduction of a school leaving certificate examination and the raising of the minimum age for matriculation.

The school leaving examination is necessary in order to bring the organisation of Indian secondary schools more into line with the requirements of modern industrial life; to enable these schools to provide the varied preliminary training suitable to the diverse careers which such life affords; and to secure a means of selection whereby the various aptitudes of different pupils may be developed by a suitably arranged system of optional courses. It is the absence of such a scheme in England which has been productive of the state of confusion which has existed in the secondary grade of education in that country, and the movement for a school leaving examination in India is one which deserves whole-hearted support. The school, whose courses are merely designed to meet the requirements of the old fashioned matriculation literary test, is a definite handicap to industrial expansion in India at the present time. It fails to encourage the development of those qualities which are of special value in modern industrial life. In this connection, object lessons, drawing, manual training courses and *practical work in a laboratary* are of the greatest importance, together with some method of judging the formation of industrious habits and ability to work under pressure. A properly arranged schedule for a school leaving examination makes provision for all these points.

The raising of the minimum age for matriculation appears necessary in order that the standard of secondary education in India may approach more nearly that obtaining in Western countries. At the present time, this standard is only reached at the intermediate stage in this country. So long as Indian universities are mainly concerned with opening the gates of Government service to their students, this question of the standard attained in the secondary schools is not one of very great importance. The securing of Government appointments, available to candidates in India, involves no competition with other countries. The position, however, is altered so soon as the universities turn attention to technical education. The value of technical education in any country is dependent upon the state of industrial expansion desired by that country and this at once involves competition with the outside world.

The standards of technical education attained in India must be comparable with those existing in other industrial countries, if its educational products are to take a leading part in Indian industrial life. Real industrial expansion in India, as distinct from mere exploitation, can only be achieved by the people of the country themselves and this necessitates their standard of living and education approaching more nearly to those of the outside industrial world.

Unfortunately, at the present time, any official attempt to raise educational standards in India is viewed askance by Indian leaders, and this want of confidence is being reflected in the attitude of Indian students towards officers of the Indian Educational Service. Such a position necessarily

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hampers educational development in this country, more particularly on the scientific and technical side, where Western influence is most needed. Co-operation between the east and the west must be the key-note of further progress and, for such co-operation, confidence between two sections of the community is of the utmost importance; in the educational field, its value cannot be over-estimated and unfortunately it is here that it appears to be most lacking at the present time. Education being a recognised and widespread necessity, the aims of educated Indians and of educational officers should coincide. It will be fouud, on careful consideration, that such difference, as exists, lies mainly in the points of view adopted. The officer of the educationa service naturally looks keenly to the question of efficiency; in the eyes of the Indian, the radius of the sphere of educational influence appears of first importance. Progress is only possible along a *via media*, and then only if this path be followed by both parties in a spirit of willing co-operation. The difficulties of the position are undoubtedly great and can only be fully appreciated by those Indians and those educational officers, who are each able to envisage the point of view of the other.

For these reasons an attempt has been made to put forward in this paper, for the consideration of this Conference, the educational problems involved in the development of technical education, as they appear to an educational officer whose service has been entirely spent at an Indian Engineering College, and to indicate certain broad lines of advance which in the opinion of the writer, seem to be of first importance.

These may briefly be summarised as follows:—

(1) The complete separation of the two grades specified above as "technical education" and "industrial training," and the provision for each at its own type of institution, *i.e.*, technical colleges of university rank for the higher grade and continuation trade schools in industrial centres for the lower grade.

(2) The improvement of Secondary education by the introduction of a school leaving examination, as soon as possible, wherever this does not already exist, and the consequent provision of parallel optional courses in the secondary grade whereby a varied preliminary training suitable for diverse careers may be forthcoming, and a method of selection obtained for developing the special aptitudes of different pupils.

In conclusion, it must be admitted that under the above two items, are concealed many difficult points of educational and administrative detail. In themselves, they merely embody a programme laid down with considerable clearness and great foresight by Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor, North Western Provinces and Oudh, in 1891-03, but which has never yet been fully developed in detail. A contributing cause to this delay was the rival scheme for a technological institute at Cawnpore put forward in 1907, and unfortunately endorsed by this Conference in the second resolutions passed at the meetings held in 1907 and 1908. Subsequently, this Conference somewhat modified its attitude, but some delay might have been avoided, if Indian leaders had been able in 1907 to direct attention clearly to the educational defects in the Cawnpore scheme which were indicated later on by the Secretary of State in his despatch dated 30th July 1909.—*A Paper written for the Indian Industrial Conference, Calcutta, December*, 1917.

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. By Professor V. G. Kale, Fergusson College, Poona, Second Edition. Re. 1-8. To Subscribers of the *I. R.* Re. 1-4.

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ESSAYS ON INDIAN ECONOMICS. By the late Mahadev Govind Ranade. Second Edition. Price Rs. 2. To Subscribers of the *I. R.* Re. 1-8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, Madras.

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THE PROTECTION OF THE COW.

BY THE HON. JUSTICE SIR JOHN WOODROFFE.

It is obvious that in the first instance we must see to the parents of the future animal by developing and providing good *breeding bulls and improving and selecting the cows.* As cows and bullocks are needed in this country for the two purposes of milking and draughting, the aim has been well stated to be, the production of a good milking cow and an efficient draught bullock. The bulls should be selected from pure breeds of good milking qualities. Steps must be taken to remedy the deficiency which now exists in suitable breeding bulls. . . . The High Courts have ruled that the Bulls which Hindus dedicate at *Sraddha*, which were allowed to roam about and were used for breeding purposes by the villages in which they were, are *res nullius* or no man's property. The result, of course, is that any one may take and kill them. Some are put in the scavenging carts, others, I am told, are slaughtered by the butchers. These High Court decisions are an apt illustration of the harm which follows the rigid application of foreign legal ideas to this country. The piety which dedicates a bull to public uses is not known to English Law but that is no reason why its beneficial results should be frustrated. I understand that the Hon'ble Mr. K. K. Chanda has accordingly brought forward a Bill to remedy the evil produced by these decisions (which though good law are not good sense) and which proposes to vest the Bulls in some authority who will maintain them for breeding purposes. I doubt myself whether great reliance can be placed on the Brahmani Bull. The piety which set him at large is itself on the decline together with other pieties so useful to the public such as the dedication of tanks, the planting of trees and so forth which marked the practical religious sense of past generations. Under these circumstances it is doubtful whether the supply of Brahmani Bulls will continue. . . .

It is, however, no use breeding a good animal if it is not *properly fed.* Defective feeding and careless tending is partly responsible for the deterioration of Indian milch-cattle. The former, it is said, is common among small owners in the country while the latter is to be seen in some large dairy farms (as in other places) where the hired men do not care to tend the animals properly. This latter is only one of many instances of that dishonest or neglectful service which is the cause of so many of the evils which we wish to see away and which can itself only be remedied by a moral and not a mere economic appeal.

The wisdom of the ancient Smritis provided that for every village and town ship a certain amount of common pasture land should be set apart. In recent times there has been great encroachment on these lands. This depredation on public property is assigned to economic reasons, it being said to be more profitable to the smaller men to cultivate the land than to keep it for grazing. In this case the desire for economic gain leads to the taking of other people's property. It seems to be generally ageeed that more ample facilities should be granted for the grazing of cattle; but there seems also to be much difference of opinion (due in part to conflicting interests) as to how this is to be given effect to. Some have suggested legislative action to protect grazing grounds and that steps should be taken to recover the encroached lands. Others propose that the Government should acquire from public funds new grazing grounds thus making the community generally pay for what was wrongly taken and should be restored. It has been even said that these depredations are economically justifiable and should not be interfered with: for this would be to frustrate an economic tendency which is a dangerous thing now-a-days. It is said further that as cattle are necessary for cultivation the tendency will

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necessarily be for the price of cattle to rise as further encroachments are made of the existing remnant of grazing land until, as remarked by Mr. Moreland "the necessary adjustment of prices ensures the retention of waste land in grazing." Mr. Blackwood is of opinion "that though cattle will suffer to some extent in the process, it does not appear possible for Government to prevent it, nor, considering the difficulties in the way, does it seem desirable to do so." He suggests a solution by the growing of fodder crops such as jowar, lucerne and the like or by mixed farming, the main principle of which is to have grazing and cropping alternately. By throwing land into grazing it gets a rest and the manure obtained from the cattle is valuable for the purpose of fertilizing the soil for future crops. He, however, says that the latter cannot be carried out by raiyats cultivating small holdings. Something, however, must be done and if pasture lands are to be recovered or acquired it has been suggested to me that one-tenth of the quantity of arable land, along with a tank, should be reserved for each village. At present the cattle get insufficient food and the plough cattle are overworked. It is stated, I think in the *Parashara Smriti*, that four pairs of draught oxen were used in olden times so that each pair got a rest. But now-a-days the same oxen are sometimes used all day and every day. Besides the above suggestion there is another I may make which is not economic but which, I trust, is not too idealistic: that is to ask those in possession of public lands to restore them to the public use from which they have been wrongly taken. . . .

Then there is the *improper treatment of cattle in health and disease*. This is a matter which calls for the spread of agricultural knowledge in the Schools, Colleges and Universities which besides professorship, might establish the agricultural travelling lectureships which exist in America. This is more useful knowledge, under the circumstances, than the law which is now overmuch fostered. Hundreds of lawyers are being turned out every year. No one really wants them and a large number of the unfortunate ones do not want themselves. There may be at first some difficulty in turning minds away from visionary Deputy Magistracies and other forms of official but dependent service; but starvation will effect this cure. A time is coming when every one will have to work in any way available to him. Want will produce sense. Meanwhile education may be spread by means of works in the vernacular such as *Gopala Bandhava* by Sj. Prokash Chandra Sirkar and *Godhan* by Sj. Grish Chandra Chakravartti which have come to my notice though there may be others. I would, however, say to these authors and others:—Do not neglect the old works because of the new. See what the ancients said and did. After all the country then did well in these respects and if so it is because its people had knowledge. Consult, for instance, the *Brihat Samhita* of Varahamihira. Even now there are many who are versed in the ancient *Gochikitsa*. All this must, of course, be re-enforced by the scientific knowledge of modern times. Besides such books, pamphlets in the vernacular may be widley distributed. Something is, I understand, being done in this respect by the Agricultural Department but I am told that the pamphlets are not sufficiently circulared but supplied only to those who ask for them. . . .

The number of Veterinary Surgeons may, it is said, be usefully increased. I cannot speak as to this and am personally averse to the multiplication of officials of any kind. It might, however, be advantageous to encourage private veterinary practice. In any case it would be useful to distribute lists of persons in each Province who know how to treat cattle according to the Indian and European

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methods together with their addresses. Do not let the old knowledge die as has, to some degree, occurred in the case of the Kabiraj. The ancients may not have known all that the years which followed them have told us; but they were not the fools which the entire neglect of the past on the part of some seems to indicate.

Want of proper treatment has led to *premature and avoidable death.* This is due to bad breeding (producing a weak stock), improper treatment insufficiency and unsuitability of fodder (particularly in the case of cows carrying calf) and want of exercise for cows and calves in Calcutta and other towns.

There is lastly the *slaughter of prime cows and calves*, that is cows which have not calved, say thrice, or whose milking capacity has not ceased to decline and cow-calves capable of themselves bearing. Some time ago the Calcutta Municipality attempted to stem this slaughter by increasing the fees but there was a "howl" (as it is called) before which it is customary now-a-days hurriedly to retire. There will always be a "howl" from people whose interests are affected. It is, however, the business of the community to enforce what is for the public good whatever private interests may stand in the way. This is the essence of respected rule. This question is of prime importance, for the best milkers are being sent to the towns and when their milk declines are being slaughtered in large numbers. The result, of course, is that the number of best cows are being diminished. So far as I know this problem is peculiar to this country. In Europe, America and the Colonies cattle are raised for two distinct purposes, namely, beef-cattle for food and dairy cattle for milk: No one ordinarily thinks of sacrificing a good dairy cow; and if dairy cows were killed there would be no need to do so in any quantity owing to the fact of the existence of beef cattle. If calves are slaughtered it is bull calves. Beef is not consumed in this country except practically by the European civilian population and by the European army. So the Indian people have hitherto not had the necessity of breeding cattle for that purpose as in Europe and America. But beef is required for the communities I have mentioned. The Government, I understand, refused (on what ground I do not know) to import the beef required for the army which, if done, would have largely checked the slaughter of Indian cattle. The Indian people are for the most part vegetarian or at any rate moderate animal-eaters, and for them the cattle are useful for draught or dairy. As there is no breeding for specific beef purposes, what appears to be taking place is an encroachment on draught and dairy cattle in the interests of those who require cattle for meat. But why should one interest be sacrificed to the other? As a portion of the community eat beef the slaughter must go on, but those who are interested in the milk-supply may rightly insist that they should not be made to suffer. Three remedies suggest themselves to me. The first is that Government should import its meat for the European troops in which case there would be only the limited European needs of the towns to be considered; the second is to define the age at which dairy cows can be slaughtered fixing it with reference to the period when their milking capacity declines; the third is that Government should be asked, or private parties be encouraged by the meat-eating public, to start in this country a specific beef-raising industry so that it will become unnecessary to have recourse to milch-cows for slaughter. *From the Presidential Address to the All-India Cow-Conference held at Calcutta in December*, 1917.

AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN INDIA. By Seedick R. Sayani. With an introduction by Sir Vitaldas Damodar Thackersey. Re. 1. To Subscribers of the *I. R.* As. 12.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE Some Lessons from America. By Cathelyne Singh. Price Re. 1. To Subscribers of *I. R.* As 12.

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INDIAN COLONIAL EMIGRATION

BY MR. H. S. L. POLAK.

[In the September issue of the *Indian Review* for last year we published a criticism by Mr. M. K. Gandhi on the Resolution issued by the Government of India embodying the Report of the Inter-departmental Conference held in London in connection with the recruitment of Indian labour to the Colonies. The following exhaustive criticism of the recommendations of the Inter-departmental Conference by Mr. H. S. L. Polak will, we have no doubt, be read with considerable interest by our readers. *Ed. I.R.*]

THE basis of a consideration of the recommendations in question is to be found in the Despatch of the Government of India, dated October 15, 1915, wherein they recommended the total and early abolition of the system of recruitment of indentured labour in India for service in those parts of the Empire to which such emigration was directed. It was clearly laid down by them, a view concurred in by the late Secretary of State, Mr. Chamberlain, that it was no part of the duty of the Government of India to supply labour to the Colonies concerned. Still less is it the duty of the Indian people to do so. If, therefore, India permits such a labour supply to issue from her shores, she will only do so as an act of grace, and because she is convinced either that it is to her own indubitable advantage to do so, or that some paramount Imperial necessity requires it.

The onus obviously lies on those Colonies to show, not only that the emigration of Indian labourers is advantageous to the Colonial employer, which is self-evident, but that it also makes for the prosperity of the permanent and major portion of the populations of the Colonies. Still more must they prove to India that she will receive an extraordinary and direct benefit or that she should willingly make a sacrifice, in which they are prepared to share, for the general welfare of the Empire because of an imperative Imperial need. As to the first question, these considerations appear to have been generally ignored, the employers claiming, both in practice and by implication, to have a supreme right to be heard; whilst the present recommendations, so far from containing any evidence of a recognition that India must be convinced in the sense above set forth, have avoided the issue altogether, and thus entirely neglect certain primary factors that cannot be lightly brushed aside as having no bearing upon the case.

Whilst it is perfectly true, as Mr. Chamberlain says, that there seems to be some confusion of thought, in India, because of the deep-seated irritation aroused by the unfortunate treatment of Indian settlers in certain of the self-governing dominions, it cannot be forgotten that, to a large extent, that ill-usage has been a direct result either of the direct introduction, into certain Colonies (and notably, the Colony of Natal before it achieved self-government), or a lively fear of the future introduction of Indian indentured labour, or again, the observation of the nature and working of the system in some neighbouring Colony. Remembering this, one cannot be surprised at the persistency with which India insists upon grouping together all parts of the Empire, whether self-governing or not, in a consideration of the labour emigration problem, and in the light of the present recommendations. It must further be remembered that the indenture system now that its true character and incidence are thoroughly understood in India, whose conscience has revolted at the revelations of recent years, has so evil a reputation, from its introduction, in 1834, as a substitute for legal slavery, to the present day, that she will require overwhelming evidence that any scheme of assisted emigration officially put forward bears none of the taint of indenture, and contains satisfactory guarantees of protection for the emigrants, and the preservation of the national self-respect. This, it is respectfully submitted, the present recommendations fail to show.

The report not only assumes that the scheme now outlined will be advantageous to the emigrants, but, still further, that economic advantage outweighs all other considerations, an unwarranted assumption that has always been regarded by the opponents of the indenture system, as a primary fallacy underlying the arguments of its upholders. Nothing has given greater offence to the moral sense of India than this presumption, for it indicates that the fundamental objections of the people have been gravely misunderstood. It is possible that, within certain limits, the emigrants, under the present scheme, would derive some economic advantage by leaving India; but, as is suggested later, this is by no means certain. No attempt, however, is made in this Report to overcome the many political, moral, social and economic objection to any system of officially-aided labour emigration.

The fact that India is no longer content to be regarded in the outer Empire as a 'coolie' country an inexhaustible reservoir of cheap and servile labour for the enrichment of certain interests in those outlying parts of the Empire has been

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wholly overlooked. In their report on the situation in Fiji, Messrs. Andrews and Pearson have expressly emphasised this danger, and Mr. Andrews has since written warningly in the Indian press on the same subject, from more recent observation in Australia and New Zealand. This danger is bound to militate against closer relations between the people of India and the white inhabitants of the colonies and dominions, not to speak of those persons, absentee directors and shareholders, who are members of the large companies and corporations deriving in many cases immense profits from the toil of these Indian labourers. I know, from my own experience in South Africa, how the whole Indian population, including those Indians who are born there, are classed alike as 'coolies' by the average white citizen of the union, a fact that is an unceasing cause of heart-burning amongst the Indian settlers, for they regard the mental attitude implied by this contemptuous designation as tending to create a permanent barrier against their civil and political progress. The report, under the heading 'Political Rights', appears to contemplate equality of political and municipal rights for the Indian immigants; but a community almost wholly unorganized, and, in the main, composed only of labourers, cannot possibly hold its own in relation to a white community, whose directing elements possess a superior organization, and represent principally the master class, whose normal interests are bound to differ radically from those of the immigrant Indian population. Moreover, experience seems to indicate that, even where they are willing, the colonial administration, unless they are strongly moved and supported by some active external agency, such, for example, as the Imperial Government, find it very difficult to emancipate themselves from the influence of local vested interests, representing persons of the same race, status, and civilisation as the Colonial officials themselves. Regard being had to these facts, equality of citizenship, would appear to be largely a formula incapable of being reduced to practice. This fundamental difficulty, it is feared, is, for the present, at any rate, insoluble, and the report altogether neglects its existence.

MORAL AND SOCIAL OBJECTIONS.

The moral and the social objections are equally grave. It is generally recognised that the natural unit in India is not the family but the village community, with its age-long traditions and well-tried organization. But it is here proposed to recruit by families and individuals. These are to be gathered together apparently, from all over India, wherever they can be secured, and they are, thus heterogeneously selected, to be removed from the religious and social sanctions with which they are familiar, placed in wholly unfamiliar surroundings, which still retain the evil associations of the indenture system, and there, unaided, expected to develope a self control and maintain a self-respect that European colonists, far more favourably situated, who are amongst their own kind and enjoying all the advantages of a familiar civilisation, have admittedly failed to display when subjected to considerably less temptation. Owing to geographical and other easily understood impediments, these Indian emigrants, as in the past, will lose touch with their spiritual guides, to whom they are accustomed to look for moral support and stimulation, and they are bound, unless they are allowed gradually to degenerate morally, to fall under missionary influences. Without in any way desiring to decry the most valuable work of the various missionary bodies, it ought to be understood that the inevitable submission of those unprotected and ignorant people to such influences is certain to create deep suspicion, hostility, and mortification in India. Being, moreover, deprived of their natural leaders, the Indian population must, in course of time, become largely denationalised, whilst a cleavage between these Indians who are born in the colonies, and know nothing of their parents' Motherland, save from hearsay, and those who have come from India, is hardly avoidable. The colonial-born Indian is entirely removed from the direct inspiration of India, is precluded from taking an intelligent part in her development, and is deprived of the immense help of a deep-rooted social tradition, and this is bound to be emphasised by the objectionable associations of the indenture system (which, after an existence of nearly a century, cannot be expected, in a brief period of time, to lose all its potency for evil,) as well as by the promiscuous intermingling of families, of widely differing social and racial conditions, and having a very slight nexus relating them to each other. These difficulties, sufficiently serious when they have arisen out of the voluntary emigration of Indian labourers within India herself, are immeasurably increased, and, as I think, insuperable, when they are the direct outcome of an artificially fostered system of emigration to places far beyond the confines of India.

The economic objection is no less great. The question has never been seriously examined or adequately answered: To what extent is further labour emigration from India in the interest

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of the permanent populations of the Colonies concerned? It is, of course, undeniable, that a useful labour force, constantly renewed and augmented from outside the Colony, will usually be in the interests of the employers. But these are often commercial corporations, impersonal in their direction and management, whose shareholders and directorates are ordinarliy non-resident, and represented only by local officials, who are expected to produce the most profitable returns for the companies whom they serve. That is to say, their interest in the Indian labourers under their control is entirely subordinated to their desire to cut down the cost of production in order to increase dividends, a purely commercial consideration. In Fiji, for example, the largest employer of Indian labour is the Colonial Sugar Refinery Company, which is not really a Fijian concern at all. It is registered in Australia, whence it is administered. Its enormous dividends, which are not spent in the Crown Colony, are drawn from the labours of its Indian employees, who, together with the rest of the Indian and native Fijian population, derive practically no benefit thereform, and in whom it is, as a profit-making concern, wholly uninterested. In some respects, too, its interests are in conflict with those of smaller resident employers of labour in Fiji, as well as those of the free Indian cultivator; whilst the principles upon which it is conducted are completely at variance with the democratic labour policy of the Commonwealth. India has not been so generously treated by Australia that she can be expected to go out of her way to meet the commercial requirements of a group of Australian capitalists who, in the past, have totally disregarded her suscepitibilities, and have, by the treatment that they have accorded their labourers, made of Fiji a by-word even amongst the other Crown Colonies and caused her to be stigmatized as an 'awful warning' to the nieghbouring dominions. In the same islands, the Vancouver Sugar Refinery Company operates, with its headquarters in British Columbia. India naturally asks why she should be called upon to promote the commercial prosperity, not only of Fiji, where her children have suffered so severely, but of a Canadian Province, whose treatment of Indians has been such as to foster serious unrest and revolt in the Punjab, whence most of the emigrants have come. Whilst it is true, on the whole, that the West Indian Colonies have of late years, show much improved conditions, as against Fiji or Natal, it is equally true that the principal employers of Indian labour, present and prospective, are non-resident corporations, which have no living interest in the welfare of their Indian employees; and the memory of Commander Coombs, the then 'Protector' of Indian Immigrants in Trinidad, whose admissions in evidence before the Sanderson Committee created something like consternation in India, upon the publication of its report, has not yet disappeared.

CASE OF EXISTING NON-EUROPEAN POPULATIONS.

What then of the existing Indian and non-European populations of these Crown Colonies? How are their interests considered under this scheme? During the three years prior to the war, the total Indian emigration to the four colonies averaged annually some 7,500 souls. Since then and prior to the recent prohibiton, but only slightly due to war conditions and the consequent difficulties of transport, at a time when the employers were making largely enhanced profits because of the immensely increased demand for tropical products, the average annual number dwindled to about half that figure. Indeed, Jamaica managed to do entirely without further supplies of Indian labour. Both British Guiana and Trinidad contain a very large Indian population, apart altogether from the considerable non-Indian population, whilst Jamaica, with a relatively minute Indian population of 20,000, of whom one-seventh are under indenture, possesses an enormous non-Indian coloured population, part of which was actually emigrating to other labour zones (in some cases more unfavourably situated,) because of bad economic conditions locally. The Indian population of Trinidad, for the year 1911-12, was 112,796. To-day, it is probably about 120,000, of whom only one in 15 was under indenture in 1915-16. Such additional labourers as are required on the estates, to replace wastage and for normal, as apart from speculative, expansion of industry, ought easily to be secured from the large free Indian population and the other coloured inhabitants of the Colony, if proper conditions of pay and treatment are given. Similarly, in British Guiana, the Indian population, apart from the other elements of the population, is estimated to-day to number 137,000, of whom only one in 19 was under indenture, in 1915-16. This Colony, too, should have no difficulty in making up its labour deficit, if any really exist, from its general population. As for Fiji, the islands contain an Indian, as apart from a native Fijian, population of approximately 60,000, about one-sixth of whom are serving indentures; and independent persons, capable of judging of

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the natural requirements of a normally expanding industry, are of opinion that the colony can manage very well, without introducing any further immigrants from India, but depending upon the natural increase of the present Indian population, and increased use of labour-saving device, and such inducements as may be accepted by the native Fijians to take up the work of agricultural development for private employers. Apart from this, Fiji, in particular, has no claim whatever for consideration from India, who, it is highly improbable, will be induced to permit her children to be recruited for service in that colony. Generally speaking, it may be said that, hitherto, the colonial employers have found it easier and more convenient to seek for their labour supply in India, rather than make the best use of local labour or use labour-saving devices, such as other large employers, in places where the white man does not will not or cannot work with his hands, have been obliged to do, notably the large concerns controlling the Witwatersrand goldfields and the Kimberley, Free State, and Transvaal diamond mines, and even the Natal planters, coal-mines, railways, and municipalities, since their Indian labour supply was cut off by enactment of the Indian Legislature.

QUESTION OF MINIMUM WAGE.

In the report, it is recommended that a minimum wage should be established in these four colonies, upon a basis that, for our present purposes is immaterial, save that it may be queried how far that minimum wage is at all commensurate with the profits of the employers. It is now estimated by the employers that it will cost them twice as much under this scheme as under indenture. As they evidently find it profitable to do so, it is plain, that, for years, they have been underpaying their Indian labourers. In other words the latter's wages were in no way comparable with the former's profits. The fact is that, in practice, the minimum wage is almost certain to remain the average maximum, not only for the new immigrants, but for a great part of the older labour population as well. In Natal, the wage of the free Indian was seldom in excess of that of the re-indentured Indian, when all allowances had been made, and often was even less than his. It is the natural tendency for cheap labour to undersell and underlive the costlier, and for the price of labour, accordingly, to seek the lower, rather than the higher level, particularly when that labour is unorganized for economic self-protection. The normal tendency, with the stoppage of labour importation, is for wages rapidly to reach a higher level, probably approximating to the fair economic wage of labour. Something like this has happened in Natal, since the stoppage of labour immigration from India, and the repeal of the £3 tax, which artificially depressed still further the wages of the free Indian labouring population. The present Indian and non-Indian labour populations of the four Crown Colonies are entitled to economic protection, and to be permitted to sell their only asset upon the terms most advantageous to themselves, and under normal competitive conditions. The sentiments of considerable portions of the non-Indian population of these Colonies is set forth at some length, in various documents reproduced in part III of the report of the Inter-Departmental Committee presided over by Lord Sanderson, (Cd. 5194), of 1910. Special reference is here made to the representations of the People's Association, of British Guiana, and the signatories to a memorial contained in Nos. 5 (f) and 5 (l), respectively; the memorial of the Jamaica Baptist Union, and its further letter on labour conditions in the Colony, contained in Nos. 13 (e) and 13 (g) respectively; and the memorandum of the working Men's Association of Trindad, contained No. 23 (b). Nor is there any guarantee that, with the fixing of a wage minimum, *and in the absence of a maximum period or amount of daily labour*, the position of the labourer will not be made worse than if no minimum wage were fixed, through an unscrupulous extension by the employer of the hours of work or the daily task. None of these matters seems to have beeu touched upon in framing the report now under consideration.

LABOUR DIFFICULTY IN INDIA.

The question, too, whether India can afford to tolerate an artificially stimulated system of labour emigration appears to have been entirely overlooked. I well remember how some of the commercial members of the Imperial Legislative Council, in 1910 and 1912, when the late Mr. Gokhale moved his memorable resolutions for the prohibitions of indentured labour recruitment, laid great stress upon the fact that India could not afford to export labour, which was required in an ever-increasing degree for the growing industries of India herself, and this plea was again urged last years, when the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved a further resolution on the same snbject. I believe that considerable evidence in the same sense was put before the Industries Commission that was recently sitting in India under the chairmanship of Sir Thomas Holland. I know,

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as a fact, that one of the prime motives, apart from humanitarian reasons, that have prompted objections in the Madras Presidency to continued emigration to Ceylon and Malaya, has been the increased difficulty in obtaining labour for agricultural operations in South India. With great industries, such as those represented by the Assam tea-estates, the Mysore and Nilgiri coffee-plantations, and the Tata Steel and Iron Works at Sakchi to mention a few of the most important developments of industrial and agricultural activty competing for labour within the country, some of them being precluded from securing it by the artificial stimulus of recruitment, and compelled to rely upon the inducements offered by good pay and improved conditions of life, it is hopeless to expect that India will look favourably upon an attempt on the part or on behalf of colonies that have admittedly no claim upon her, and one at least of which is regarded as having done her an immense, and perhaps, an irreparable political and moral injury, to deprive her of a part of the very small floating labour-supply that actually exists, and which, in an increasing degree, is being absorbed in the great cotton industry that will presently have to compete with new rivals. Besides all other objections to labour emigration to the colonies, there is no reason to suppose but that, with the increasing demand throughout India for labour, Indians will be, relatively, at least as well off, economically, by remaining in India and proceeding to those parts of the country where labour is in most demand, as by going abroad. If any system of artificially assisted labour emigration by official agency be contemplated for the primary advantage of India, she will expect it to be one of internal emigration, for the deliberate promotion of industrial enterprise and agricultural development, which all observers agree is urgently needed for the welfare of the country in its endeavours to achieve a political status and an economic importance comparable with those enjoyed by the Self-Governing Dominions.

THE CONFERENCE'S SCHEME.

Having regard to the foregoing, it would almost seem to be unnecessary to examine the present recommendations in detail. Nevertheless, it is desirable to refer to some of them. It is stated that the labour required is to be recruited in India, under the authority of an emigration commissioner, appointed by the Colonial Governments, with the approval of the local Governments in India. Under him there are to be inspectors of emigration, as well as licensed emigration agents, whose licences are to be countersigned by the district magistrate and the protector of emigrants, both Indian Government officials. In each colony, there is to be, as theretofore, a protector of Indian immigrants, who is to remain a colonial official. Finally, every three years, the Government of India will send out either an official or a non-official deputy to examine the conditions prevailing in the colonies.

The whole principle of recruitment in India is, it is respectfully submitted, wrong and indefensible, and cannot be deprived of the wholly objectionable characteristics of the hitherto prevailing indenture system. It has in practice, been found that interested parties armed with officially countersigned licences, whose salaries and entire means of livelihood depend upon their securing the desired number of recruits, will not hesitate to make all kinds of misrepresentations. This has always been recognized as one of the most dangerous weaknesses of the indenture system, lending itself to abuses of the worst kind. When one remembers the extent to which that system, and all that it connotes, is detested by the people amongst whom it has operated for so many years, it is extremely unlikely that the new system will attract a class of recruiters appreciably less open to corruption than did the one that it is now proposed to displace. It is, indeed, held axiomatically, by those non-officials who have had an intimate experience of recruiting, that corruption and abuse are inherent in any system of recruitment, however well devised. If it be objected that, without recruitment, the colonies cannot obtain the supplies of labour that they require and expect, the answer is obvious. They cannot hope to be put upon better terms than employers of labour in India, who have a prior claim, and if they want Indian labour voluntarily to flow to the colonies concerned (and it may here be stated, parenthetically, that no system such as that now proposed can properly be described as *voluntary* emigration, in the ordinary meaning of the term, and against which no objection can be validly raised), which is, in the highest degree, improbable, they must offer such facilities and advantages as will induce it to do so, in competition with the attractions of a local demand. Otherwise, they must do without, and rely upon their own or other sources of supply, regard being had, in the latter case, by the Imperial authorities, to the welfare of the existing populations of those colonies.

Apart from this factor, India will have to be satisfied that her emigrants will receive that protection, under the new system, to which they are

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entitled. But experience shows that this cannot be guaranteed. It is only recently that conditions on the Assam tea-estates have been improved in response to prolonged public agitation on behalf of the voiceless labourers, and the system there is of such recent creation that it is all too soon to come to any definite conclusions as to how far they are receiving that protection that the new system was designed to provide. Unpleasant stories of the treatment of the so-called free Indian emigrants to Ceylon and Malaya are rife, and are frequently published, with circumstantial details, in the Indian press, and support is lent to the complaints made by the representations of independent observers and non-official organisations. The 'protection' given in Natal, of which Sir Benjamin Robertson, when he visited South Africa, in 1914, and direct evidence, and the horrible conditions only recently revealed in Fiji, are notorious, and it is far from certain that conditions are such, in the three West Indian colonies, as to remove from the minds of thoughtful Indians all fear for the welfare of the Indian labourers there. When the Government of India and the Local Governments have been unable to secure—at least, and only in some degree, until quite recently—protection for Indian labourers and cultivators in Assam and Behar, who are directly under their observation and within their jurisdiction, and in Ceylon, which is only just outside the limits of India, it is hardly conceivable that they will be able, with all the supervision that is now proposed, to secure it for Indian labourers further afield. The reports of those who have been officially sent from India to the colonies to investigate, have borne witness to some of the existing evils, but some of the worst have been slurred over by them, or left for exposure by individuals or organisations of a private character. It is strange too, that the time is, apparently, not yet deemed ripe to appoint protectors of *Indian* Emigrants of *Indian* birth, specially selected for their sympathetic understanding of the peculiar psychology of the Indian cultivator, and their familiarity with the systems of labour recruitment. Finally, the fact that it has not been possible to induce the colonies to accept as protectors of *Indian* immigrants officials responsible to the Government of India, and entirely independent of the Colonial administrations, must bear a somewhat sinister significance in India, where it is known that this was, and has been for years, one of the strongest recommendationsof the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society, who have honestly believed that some *modus vivendi* between India and the Crown Colonies may yet be possible. In these circumstances, and judging from past experience, one may be pardoned for suggesting that it is premature to claim that the difficulties in this direction have been overcome. On the contrary, it is to be feared, if not even expected, that the safeguards now proposed will prove illusory.

Nor will the system of depots now set forth satisfy the new conditions, any more than before. For the success with which the recruiters have intimidated their victims in the past, and thrown dust in the eyes of inquirers, is well-known. Of all the persons who, according to those proposals, are likely to have any dealings, officially, or unofficially, with the intending emigrants, not one will necessarily have any personal or actual knowledge of the real conditions obtaining in any of the four Colonies. Any one who is acquainted with the characteristics of the average Indian emigrant must realise how wholly impossible it is for him to appreciate, at so great a distance from the prospective scene of his labours, the terms of his employment or imagine the conditions of life prevailing in the Colony to which he proposes to emigrate. The delivery to him, therefore of the written statement referred to in the Report, will, though, perhaps, better than nothing, be of no real value to him, at any rate until he has actually reached his distant destination. A British emigrant, proceeding to any of the self-governing dominions to settle, and with only his very limited experience of the conditions with which he is familiar in that part of the United Kingdom from which he comes, and such few and vague particulars of Colonial life as, with but little imaginative effort, he has been able to procure and digest, almost invariably finds that his new conditions are, for the time being, entirely strange, unexpected, and, not seldom, overwhelming. Yet he ordinarily has behind him official labour, or friendly organizations to help him through his period of disillusionment and advise him in his difficulties. How much more does the ignorant Indian peasant need such help, guidance, and support, only procurable, if at all, from unfriendly aliens, ordinarily incapable of understanding his peculiar difficulties or entering into his special mentality!

It is also recommended that emigration from pilgrimage centres should be prohibited during times of pilgrimage or festivals. It is more than doubtful if, in practice, this prohibition could possibly be effective. Many ways would be open to the ingenious recruiter for defeating its objects.

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One of the worst features of these proposals is that recruitment, otherwise than by families, which, in itself, is objectionable, for reasons already given, and was only tolerated for the moment as an emergency measure, and as in the nature of a *pis aller*, is seriously contemplated. In the face of the revelations that have already been made as to the conditions of immorality resulting from and prevailing under the indenture system, especially in Fiji, it seems hardly credible that it is now proposed to continue the recruitment of individual men. It is, obviously, always easier to recruit an individual than an entire family. Almost inevitably, recruiters will devote energies to securing individuals rather than families, and they will, as heretofore, be quite unscrupulous as to the methods that they employ, to separate individual men from their families. If unattached men, whether married or not, desire to find work outside of their own localities, there is ample scope for them to do so elsewhere in India, or they may, if they choose to do so—and this would be *genuine* voluntary emigration, with which this scheme has nothing to do—be left to emigrate at their own cost and risk. In the present circumstances of the Indian population of the various Colonies, now emerging from the indenture system, and with the moral life of large elements either blasted or atrophied by that system, it would be but adding to the existing immorality to subject unattached men to the moral contagion that now obtains.

It is suggested that 'the new system will be entirely free, and the indentured system together with the titles and characteristics attaching to it will be abolished.' It is to be regretted that this large claim cannot be sustained by a close and careful analysis of the present proposals. In the first place, it is one of the most familiar characteristics of indenture that the labourer has no voice in the selection of his employer, either before he leaves India, or upon his arrival at his destination in the colony. That characteristic is retained in these recommendations. It has evidently been found that no better way can be devised to bring employer and employee into touch with each other. That being so, it would appear that the proposals stand thereby self-condemned, for such an arrangement must, in the nature of the case, be purely mechanical, and, whilst, continuing to partake of the character of trafficking in chattel labour, be deprived of all human and social relationship. But an even graver criticism is provoked by the recommendation that, for the first six months after arrival in the colony, the labourer—and, presumably, his family, too—is bound to the selected employer. Except in extraordinary circumstances, of which he is not to be the judge, he cannot lawfully leave the service of that employer. But this is indenture in another guise and called by another name. It surely cannot matter *in principle* (though it would, of course, as to the *extent* of the injury to him), if a man be bound to an employer, not of his selection, for six months or five years. All idea of parity of contract disappears at once. And there is internal evidence of the recognition of this weakness in the recommendations, for it is stated that 'at no time will the immigrant be under any indenture, or any contract, *other than the above* (*i.e.*, that the immigrant is bound to be selected employer for the first six months of his life in the colony, save in so far as the protector may sanction or require during that period of change of employment)'. This, in itself suffices, in my opinion, to condemn the system now proposed. Of the six principal features of the indenture system described by the late Mr. Gokhale in his historic speech in the Imperial Legislative Council, on March 4, 1912, no less than five are, in all essentials, retained in the present scheme.

WHITE EMPLOYERS AND COLOURED LABOURERS

I have spent many years in observing, in various parts of the world, the relations of the white employer and the coloured labourer, especially the coloured immigrant labourer. After a very careful consideration of the conditions and circumstances of such employment, I have unhesitatingly come to the conclusion that, in no circumstances whatever, should any artificially stimulated system of coloured emigration be countenanced within the Empire. Although I am prepared to admit that this report indicates a very real desire to solve what is, I am convenced, an insoluble problem, and that present proposers are far in advance of anything that I had expected to result from the deliberations of the Inter-departmental Conference, I think that from the commencement it adopted a wrong view-point and that sight has been completely lost of the human elements inseparable from the problem, and of the failure and weaknesses of ordinary human nature, when faced with the question of the relations of a community of employers belonging to a race, highly organized for its own protection, and regarding itself as superior towards a labour population, variously derived, ill-organised for self-defence, and regarded as inferior. With all imaginable forms of protection

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of the ignorant coolie, I am convinced that effectual protection is impossible. There is not, I feel positive, from much experience, a single form of protection of the labourer that cannot be evaded by an employer minded to do so. It is well-known that, even in so highly-developed a country as England, it is necessary to have constant official supervision for the protection of the workers, and especially for the women and children workers as against the employers, and it is equally well known that constant complaint is made that the protection afforded fails to prevent all kinds of evasions of the law. If these things can happen in populous industrial centres, where the workers and employers are of the same race, and bound together by the same national system and social conditions, under the very eyes of the Government inspectors whose vigilance is unquestioned and in spite of watchfulness of the trades unions and other labour organizations reinforced by the criticism of the press, and the powers of Parliament, then it is clear that the Indian labour emigrant, unorganized, and by his very circumstances, helpless effectually to organise, is likely to fare a great deal worse at the hands of the paid servants of the great corporations of distant shareholders, exploiting his labour, and profiting, in ignorance of the conditions of his toil, by its product.

It is stated that the object of the present recommendations ' will be to encourage the settlement of Indians in certain colonies after a probationary period of employment in those colonies, to train and fit them for life and work there, and at the same time to afford a supply of labour essential to the well-being of the colonists themselves.' It is singular and significant that the colonies selected for this experiment are not those which have been recommended for Indian colonisation by well-informed Indian public opinion, having regard to what, in the opinion of India, would be the best fields for independent Indian enterprise, all the factors being considered, but those four Colonies which have been, until the present year, in the habit of indenting upon India for their labour-supply. The primary purpose of this new scheme, therefore, is clearly not to encourage Indian settlement in those colonies for the advantage of the Indian settlers, or to train and fit them for life and work there, which would be a laudable and benevolent object, but ' to afford a supply of the labour essentail to the well-being of the (four) colonies themselves.' All else is of purely secondary importance. The conclusion is irresistible, therefore, that, if the labour requirements of the interested colonial employers had been met otherwise, this Conference would not have sat, or the present recommendations made. Their acceptance is, in my opinion, impossible.

Whilst it is true that we are bound to look at the matter primarily from the point of view of India, who has, in the past, been very deeply affected by the results of various schemes of labour emigration, the present scheme may be condemned equally from the much wider standpoint of the Empire as a whole. At the present stage of the relations of the various parts of the Empire, and in the existing state of chaos in the relations of capital and labour everywhere, which urgently call for the reconstruction of the economic system upon a more equitable basis, it will be in the best interests of the Empire, and of India as an integral part of it, that no scheme of labour importation from India into any other part of the Imperial dominions, by official agency, should be countenanced.

In the course of a statement made by him on November 27 last, when presiding at a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts, on the subject of 'Land Settlement within the Empire', the Rt. Hon. Mr. Walter Long, Secretary of State for the Colonies, is reported to have said :—

"They could not, either by compulsion or by bribery, induce able-bodied citizens of the Empire who were wanted here to leave this country, and they ought not to try to do it. They could not control, and he did not think that it was desirable that they should control, the wishes and movements of free citizens, and if men or women desire to transfer their energies and their intelligence and their muscles to another part of the Empire they could not prevent them. If they mean to go, however, every thing should be done to see that the conditions under which they left this country and entered the land of their choice were as satisfactory as possible so that they should have a fair start." I unhesitatingly accept that statement in its entirety, as applied to Indian conditions, and claim that it supports my argument as already set forth, in every essential respect. At the present time, Indians, and especially Indian labourers, are not 'free citizens of the Empire,' and I am strongly of opinion that, even under an absolutely *voluntary* system of emigration, with the free-will of the emigrants, and devoid wholly of any suspicion of recruitment or official agency even greater precautions are required for successful Indian colonisation, if deemed desirable by India, than are needed for the protection of British emigrants.'

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(CONTINUED FROM THE LAST ISSUE.)

THE HISTORY OF BENGALI LITERATURE

BY MR. HARI PADA GHOSAL, M.A.

CHAPTER II.

[Bengali Literature from the Mahommedan conquest to the revival of Vaishnavism under Sri Chaitanya 1200-1500 A.D.]

Ever since the year 711 A. D., when Mahommad Kasim was sent out with 6,000 men for the first time to open a new field of renown and military glory of the later Mahommedan chiefs and generals, India had been the scene of chaos and devastation. By the year 1206 about the whole of Northern India came under the sway of the Moslems whose practical ability and military efficiency rapidly overcame the Rajputs who though brave and patriotic, gave way to the Moslems in tactics and discipline.

Coming to Bengal we see that Adisur or Vira-Sen was the founder of the Sen Dynasty and was probably ruling in the 10th century. Bakal who ruled in the 11th century is famous for the introduction of Kulinism among the higher castes of Bengal. The last Hindu king was Lakshmeya who ascended the throne in 1142 A. D. He reigned prosperously for over 60 years. In his old age Bengal was conquered by the Musalmans in 1204.

MAHOMMEDAN CONQUEST AND BENGALI LITERATURE.

From the literary point of view, the Mahommedan conquest of Bengal was not a calamity. The fire of poetry was not extinguished under the leaden pressure of a foreign conquest. The course of progress of vernacular literature did not stop. The political conquest of Bengal opened a distinctly new epoch. The era was not barren but on the other hand, it was one of great intellectual activity. An internal stimulus was needed and it was given by the Mahommedans. The greatest defect of old Bengali literature is its lack of first-hand interest. Old Bengali poems are sometimes mere repetitions in the beaten track of former poets. The Mahommedan kings of Bengal introduced variations and broke up monotony by causing many translations to be made from the Hindu Shastras. They became Bengalee. They lived among Hindu subjects and shared their thoughts and sentiments. Mosques rose by the side of Hindu temples. The kings noticed the great influence of the Ramayana and the Mahabharat. Their curiosity to know the usages and customs of their Hindu subjects led them to take great interest in Bengali literature. At their instance many translations of the Hindu Shastras were made. Nasir Khan, king of Gour, who ruled for forty years to 1325, caused a translation to be made in the vernacular. Hussain Shah employed Maladhar Basu in translating the Bhagvat and got the title of "Guneraj Khan" from the Mahommedan king. Paragul Khan who was a general of Hussain Shah and sent to conquer Eastern Bengal, subdued the Mags of Chittagong and founded a village Paragulpore in the district of Noakhali. By the order of Paragul the poet Kavindra Parameswar translated the whole of the Mahabharat.

The eager desire of the Mahommedan kings to hear the Shastras of their Hindu subjects through the medium of the vernacular which they understood and adopted as their own, gave a great impetus to the Bengali literature. This call from unexpected quarters was equally responded to by poets and writers. The examples set by these Mahommedan kings could not fail to awake in later Hindu kings a reverence for their mother-tongue.

THE IMPORTANCE OF TRANSLATIONS.

The flood-tide which began with the nationalisation of the Mahommedan kings in Bengal was of a various, plentiful, but inferior character

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from the point of originality. But its importance lies in its scope in which new forms of poetry were tried and new veins of thought opened. This is the seed-time of our literature. When time came, these seeds broke into flower which grew naturally since circumstances were favourable.

The first great poet and, in fact, one of the greatest poets of Bengal, is Kirtibas. The year of his birth has finally been settled to be 1432. From the account which the poet gives of his own life, we know that he was seventh in descent from Nrishinha Ojha who, owing to political revolution in his own country, left his home and migrated to Fulia, a little village about two miles to the south-west of Ranaghat in Nadia. Banamali Upadhya was his father's name. Beyond this nothing definite is known about the poet and any attempt at conjecture is apt to lead to uncertainty and defective conclusion.

Born as he was in a Brahman family, Kirtibas was certainly versed in Sanskrit learning and did not, as he was once supposed to do, compose the Ramayana in the vernacular from hearing the songs of minstrels or strolling singers. It was, indeed, the happiest day in the history of Bengali literature on which he took upon himself the duty of writing the Ramayana. We do not possess the Ramayana in its original form. Scholars, ancient and modern, are trying to make for the fountain, but they are groping in vain through the darkness of obscurity to get the unsullied water of the original. The Ramayana in its present form is a work of many hands, so that the whole fabric has been woven in many looms. Still the untiring industry of modern scholars equipped with learning and skill in research, will be, we hope, amply rewarded in the long run. Thus much we can say that the Ramayana as we have it is not original, yet we are not losers by it. The force of the original has not been impaired by many later additions. Kirtibas will not shine more beautifully than at present.

That Kirtibas did not know Sanskrit is now a myth. It was his poetical genius, that led him to chalk out his own path even when he had a model before him. He read, indeed, the Ramayana by Valmiki and did not strictly keep to the original in the Bengali version. On the other hand, sometimes he differed very widely. His imaginative faculty and independence as a real poet led him to introduce new thoughts, new ideas not to be found in the original. Kirtibas was a poet by nature. The flow is spontaneous. The cadence is charming. The poet's genial spirit pervades throughout. His materials are drawn from the works of authors previous to or contemporaneous with him. But these detached fragments have been brought into a homogeneous whole by the wonderful power of the poet's brilliant imagination. The great storehouse of nature was spread before him. But the highly imaginative character of the original, which has ranked it in the foremost line of the world's classics—the song of the elephant in the garden of lilies, the bright firmament with the new moon looking like the horns of the bull, and such other exuberent effusions of unbounded and unrestrained poetical imagination,—are not to be met with in Kirtibas. Kirtibas's real power—his lasting hold on our memory is his universality. From the palace to the hut, from the learned scholar to the humble shop-keeper, everyone in short who understands the Bengali tongue, appreciates him and acknowledges his power with a thankful heart. Kirtibas's epic is written in homely, simple and unostentatious language. Its music is charming and sonorous. It depicts nature in its true colour, tells the tale in a straightforward manner and does not recourse to artifices which many a renowned poet considers indispensable. The poet is, perhaps, losing his property at the overwhelming production of the present presses. Young Bengal is bewildered with the fiction literature and is not allowedto find

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time to enjoy the melody of the old poets. Only a few years ago we saw large crowds consisting of men women, old and young, gathered to hear the recital of the Ramayana in any village, at every home. The Ramayana of Kirtibas is an indispensable necessity in every Bengali household. We read it in our childhood, we read it again in our adult years and old age but its beauty is all the more enhanced. We may call Kirtibas a popular poet—a rare recognition which even Sakespeare in England, Goethe in Germany, Kalidas in India, and Bankim Chunder in Bengal, could not obtain. Kirtibas with the exception of Kalidas stands incomparable. Of all the translations of the Ramayana after that of Kirtibas, "Ananta Ramayana" is the best. Its antiquity is proved by internal evidence. It is short but there is poetry in it. The language is rough and not attracting. But in these ancient poets we see the attempt of levelling the uneven grounds of language which now being cultivated, is yielding a rich harvest.

Then follow a host of poets more or less indebted to their predecessors but in no way mere copyists. They possessed poetic thought. Here and there the purple patches give us delight in spite of the obsoleteness of expression.

The first in time to translate the Mahabharat was the poet Sanjoy. The great difficulty in reading the book is its language. But this obstacle is overcome by constant use. It is with patience and regard for the poet that we can understand its beauty and poetic spirit. The ruggedness of language is made good by the beauties scattered here and there throughout.

Another book called 'Sri Krishna Bijoy,' of Maladhar Basu, is a free translation of the Bhagbat. The poet seems to have a knowledge of Sanskrit. It was by the year 1480 that Maladhar Basu almost finished his work. It is love that is the mainspring of the book. But there is no artificiality in it. Far from this the love dealt with here is of a higher order. The 'Sri Krishna,' of Maladhar does not only please with love but is also pleased with it from others.

Kavindra Parameswar and Shrikar Nandi are two more translators of the Mahabharat in this period. The former flourished in the reign of Hussain Shah, king of Bengal (1494-1525) while the latter in the reign of Chuti Khan. These two poets wrote to please their Mahommedan sovereigns who rewarded them for their literary labours. The laurels they wore were the gifts of their own kings whose names have been handed down to distant posterity as patrons of Bengali literature.

Now we come to deal with two poets who have left imperishable characters on the scroll of fame. In many respects they may be ranked as first-rate poets. These favourite sons of the muse possessed in a remarkable degree the power of welding thought into language. Every line of theirs is fraught with simplicity, dignity, and beauty. The auroreal light of love showed their path and they marched towards the temple of the muse—the House Beautiful, erected by the artists of all ages and nations. It requires no common skill, no ordinary poetic gift to combine the Sublime with the Beautiful, to strike the keynote which makes the heart of the reader vibrate and revibrate in accompaniment with the poet's own.

Vidyapoti and Chandidas are the two flowers in the budding period of the Bengali literature. They are, indeed, the two bright gems sending forth their serene ray through the lenses of time. It is a pity that we have not been able as yet to know the exact dates of Bengal's two great poets. Many have been made poets by reading their beautiful lyrics. They were, indeed, the "poet's poets."

Vidyapoti was an inhabitant of Mithila. He was born in the later part of the 14th century and died perhaps late in the 15th. Being a Brahman he was learned, and obtained the title of Thakur in recognition of his scholarship. The

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language in which he wrote his poems is what is known as Brajubuli—a mixture of Bengali and Hindi. It is said that Vidyapoti fell in love with the queen Lachima Devi. The king coming to know of this illict love-affair cast Vidyapoti into prison, and to test his poetic power, asked him to compose poetry. The poet's attempts failed. He could not produce even a single line with a great deal of labour. But as soon as Lachima Devi made her appearance at the window and then withdrew herself, the bard broke into song. The lid dropped down. The sweet fountain of poetry gushed out and there was a spontaneous flow of divine music and the poet began as follows :—

Where do you go, woman ! with elephant's pace ?
Turn round to glance with a smiling face.

This may be a mere story but the truth that "poetry is the record of the best and happiest moments of the best and happiest minds" is fully brought home to our minds. The dark prosaic unilluminated intervals of life are lighted by the glow of imagination. Evanescent visitations of thought sometimes associated with place or person awake kindred joy. A single passion, a single emotion, such as exultation, horror, grief or pleasure, touches the enchanted chord, reanimates and revivifies the image. The dark vistas of a supine and dormant soul are coloured with the evanescent hues of an ethereal world.

Vidyapoti's songs centre round Krishna and Radha. The subject is their mystical union. In the first few lyrical effusions is beautifully described the youthful hankering of each for union with the other. The states of their mind in union and separation have been psychologically described with realistic effect with no detriment to the laws of lyrical composition. The poet's keen eye and deep insight into human nature has penetrated to the bottom and has made many revelations which bring us to the conclusion that the poet has personally felt what he writes about human affections. Let me now show the poet's power in vividly painting the different states of emotion. Here are a few lines that describe Radha in her grief of separation :—

Behold her, O Madhab ! a comely girl,
Her tears like showers of Shraban fall ;
Her face as the full-moon clear,
Shrunk to a line in heaven's azure.

Again :—

The fresh flowers are blooming,
The cuckoo in groves singing,
The zephyr from mountain bold blowing,
My lover to his land not returning ;
The bee in the forest makes a humming sound.
The body's troubl'd with the heat of day,
In this spring my beloved's far away,
Well wot I God's in my way,
Fixed are the eyes with thirst to allay.
Innocent women suffer with heart as mound.

The lyrics of Vidyapoti end with a devotional song which embodies the poet's solicitous desire and he prays for getting out of the ocean of sins with the mercy of Krishna.

The songs of Vidyapoti, the Chaucer of our language, are extremely charming in spite of the difficulty of the language. In pure lyrical gift Vidyapoti stands unsurpassed. In beauty and variety his work is very great. His depth of thought and artistic skill are marked clearly in all his poems. He is the foremost of all poets in lyrical images. His language and insight into human character, his depth of love and extra-ordinary art, place him high over all other lyrics in our language.

Vidyapoti and Chandidas were contemporaries. It is not improbable, therefore, to conjecture that Chandidas was born by the end of the 14th

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century (about 1383 A. D.) in the village of Nannur in the district of Birbhum. He was a Brahman by caste and worshipped the goddess Bishalakshi whose image and temple may yet be seen. There is no mosouleum, no splendid monument to preserve the memory of this great poet. This Birbhum—this garden of nature, her favourite play-ground— was the birth place of Joydev and Chandidas. Joydev was the first poet of Bengal—he marks the starting point of our literature. He composed his melodious 'Git Govind' in Sanskrit but it is not the Sanskrit of Valmiki or Vyasa. Inflexions and consonances occur so often in Sanskrit that those who are accustomed to read verses in it, will be astonished to see the wonderful power of Joydev in avoiding those constant gingles, those never-failing inflexional uses and changes of words which a strictly classical model demands. We feel the same felicity and ease in reading 'Git Govind' as we do in reading Bengali. In Vidyapoti we advance a step further and in Chandidas we reach the highest consummation.

There is a story how Chandidas, a worshipper as he was of the goddess Basuli, became a devotee of Krishna. One day he saw a lily floating by. He took it up with a glad heart and while he was about to place it at the feet of the goddess Basuli, she appeared before him and prevented him saying that a flower which had been used by her god, should not be placed at her feet. Chandidas was astonished and asked who that god was. Being informed that it was Sri Krishna, Chandidas prayed her to allow him to worship her god. At this the goddess was highly pleased and granted his prayer.

In the case of Chandidas as it was in the case of Vidyapoti, love was the wakener of the well of poetry. At first it was love in its lower form. This passion of love for the woman gradually developed into the higher and more exalted sphere of spirituality. In both the poets the affections of the heart are raised and solemnised in the invisible supersensuous world of idealism. Love was sanctioned by the Supreme Being for a higher object. This passion driven to excess is undefinable and undefined. It wipes away the line of demarcation between individuals. The ego or the self is annulled. Love, as it has been said, takes the Harp of Life and smites all the chords of self which trembling pass straight in music out of sight.

Chandidas was a poor Brahman boy. Left an orphan, the ceremony of investing him with the sacred thread was performed by the villagers who out of pity for him, employed him as a priest in the temple of the goddess Basuli and he lived in a cottage not far from the temple. In course of time a poor washerwoman Rammoni by name, came to the village and the people employed her also as a maidservant to do the menial services of the temple. Chandidas was not only a poet but a sweet singer also. He composed good many songs and sang them in front of the goddess. These beautiful compositions when set to music, appealed to the finer emotions of Rammoni. She sat the sole admirer of his songs in that solitary place. Gradually they became attached to each other in love and admiration.

This unusual union of a Brahman with the woman of a very low caste roused a storm of social indignation. But the poet cared a straw for it and he continued to live with the woman of his heart in perfect peace of mind. Rammoni was a sort of poetic inspiration to him. The inaudible harmony of a pious and reverent soul seeking so long for a fit vehicle of expression was now heard in the form of these immortal songs which are a landmark in the progress of our literature.

The imaginative power of Chandidas is, indeed, wonderful. Those are loftiest heights which display the poet's genuineness. All his poems are of love, and the beauty and sweetness of their composition make them agreeable. Chandidas is

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the perennial fountain-head of pleasure. All his poetry has a purpose. It is so marked and apparent that it cannot be ignored. His mission as poet is to spread the name of Sri Krishna—the ideal of Vaishnavism. Poetry with a purpose is repugnant to many but all great poets of the world wrote their best works with some particular object in view. Thus Milton composed his great epic "To justify the ways of God to man." Shakespeare studies human nature in all its aspects and his art is employed in embodying his experience in his world-renowned dramas. He heard always "the still sad music of humanity." Keats strikes the keynote just at the very outset by saying, "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever;" and he dedicated all his efforts to the worship of Beauty. So we can absolve Chandidas from any blame on that account. In speaking of Rami, he goes beyond the definite limit of sensual love which is usually free from the taint of carnality. This is the view if we take him by his word but due concession should be allowed to flesh and blood. It was, indeed, Rami's love which he accepted as a stepping stone to the attainment and realisation of his spiritual ideal, but we cannot say that at its lowest stage it was free from the fret and fever of passion.

Chandidas finished the composition of his Padabali by 1433. These songs are 996 in number.

Vidyapoti was a courtier born and brought up in a learned family. He himself was learned also. He had all the advantages of a great poet, Chandidas was the poetic child of nature. He was brought up in the lap of poverty herself. With poverty was love. These two agents are alike crushing and pregnant with dangers and advantages. Chill penury could not repress the genial current of his soul, which was infused and invigorated and fed by the never-failing stream of love. It was his master-passion. Thus his poetic powers budded forth with the bracing vernal breeze of love. Vidyapoti is pedantic, in simile he is a veritable rival of Kalidas, his language is learned, his pictures are lifelike, his descriptions are vivid, his poetic genius was natural; he was a God-gifted poet, he had a true insight into every thing, he knew how to study beauty—whereas Chandidas was not pedantic, his pictures are not so full but more expressive—he does not recourse to figures of speech but could suggest ideas which Vidyapoti's erudition could not bring out with his floral language; the poetry of Chandidas is more expressive than the vivid pictures of Vidyapoti. Chandidas' poetry leads us to the other world, shows much that is not mundane. His love songs are more divine than human. It is truly said that Vidyapoti may be understood by the help of a good commentary, but Chandidas can be understood only by those who have taste for the subject. Another thing that clearly distinguished these two poets in the in fancy of our literature is that Vidyapoti had a judgment which always restrained him from over-exuberence. He prunes the straggling weeds of his imagination. This is due to his cultivated taste and learning. But Chandidas says all he thinks. The result is dilution. He does not, unlike Vidyapoti, check the overflow, but gives the freest vent to his fancy. There is no attempt at crucial examination of his spontaneous and exuberent thought. But in one respect Chandidas is far superior to Vidyapoti and it is this: Vidyapoti's image brings back with it a train of grand or beautiful associations. He is confined to external imagery alone. But in Chandidas there is a craving for the indefinite which arises "not from sensuous impression but from imaginative reflex" He has lost himself; he has merged his individuality in universality.

Chandidas' poems appeal to the heart through the sense organs. He appeals to the heart and creates a poetic vision—paints charming pictures and keeps them alive for ever. Vidyapoti is superior to Chandidas in poetic images. They

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are the fruits of study and observation. Chandidas has reared up a beautiful edifice whose bricks are the eternal feelings of man. Through love he reaches that state of highest felicity where life and death are one and where pleasure and sorrow and fear are no more. Love was the mainspring of both Chandidas and Vidyapoti and both have tried to see life like a picture from all its sides but both were not alike successful. Chandidas speaks from the heart. He drinks the care-drowning draught of song, that healing beverage of life which changes all from indifferent, stale and flat to bright and brilliant. His poetry is full of the embodyings of the most subtle and airy imaginations and the most shadowy yearnings of the human heart. The pleasantest means of annulling self is the study of Chandidas' poems. Vidyapoti's poetry, on the other hand, has a beauty of its own. But he abandons himself too frequently to literary vanities and pedantic humours. His grief and sorrow bear the idle trumpery of egoistic feelings. He is a great master of language, and a great command of language a poet should not be without. But he has a few of what Wordsworth says," the amiable, the ennobling or the intense passions." To Vidyapoti his Lachima is a fairy shining far above this terrestrial globe in the clear vault of the blue.

But in spite of coincidences and divergences, in spite of similarities and dissimilarities, both these great poets possessed more or less the essential quality of genuine poets—the imaginative faculty. Another thing possessed in common is lyrical gift. For sweetness, for charm and beauty, these two earliest flowers of the garden of Bengali poesy will ever remain fresh and scatter fragrance for all ages to come.

His descriptions of Radha—the love-born lady of his songs—are not impregnated with a lofty sense of moral dignity. When the poetic fervour is on and his language is poetically impassioned, he makes his love on absolute sensuality and appetite. Vidyapoti seems to possess no other notion of the passion. His taste in music and poetry was exquisite, his education and way of life far superior to Chandidas. In spite of all this Vidyapoti has failed to reach the standard attained by Chandidas.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF LAND-HOLDERS

BY THE MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA.

A GREAT progressive movement is sweeping through the nations of the world and like Phœnix, a new world is trying to arise from the ashes of the old. New ideas and new aspirations are afloat. It is therefore an inevitable corollary that India too, under the fostering care of British rule, should feel the touch of this world awakening. And we, zemindars, have to bear this in mind in considering our duty to the public. * * * * * *

We owe it to our rulers that we should do everything in our power to be of service at all times; and we owe it to the public that we should help them to realise their just aspirations on which the Government have set their seal of approval. Our position is difficult, our duties onerous and delicate. With loyalty as our creed and with an appreciation of the complicated and vast interests of the different sections and communities that constitute the Indian Empire, we should promote the evolution of the nation in a harmonious and healthy direction. As I said before, I am confident that the Government will satisfy the just aspirations of the people and grant the privileges for which the country is ripe, and I am also confident that

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the great interests which we have the honour to represent will receive due recognition. And, meanwhile, it will be our duty to prepare ourselves for the share that may be alloted to us in the future political life of the country.

Our duty to the tenantry is obvious, and it is not necessary for me to speak at any length on this matter. In their contentment is our wealth —in their happiness our prosperity. I would ask landlords to take an ever-increasing interest in the education of their tenants; to see that the tenants do not fall into the clutches of *Mahajans* and make indiscriminate transfers of their land. I would ask them to see that the tenants are able more and more to manage their own affairs without resort to costly and ruinous litigation; to revive, popularise, and in every way encourage the institution of the village panchayet on a simple and useful basis. Perhaps I may draw your special attention to the co-operative movement, which has for its noble object the deliverance of the tenantry from the exactions of rapacious Shylocks, and which deserves to be encouraged by all and every means in our power. Equally it is our duty to draw their special attention to the new scientific and improved methods of agriculture, and popularise their adoption on an extensive scale, so that, as the phrase goes, there might grow two blades where one grows now, and greater harvests and consequent freedom of the tenants from indebtedness of every kind might accrue.

It is a sad reflection for me that the landlord class has lost a considerable portion of its former position and influence. Whilst I am aware that this decadence is due in some measure to causes over which we had no control, I am constrained to say that we have perhaps not helped ourselves as much as we might have and that we are not without blame in this respect. Charges of ignorance, illiteracy, apathy, and unwillingness to serve the country are now and again levelled against us, and I would ask my brother zemindars to remove all causes of reproach and to stand upon their own legs; to see that our children receive proper and suitable education according to our means and to the needs and requirements, so that we may be sure that, while imbibing whatever is best and highest in Western culture and education, they retain their own religious traditions and national characteristics and excellence; to take an ever-widening and intelligent interest in matters pertaining to the urban and rural affairs of their districts in addition to taking their proper share in the larger Imperial and Provincial matters; to act as a link between the authorities and the middle classes and the people; to do what they can in composing differences of religion, race and community, so that the entire population, Hindu, Mussalman, European, may be united by the common tie of loyalty to the Sovereign and love to the Motherland. If we, as a class, have not had a proper hearing and if our claims have not received an adequate recognition, it is to be largely attributed to the want of organisation that lies at the root of our present unsatisfactory condition. It is indeed strange that ours is the only community which is so large in number and yet so weakly organised. Organisation is the keystone of success in the modern day, and unless we co-operate and harmonise all our forces, and are able to present, so to say "an united front," we cannot expect to make our wants made known, our influence felt, and our capacity to do good exercised to the fullest extent. It is only that community which can stand on its own legs, and the members of which are, without being factious or quarrelsome, bound together in friendly co-operation and are imbued with a real and elevating education and able to take large and broad-minded views, of the political issues—it is only such a community that can aspire to be the permanent leaders of our country.—*Opening Address to the All-India Landholders' Conference, Delhi, Jan. 27.*

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SIR THOMAS HOLLAND
President, Chemists' Conference.

THE MAHARAJA OF DARBANGHA
President, Landholders' Conference.

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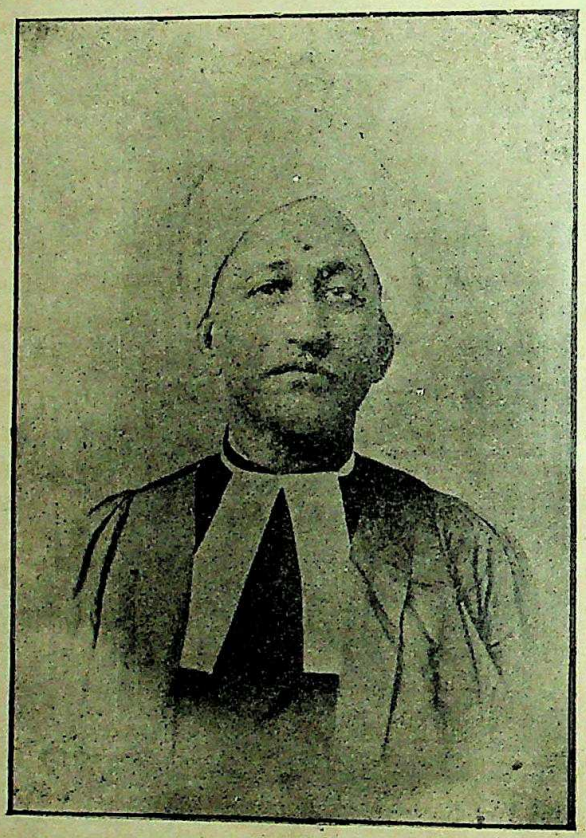

DR. SIR S. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

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DR. SIR SUBRAMANIA IYER*

BY "AN ADMIRER."

INTRODUCTION

LORD Ampthill has said thus in words as noble as they are true about Sir Subramania Iyer: "I regarded him as the soul of honour, as a man who had absolutely no personal ends to serve, and who devoted his great abilities solely to the public good. It seemed to me that in his life and conduct he effected an ideal compromise between adherence to Indian ways and the requirements of European methods. Neither too conservative nor too progressive, he remains the perfect model of an Indian gentleman and is broad-minded enough to adapt himself gracefully to the political and social requirements of the British connection with India. His life is an example to all, for the virtues of piety, modesty, industry, and patriotism are equally essential to all classes and conditions of men. I shall never forget his demeanour when His Majesty the King, at that time Prince of Wales, visited Madras, for it was a picture of that respectful dignity and dignified respect which are among the true characteristics and most forceful qualities of Indians."

HIS LIFE.

He was born in the district of Madura on 1st October 1842. In his ninth year he learnt the English alphabet and then went to a Mission school and then to an English school started by one Krishnaswami Chettiar. Then he studied in the Zilla school in 1856. He eventually won a scholarship there and passed the English examination held by the Government. He then accepted a clerkship in the office of the Deputy Collector at Madura. Mr. Rama Row, Deputy Collector, took him to Ramnad, but he came back to the Madura Collector's office. While there he studied law and appeared for the Pleadership Examination and topped the pass list. But he was not able to get a pleader's *Sanad*, as Mr Cotton, the District Judge of Madura, was offended at his not salaaming him on entering the Court. Eventually the District Magistrate appointed him as Public Prosecutor. He then came back to the Collector's Office. Later on he passed the Matriculation Examination in 1865 and the F. A. Examination in 1866 as he desired to pass the B. L. Examination. He then passed the B. L. Examination in 1868. He was apprenticed to Mr. J. C. Mills, Official Reporter of the High Court. Then he was appointed as acting Tahsildar of Madura and continued so for six months. Then he went to Madras and was enrolled as a High Court Vakil. He decided to practise at Madura and found that fortune had begun to smile upon him.

In 1870 he was appointed as a municipal councillor of Madura and a member of the Local Board there. He had a park laid out at Madura at a cost of Rs. 18,000, his own family contributing Rs. 4,000.

In 1873 he conducted a suit against the temple committee in respect of a sum of Rs. 40,000 not properly accounted for, and won the suit. The people of Madura then elected him as a member of the Devastanam Committee. Throughout his life he has striven hard to introduce rectitude into the management of temples and his Presidentship of the Dharma Rakshana Sabha ever since its organisation is a fitting crowning of his lifelong labours in the direction.

In 1875 when His late Majesty King-Emperor Edward VII, then Prince of Wales, visited Madura, Sir Subramania Iyer had the unique honour of presenting to His Royal Highness an address of welcome on behalf of the people of Madura. Out of the funds raised for according a fitting reception to the Prince of Wales a surplus of Rs. 14,000 remained and Sir Subramania Iyer had the sum used to build a bridge across the Vaigai.

In 1884 Sir M. E. Grant Duff then Governor of Madras, visited Madura, and Sir

* Condensed from a sketch prepared for the "Biographies of Eminent Indians series." Price As. Four. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

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Subramania Iyer presented to His Excellency an address as the Vice-President of the Madura Municipality. The Governor came to know him and his worth and nominated him as a non-official member of the Madras Legislative Council. On 1st January, 1877, he was awarded a Certificate of Merit on the occasion of Lord Lytton's Durbar at Delhi.

His wife's death in 1884 turned his attention to the deeper problems of life. He became a member of the Theosophical Society and has been a staunch supporter of it ever since. This sketch is not a suitable place to discuss the origin or the development or the future of that movement which, whatever its merits or shortcomings in the light of Hindu thought and Hindu social ideals, has certainly played a large part in the life of a section of modern educated India.

In 1888 he was appointed as acting Government Pleader, being the first Indian to have that proud distinction in this Presidency. He conducted various important and sensational prosecutions, one of these being the famous Nageswara Iyer Forgery Case. He conducted also a sensational case against the Mahant of Tirupathi.

AS NON-OFFICIAL LEADER.

Thus his work as a non-official leader of the public was between 1877 and 1895 and was a record of honest and strenuous work for social uplift and regeneration. He never became the slave of his professional work or the spokesman of Government but stood up for justice, for manliness, and for honourable dealing. He regarded his professional success and eminence and his influence with the Government as means of effecting public improvement. He gave evidence before the Famine Commission in 1877 at Madura. He pleaded then for legislation to protect tenants from harsh and arbitrary eviction by landlords. He worked also for the lessening of the official element and the increase of the popular element in local bords and Municipa lities.

AS CONGRESSMAN.

When the Indian National Congress, which is now such a great political and unifying force in India, was born, Sir Subramania Iyer took a prominent part in guiding and developing it aright. At the very first Congress, held in Bombay, he recorded the resolution advocating the reform and expansion of the local and imperial legislative councils. Till he became a High Court Judge and also subsequent to his retirement he has striven to keep before his mind and heart the high and lofty ideals for which the Indian National Congress stands and to spread them broadcast and work for their realisation, In 1914 he was the Chairman of the Reception Committee when the Congress met at Madras.

During the two terms when he was nominated as a member of the Legislative Council at Madras the powers of the non-official members were very limited. The right of moving resolutions or even making interpellations did not exist. The non-official members tried to do what good they could within the limits rigidly and rigorously set for them by the paternal autocracy of the Government. Sir Subramania Iyer introduced into the Council in 1886, his bill for compensation for tenants' improvements in Malabar. The result of this measure was that the tenants were induced to reclaim and improve large tracts of uncultivated land and thus add to the agricultural wealth of the country.

AS FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY.

In 1885 he was appointed a Fellow of the Madras University and his valuable connection with the University continued till 1907. The proceedings of the Senate of the Madras University during those years show what a vital interest he took in the guidance of the education of the youths of the land. He pleaded for lightening the curriculum of studies, for making education less examination-ridden, and for other important educational reforms. He was the first Indian to

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be appointed as the Vice-Chancellor of the University. He was also the first Indian to receive the honorary degree of the Doctor of Laws which was conferred on him in 1908.

AS A JUDGE.

In January 1895 he was appointed as a Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Madras in succession to Sir T. Muthuswami Iyer whose greatness and legal acumen were admired by the Government as well as by all sections of the people irrespective of caste, colour, or creed. To succeed Sir T. Muthuswami Iyer worthily andto maintain the high traditions of the supreme judicial office were no easy task. Sir Subramania Iyer distinguished himself as a Judge and justified his choice in every way. He acted as the Chief Justice of Madras in 1899, 1903, and 1906. He was given a knighthood on the New Year day of 1900. He retired on 13th November, 1907 on account of failing health, though if he had remained in office for eight months longer he would have got as annual pension £1,000 instead of £880 now received by him. The Madras Government issued the following Gazette Extraordinary on the occasion of his retirement:

The Hon. Justice Sir. S. Subramania Iyer, K.C.I.E., Dewan Bahadur, is permitted to resign the office of a Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Madras with effect from the 13th of November 1907. The Governor-in-Council desires to place on record his appreciation of the eminent services rendered by Sir S. Subramania Iyer, K.C.I.E., during his long terms of office as a Judge of the High Court. The high judicial qualities, the independence of character, and the profound learning which he has at all times displayed throughout his long and honourable career have earned for him a name which will long be held in reverence and esteem by the Government and the public.

AS LAWYER.

He is widely read in law and took a keen interest in English and American Law and Roman Jurisprudence. Though he was not so subtle and acute a lawyer as Sir Bashyam Iyengar, he had rare legal acumen and splendid powers of advocacy and forensic eloquence. As a senior he was unique in his treatment of junior lawyers. In the annals of the legal profession he occupied a unique place as one who was eager to help merit to cheer and brace up the timid, and to preserve the highest traditions of the noble and learned profession of law.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO HINDU LAW.

His eminence and learning as Judge were acknowledged on all hands. In 1905 when the Madras Estates Land Bill was being considered in the Madras Legislative Council, Lord Ampthill said: "I have heard it said that the ryot of Southern India will never know how much he owes to Justice Sir Subramania Iyer for having declared that 'the Common Law' of Madras gives every ryot an occupancy right irrespective of the period of his holding." The Hon'ble Mr. G. S. Forbes, who introduced the Bill, referred to him and Sir T. Muthuswami Iyer as great and distinguished Judges.

RETIREMENT AND AFTER.

Ever since his retirement he has been living at the Beach House, Madras. Life after retirement has not been to him a life of purposeless leisure but a life of strenuous work for India's regeneration. He has been the President of the Dharma Rakshana Sabha ever since he founded it and has been using it as a means of reforming the management of Hindu religious institutions.

LINES OF NATIONAL WORK.

We may refer to a few other valuable ideals given by him in respect of proper lines of national work. In 1915 he said when presiding over the great meeting at Madras convened to welcome Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi: "We want the soul-force which Mr. Gandhi is trying to work up. Soul force consists in a man being prepared to undergo any physical or mental suffering, taking the precaution that he will not lay a single finger to inflict physical force upon the other side. It was that soul-force that was manifested by the South African Indians and it was the same force that should be developed in this country."

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THE INTERNMENT OF MRS. BESANT.

No account of Sir S. Subrahmania Iyer's later activities will be complete which does not recount the leading part he took in the great agitation which soon spread throughout the country protesting against the famous speech of H. E. Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras in May 1917, in the course of which His Excellency had attacked the Home Rule movement and its methods of work. It looked for a time as if His Excellency's threat of repression would dishearten public workers; but Sir Subrahmania Iyer displayed remarkable courage in writing the following bold communication to the press which will certainly bear recital.

Before I was raised to the Bench I was a Congressman and to me Home Rule is no new thing. I believe and have long believed that its early establishment is vital for the welfare of the country and the stability of the Empire and that it is therefore necessary to carry on a constitutional and educative agitation for it as ordered by Congress at its last session. Believing this I gladly accepted the Honorary Presidentship of the Home Rule League for India—honorary only because my health forbids active and strenuous work. I cannot retrace my steps. I will not resign my office even if the League be declared unlawful. I am ready to face any penalties which may follow on my decision. In the words of the Congress, in the reconstruction of the Empire after the war, to defend Home Rule is to me a civic duty and this duty I will discharge. I call on you my countrymen to do the same.

The effect of this was marvellous. It revived many a drooping spirit and it stirred up the public to a proper sense of its responsibility. And though Lord Pentland's Government followed up the famous speech with the internment of Mrs. Besant and two of her associates, Sir Subrahmania Iyer, undaunted, pursued his campaign against the Government and the agitation for her release with characteristic boldness and vigour. When Mrs. Besant and her associates were released it was said on all hands that the credit of it was due, in no small measure, to the courageous and indefatigable activities of "old" Sir S. Subrahmania Iyer.

AGITATION FOR HOME RULE.

But Sir Subrahmania Iyer would not rest content with the release of Mrs. Besant. As President of the Home Rule League he has been urging ceaseless activity and propaganda work for obtaining the reforms set forth in the scheme of the Congress and Moslem League. He has written numerous communications to the press and delivered many public speeches, denouncing the evil effects of the present bureaucratic administration and insisting times without number that the only reform that would save the situation is the breaking up of the monopoly of the Civil Service and giving the people popular control over the Executive. In his memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State, he hit the weakest spot in the present system of administration.

He rightly urged that "the only solution history has ever found for such diseases in the body politic is the extension of popular control over the executive. That is why Home Rule appears to me not only inevitable, not only a gracious boon conferred upon the people of this country by Britain, but the only remedy adequate to the needs of the situation, the only measure that can insure the continuance of the British Empire."

CONCLUSION.

Sir Subramania Iyer is still young in spirit though old in years. In the speech referred to above he said: "We are all young, not only you, but also I, in our dream of a new India, in our vision of a free nation discharging its own Dharma, fulfilling its own Mission." He is held in the highest esteem by all—young and old, Indian and European, official and non-official, as one who is "the soul of honour, as a man who had absolutely no personal ends to serve, and who devoted his great abilities solely to the public good."

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CASTE: THEN AND NOW

BY THE MAHARAJA OF KASSIMBAZAAR.

IN many matters of national well-being the Hindu mind no longer gropes in the dark, uncertain of decision. Hesitancy and diffidence have ceased to remain the predominating features of the temperament of the average Hindu of to-day. We are moving with the times so far as possible, and the waves of progress are beating against the shores of our conservatism not in vain. I am, therefore, glad to find, included in the agenda of your business, such subjects as imparting suitable education to women and ameliorating the condition of widows, discouragement of child-marriage, and the raising of the condition of the Sudra and the untouchable castes. It is no good shutting our eyes to the fact that the ignorance of our women-folk and the condition of our backward classes have made the name of India a bye-word of contempt and reproach to the civilized world for a number of centuries and paralysed and atrophied the body politic even beyond Asiatic somnolence. We must look to the spirit of Japan and try to follow in her wake in our struggle for renaissance, and in this line we could do nothing better than to see our womanhood dignified and our backward classes elevated. As I said at Hardwar in 1915, as President of the second Conference of this Sabha, these have become questions of self-preservation with us. It is also conveniently forgotten that, at one time in the story of this ancient land, some of the best hymns of the Rig Veda were contributed by the daughters of India and that at a later stage not a few of them distinguished themselves in the study of mathematics, in the governance of kingdoms and in the fields of battle. Gargi, Maitreyi, Khana, Lilavati, Sita, Savitri, Damayanti, Tara, Draupadi, Sakuntala, Padmini, Sanjukta, Rukshmini, Durgawati and Ahalya Bai—where is the country or the people that would not feel proud or honoured to have daughters like these? Similarly, you will find that, before the rigidity of caste was estatablished in India in the way in which we know it to-day, a man of the untouchable class, Guhaka of Chunar, enjoyed the friendship of the great prince of Oudh whose name has passed into the Hindu pantheon, and that some of the most venerated Rishis of old—men like Viswamitra and Valmiki—who have left imperishable footprints on the sands of time, could trace their descent to no decent environment.

In a paper read before the International Congress of Orientalists at Berlin on the 14th of September, 1881, the following facts were brought out by a member:—

'We read in the Aitareya Brahmana (ii. 3—19) for example, Kavasha Ailusha, who was a Sudra and son of a low woman, was greatly respected for his literary attainments and admitted into the class of Rishis. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of his life is that he, Sudra as he was, distinguished himself as Rishi of some of the hymns of the Rig Veda (Rig., X 30—34). It is distinctly stated in the "Chandogyopanishad" that Jabala, who is otherwise called Satya-Kama, had no gotra, or family name whatever (Chand Upa, iv. 4); all that we know about his parentage is that he was the son of a woman named Jabala, and that he is called after his mother. Though born of unknown parents, Jabala is said to have been the founder of a school of the Yajurveda. Even in the Apastamba-Sutra, (ii 5—10) and the

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Manu Smriti (X 65), we find that a Sudra can become a Brahmin and a Brahmin can become a Sudra, according to his good or bad deeds. Panini mentions the name of a celebrated grammarian called Cakravarmana in the sixth chapter of his "Ashtadhyayi" (p. vi.130); now Cakravarmana was Kshatriya by birth since he has the prescribed Kshatriya termination at the end of his name, which is a patronymic of Cakravarmana.'

Yudisthira, you are probably aware, was once confronted by a Yaksha with the following interrogatory :—

'By what, O, king! birth, character, study, or learning, doth a person become a Brahman?

In the *Vana Parva* of the Mahabharata, we read Yudisthira giving the following reply :—

'Listen, O, Yaksha! It is neither birth, nor study, nor learning that is the cause of Brahmanhood. Without doubt, it is character that constitutes it. One's character should always be well guarded, especially by a Brahman. He who maintaineth character unimpaired, never impairs himself. He, however, whose character is lost, is lost himself.'

In the Code of Manu, the great Hindu law-giver, we read (chapter 11, stanzas 238-240) :

'Receive pure learning even from a man of lower caste, the highest law even from the lowest, and the gem of a wife even from a base family. Wives, learning, (the knowledge of) the law, (the rules of) purity, good advice, and various arts may be acquired from any body.'

The Lord has himself proclaimed in the Gita :—

(The four castes were emanated by Me, by the different distribution of qualities and actions; know Me to be the author of them, though I am myself actionless and inexhaustible.)

'The same am I to all beings; there is none hateful to Me nor dear. They who worship Me with devotion, they are in Me, and I also with them.

'They who take refuge with Me, O Partha, though they may be born of the womb of sin, women, Vaisyas, even Sudras, they also tread the highest Path.'

Gentlemen, let me not be misunderstood. I do not appear before you to-day to condemn the system of caste. I personally believe in caste, and I do not think there is any nation in the world which has been able to do in the past or will be able to do in the future till the millennium without it in some form or another. What I am anxious to insist is that, while caste was intended in ancient India as a social insurance, it has degenerated in our day into a school of endless bitterness, hatred and hostility. The existing Varnashrama of to-day is only a travesty of its ancient original. While to-day it preaches the gospel of hate and cramps individuality, in ancient India it acted as a cement of society and inspired Hindus to assert their full and supreme manhood. The Hindus were then not, as now, irrevocably walled in by rigid and unalterable boundaries of social convention, but they were free to rise to the highest social dignities or sink to the lowest positions according to the inherent qualities or vices they might possess or the merits and demerits they might develop. The son of a Brahman sometimes became a Kshatriya, sometimes a Vaishya and sometimes a Sudra. At the same time, a Sudra certainly became a Brahman or a Kshatriya if he had many golden deeds to his credit. *Shankar Dig Vijaya says*:—

'By birth all are Sudras, by actions men become Dvija (twice-born.) By reading the Vedas one becomes *Vipra* and becomes *Brahman* by gaining a knowledge of God.'

A passage in the *VanaParva* of the Mahabharata runs thus: 'He in whom the qualities of truth, munificence, forgiveness, gentleness, abstinence from cruel deeds, contemplation, and benevolence are observed, is called a Brahman in the Smriti.

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A man is not a Sudra by being a Sudra, nor a Brahman by being a Brahman.

I will now quote a passage from a European writer of established reputation to show what the spirit caste really stood for in India before the age of soul-less materialism had established itself in this side of the world. Mr. Sidney Low, in his *Vision of India*, says :—

'There is no doubt that the system of caste is the main cause of the fundamental stability and contentment by which Indian society has been braced for centuries against the shocks of politics and the cataclysms of nature. It provides every man with his place, his career, his occupation, his circle of friends. It makes him, at the outset, a member of a corporate body; it protects him through life from the canker of social jealousy and unfulfilled aspirations: it ensures him companionship and a sense of community with others in like case with himself. The caste organization is to Hindu his club, his trade union, his benefit society, his philanthropic society. There are no work houses in India, and none are as yet needed. The obligation to provide for kinsfolk and friends in distress is universally acknowledged; nor it can be questioned that this is due to the recognition of the strength of family ties and of the bounds created by associations and common pursuits which is fostered by the caste principle.'

The picture thus drawn is very accurate and true, but, most unfortunately for Hindu society, the spirit of it has vanished to-day. We seem to have gone very far away from the spirit of the times which established caste in its original sense, and our decadence as a people is due not a little to our having forsaken the golden rules of ancient life. I hope most of us have seen the error of our ways and will be glad to retrace our steps to the ancient ideals. If this Conference will be able to draw up a scheme for the proper education of our womankind and the elevation of the untouchable classes and restore caste to its original purity, it will certainly deserve the endless gratitude of the Hindu community.—*Welcome Address to the Hindu Sabha.*

SCIENCE TEACHING IN INDIA

BY DR. GILBERT WALKER.

WHAT is wanted in life is ability to apply principles to the actual cases that arise and the man who understands is of enormously greater value than the living compendium of information. When Pasteur as a chemist was asked to find a remedy for the pest that was ruining the French silk industry, he knew absolutely nothing of silk worms: yet he solved the problem, and it was general understanding of Nature's methods that brought him success. For mere information a sensible man goes to books of reference: he does not waste energy in burdening his memory with it.

But if it is a pity when the teaching of mathematics is made lifeless, it is fatal when that of physics or chemistry is carried on without constant appeal to experiment. A boy who has played with a force-pump has no difficulty in grasping what we mean when we say "head of water," though the idea may be hard if based on the abstract definition of a "perfect incompressible liquid," and such corresponding electric terms as "electromotive force" and "capacity" are just as easy to a boy who has played to an equal extent with electric apparatus. But how many are nearly as familiar with electric appliances

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as they are with mechanical? And why should we wonder then that electromagnetic theory is usually found difficult?

Now all that I have said applies more to Indians than to Europeans, for two reasons: First the wonderful memories of most students of this country must be a continual temptation to them to remember a discussion rather than to absorb its ideas when memorising is easier than grasping; and secondly, early training in handling tools and apparatus is not nearly as general here as in England. As an example of what I mean I may be allowed to refer to my old school days at St. Paul's in addition to splendid laboratories for physics, chemistry and biology, there were prizes to encourage mechanical ingenuity and skill, and as evidence of the standard reached I remember one boy was someway down the list although he had made gyroscope that would spin for twenty minutes. I have no data as to the number of us that had collections of electric apparatus or small chemical laboratories or fitting shops at home, but it was appreciable and to those who had them they made an enormous difference. They made the laws of Nature real, concrete, and vivid, instead of mere abstract relations between quantities known only by definitions.

Training of the hands is necessary also for the acquirement of manipulative skill without which many discoveries would never have been made. As one example I will quote the Cape Astronomer Gill, who developed methods of measuring angles in the sky to one hundredth of a second, the angle suspended by a quarter-anna piece at a distance of 330 miles half the distance from here to Karachi. As another example we may take Ramsay's determination of the atomic weight of the rare gas niton. The largest volume of it that he could obtain was 1,200 of a cubic millimitre, not a hundredth of a pin's head in bulk; yet he utilised a balance so inconceivably delicate as to weigh this minute amount correctly.

* * * * * *

The only method of putting the science teaching of our universities into a satisfactory footing is to appoint sufficient numbers of first-rate teachers, men who are keen researchers and can impart their enthusiasm to their classes; and they cannot carry out investigations if their routine work leaves them no leisure. Further, unless they are to be professors of pure mathematics, they must have a laboratory training. For men who teach physics on its qualitative or experimental side this condition is universally accepted, but if it is to be taught on the quantitative side, this is just as necessary. To attempt to shuffle out of the obligation by re-labelling the subject as applied mathematics is dishonest and it has not even the merit of being good policy. For it gives you a man whose natural field for research work is barred to him; he is not familiar enough with current experimental work to apply mathematical methods to it.—*From the Presidential Address to the Indian Science Congress, Lahore.*

INDIA.

BY

MISS ESTHER FARING.

India! for a moment O, listen to my voice!
Above all, what is precious and dear to my heart,
India alone, and none but India will be my choice
Thou my desire, more than a mother and lover
thou art.

Poor be my heart, but all will I give,
India will I serve, as long as I live
Not like a stranger, but as one of your own.
This is my prayer, and this is my vow.

"Land" of beauty in nature and art,
Country with ideals so high and so pure,
Seekers for truth with a longing heart
O, for a pain thou hast dared to endure.

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Japan in the World War

Mr. Naoshi Kato, the editor of a very important Japanese periodical, writing in a recent number of the *English Review* explains how to constitute a constructive position for the attainment of that New World-Spirit which alone can permanently remove the Prussian philosophy of force and so lead to a new orientation of light based upon President Wilson's conception of a League of Nations. He says that Japan's entry into the War was solely due to the request of the British Government in accordance with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, under the explicit condition that Japanese operations should be limited to the Far East and the Chinese seas, though the Japanese navy is now taking an active part in many oceans. The chief weakness of the Allies has lain in the lack of single-front strategy not only in the military sense, but also in politics, diplomacy and finance; and the need of a Grand Allied Head Quarters is overdue.

The writer then proceeds to observe :—

"The question is whether England and France have shown the same sacrifice of attitude towards their internal troubles as in their external affairs. At once I think of Ireland . . . . . Why not settle their internal strife right out by the sacrifice of party contentions on both sides? Is not this world-war, involving the destiny of the British Empire, reason sufficient for the creation of a new atmosphere of reconciliation with regard to this age-long question? If this question be settled right now, at least 300,000 more troops could be sent to the front to fight against the Germans, instead of keeping large garrisons and beating marches against each other at this critical moment of the world's history. What about the Alsace-Lorraine question? Why does France attach the whole issues of the war to this question now, when surely the main objective is the defeat of the enemy? It seems like putting the cart before the horse. It is all very well to have splendid national aspirations, all kinds of irredenta, re-mapping, vistas of a new Europe, etc., but is it not more urgent for the Allies to conduct the war in such a way as to ensure final and complete victory over the enemy? And in order to achieve such a victory, it seems to me essential for the Allies to put forth far greater efforts than they have done in the past. First of all, they, each and all, have to change their attitude of mind, forget all about their petty contentions, throw off their suspicions, and devote the whole of their minds and hearts to the all-inclusive cause of the Grand Allies as a whole.

"The spirit of a common task and of mutual sacrifice as of complete co-operation in "the single-front" is, to my mind, yet very far from satisfactory realisation. The supreme will of the Allies in order to win the war should lie in the amalgamation of all national interests in one grand scheme of an International Commonwealth, based primarily on the principle of justice and equality. Is it not high time now to liquidate all national interest and strengths, both spiritual and material, into one common account of all nations now engaged in the war to crush the world's enemy? The lack of wider vision, the narrowness of the scope of co-operation, the insufficiency of an all-embracing imagination—in short, the unreadiness to sacrifice traditional prejudice—is, to my mind, the chief cause of the Allies' weakness, at least at the present moment."

"ALL ABOUT THE WAR—THE INDIAN REVIEW WAR BOOK".—A comprehensive and authentic account of the War with numerous illustrations, portraits, cartoons, maps and diagrams contributed by officers of the Indian Civil, Military and Medical Services, Ministers of Native States, Engineers, Educationists, Journalists, Lawyers, Publicists and other Specialists. Edited by G. A. Natesan with an introduction by His Excellency Lord Pentland. Price Rs. 4. To subscribers of the "Indian Review," Rs. 3.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

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The Protestant Reformation

In celebration of the fourth centenary of Martin Luther's protest against Catholicism in 1517, Mr. S. H. Swinny writes to the last December number of the *Positivist Review* and tries to answer two questions connected with the Reformation. (1) Why did it begin in Germany? (2) Why did it occur early in the sixteenth century? The first question is answered by the reply that it began in Germany because Germany had never been fully Romanised and had remained less conscious of the unity of western civilisation —at once less disciplined and more ready to rely on brute force to supply the place of a civilised orderly tradition. Germany was thus more ready to defy the common opinion of Christendom and to break away from the long-established spiritual unity than were any of the other great nations.

"The heresies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were rather signs than causes of the coming storm. The relaxation of discipline, the schisms, the subservience of so many Popes to temporal powers and interests, did more to prepare the way, and were themselves a sign that new forces had arisen which the old Church was unable to control. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, all serious men were desirous of reformation—a reformation which the North affected by a violent breach, and the South in the end by a purification of the old institutions. And the scandals in the Church had another effect. The nobles had long resented the open path to merit that the Church offered. They grudged place and precedence to low-born ecclesiastics. They coveted the wealth of the monasteries. But so long as the Church was eminent for its learning and virtue, and encompassed by the love of the people, they could do nothing. Its degradation was their opportunity. Finally, there came in the fifteenth century the revival of ancient learning and the invention of printing, leading in Italy to an absorbing interest in ancient literature, and in the more backward North to a study of the original texts of the Bible, making possible the religious controversies of the next age. The protest against the exactions, the ambitions and the luxury of the clergy found then its natural consummation in a return to the imagined simplicity of the early Christians, and in the elimination of the priest as the intermediary between the believer and his God.

As has already been indicated, the results of the Reformation were largely unforeseen by the Reformers; and its good or evil has been hotly discussed. The individualism inherent in its theology gave the Protestant countries the lead in the development of modern industry and the exploitation of the world. Hence the wealth and prosperity of the northern nations in which Protestants have taken so much pride. Again the toleration rendered possible and indeed necessary by the multitude of sects, and the general atmosphere of controversy, not only stimulated intellectual interests, but reacted on the political life of Protestant communities. Moreover, the toleration and the partial—though most illogical—rationality of Protestantism gave encouragement and shelter to the first pioneers of a more complete emancipation."

The Future of Asia

Dr. Yujiro Miyake, Editor of "Japan and the Japanese" writes in the new year number of the *Japan Magazine* about the grave doubts that Japan feels as to how the war would end, and about Japanese diffidence as to the consequences which might be effected in China and India. No matter, what way the European war ends, China will be influenced more and more by the United States who will chiefly rely on her vast financial resources. As regards India, the writer proceeds thus:

"With an Allied victory India will be more submissive than ever to Great Britain and the

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dream of her independence will be for ever past. England will probably subdue all lands between Turkey and India, and a great colonial empire will rise between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. Russia, who was previously not on very friendly terms with England, will be too busy with internal domestic problems to take much interest in the acts of England, much less to interfere with them. England will have a free hand in the whole of south-western Asia. If Germany wins she will occupy this position, and if she does not take India she will at least exercise a strong influence there. If the war results in a draw, the international rivalry will be much the same as it has been hitherto. The victory of the Allies is essential to England's safety in India. If England should ever lose India, the world's balance of power would be lost.

With victory for England, India will come more and more into line with British ideals and gratify her desire for independence in the direction of greater self-administration and government. If China is able to maintain herself as a republic, after the manner of America, India will, undoubtedly, be influenced by it and Washingtons will probably appear there. To attain independence may prove a hard struggle for India, but if she be given self-government, she will, no doubt, attain it in time. And if India and China become republics, will not Turkey be induced to follow suit? And if Russia forms a republic the greater part of Asia will have renounced monarchy. If the majority of Asiatic peoples favour democracy and achieve government for the people and by the people, the result may be a vast confederacy that will effect changes undreamed of for three thousand years. Chinese, Indians and Russians as well as Turks are rich in powers of imagination and if they can unite to extend their power, it will certainly constitute an epoch in the world's history."

The "Servant of India"

We are glad that the Servants of India Society has taken up the publication of a new weekly Journal "to advance the causes which it cherishes, disseminate its principles and apply these to the interpretation of current affairs" It is fitting, indeed, that the Journal should commence from the 19th February the third anniversary of Mr. Gokhale's death. It was one of Mr. Gokhale's desires that the public should be educated on current topics in a healthy way and the Society under the direction of the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri began a series of cheap and very useful publications on political questions. The new venture is an advance in the same direction and we wish the "Servant of India" every success.

The first number enunciates the policy and spirit of the venture in the wise words of Mr. Ranade :—

> Liberalism and moderation will be our watch words. The spirit of liberalism implies a freedom from race and creed prejudices and a steady devotion to all that seeks to do justice between man and man, giving to the rulers the loyalty that is due to the law they are bound to administer, but securing at the same time to the people the equality which is their right under the law. Moderation implies the conditions of never vainly aspiring after the impossible or after too remote ideals, but striving each day to take the next step in the order of natural growth by doing the work that lies nearest to our hands in a spirit of compromise and fairness.

Then there is an appreciation of the late Sir William Wedderburn by Mr. N. M. Samarth; "Linguistic Provinces" by Mr. R. P. Paranjpye: a thoughtful essay suggested by Mr. Sarma's recent resolution in the Imperial Council; and a criticism of the "Income-tax Bill" by Mr. V. G. Kale. Altogether this number contains much interesting matter. The Servants of India Society have done well in fixing the annual subscription at Rs. 4 only thus placing the Journal within the reach of all. It is edited by the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and published by Mr. A. V. Patvardhan at the Servants of India Society, Poona.

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The Geography of To-day

Prof. B. C. Bhattacharya recently delivered a lecture in Calcutta (which is published in the February number of the *Modern Review*) in which he traces the broad steps which have led to the present high position now claimed by Geography. The migration of various races in ancient times must have contributed not a little to the widening of the scope of the geographical science as a whole. Likewise also, the great conquering expeditions of the heroes of the ancient world had the result of removing the physical barriers which had separated the different branches of the human race in perpetual ignorance of one another. The contribution of religious devotion which sedulously fostered pilgrimages to sacred places, should also be reckoned at its true value. A broad survey of the world being thus made, men's minds were naturally turned to something still higher than mere descriptive accounts. The result was the origin of Physical Geography. As the subject was progressing, it became evident to scholars that there existed, without doubt, an undeniable co-ordination between Physical Geography and human civilisation. On the geographical position of a country depend the essentials of man's livelihood, and those forces which are maintaining the very pulsations of the life of the present-day world. This in its turn led to the origin and growth of what is known as Economic or Commercial Geography. The present-day geography undertakes to study a country from several cardinal points of view, such as those of Geology, Biology, and Anthropology.

"Originally, Geography used to be defined in some such way as this:—Geography is the description of the surface relief of the earth. But certainly, a new definition, in view of the new conception of Geography, must supersede the old one and should rather take the following form Geography is the description of the earth in its relation to man. Robert Mill, the great authority on the subject, gives the following definition:—Geography is the exact and organised knowledge of the distributon of phenomena on the surface of the earth, culminating in the explanation of the interaction of man with his terrestrial environment."

Present day Geography has been mainly divided into six branches; *viz*, Mathematical Geography Physical Geography, Biological Geography, Anthropological Geography, Political Geography and Economic Geography.

Waste in Labour

The December number of the *Mysore Economic Journal* contains an able article by Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., who maintains that it would not be in the interests of trade and prosperity to keep up the same labour pressure after the war, which in national interest has been maintained during the war. It is not in this direction, he says, that trade prosperity can be found; trade must be made subordinate to life conditions. To fix a higher level of outlay and to expect the worker to always labour up to that higher level is merely driving the human being from his true life purpose. Trade should be made to live for man; and not man should be made to die for trade.

There is sometimes a mistaken impression that the trade and commerce of the country suffer through deliberately restricted output; and that in the working class establishments, there is a large amount of organised idleness. Piece-work, payment by various result systems, and the effects of keen superintendence tend to exact the utmost amount of service from most of the wage-earners of the country even where time is the basis of payment; most time-work is arranged so that the results produced shall be as near as possible similar to results produced on the piece-work basis. If work was performed under the conditions of ease and leisure which is sometimes

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referred to in our platforms and newspapers, the victims of industry would be fewer than they are. Those who apply themselves to what must be done after the war must face more fully the human side of the question, as well as its trade and commercial side.

This attention to the human side is impossible whilst many employers look upon trade union organizations as instruments for fomenting trouble in workshops, or as a means for preaching amongst workmen the foolish doctrine of deliberately reducing the output, when men can well do better for trade without in any way doing worse for themselves.

National prosperity, therefore, must not be expected from any further industrial pressure, and the high level of production reached under war conditions cannot be maintained as a permanent feature of trade when peace has been restored.

Local Self-Government in India.

The November number of the *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation* contains a comprehensive survey of the results achieved in local self-government in India, from the pen of Sir H. Wheeler, K. C. I. E. In the writer's estimate, "difficulties still remain to be surmounted, but their existence does not indicate that the record hitherto has been one of failure." Of these, three defects are pointed out namely, (1) weakness of the civic spirit, (2) finance, and (3) the large area of the jurisdiction of many rural boards. "Of the three principal deficiencies which have been indicated, the remedying of the first would go far to cure the remaining two. If the civic spirit were stronger, heavier taxation would be accepted with greater alacrity, while smaller bodies could be constituted and trusted to display a competent and energetic interest in their affairs. The essential problem, therefore, is how to encourage the civic spirit, and in its growth time and education are the all-important factors."

The Path to India's Future

Dr. Miller, in his message to the members of the Christian College Day Association in December last (printed in the December issue of the *Christian College Magazine*) lays stress on the genuine desire of Britain to make India a fully self-directing member of the world-wide British Commonwealth. Though it is true that there has not only been remissness, but opposition to progress in the required direction, it is only on the part of men who naturally cling to power which they have long enjoyed.

"It is also well to bear in mind that in the moral and spiritual, as in the natural world, a certain amount of opposition must be overcome if the object aimed at is to be permanently gained. To all appearance this is a fundamental law of the world in which God has placed us. If rails were ideally smooth, no train could make its way along them: the friction they present is an indispensable condition for the forward movement of the engine. If there were no resisting force in the air, the aeroplane could never fly. If it had at any time to pass through a far-extending vacuum it would fall helplessly to the ground. Similarly in matters political and social, a certain amount of antagonism, not too great for persevering effort to overcome, is not a thing to be complained of but rather a thing to be desired. The one great lesson that such considerations teach is that, according to the inmost nature of all things round us, progress that is to be stable and enduring must proceed step by step by surmounting each particular difficulty as it arises. It is the lesson which I tried to emphasise to you a year ago—to the effect that if the India of the future is to be the self-directing nation which we desire it to become, that goal can be obtained only by the evolution of new arrangements out of those now in possession of the field, or in other words by following the path not of revolution but of steady and continuous reform."

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Educational Aspects of the Kinematograph

The last December number of the *School World* contains an article by Mr. H. O. Hale summarising parts of educational interest in the report of the Kinema Commission which was appointed in America. The evidence of teachers and others offers encouraging suggestions on the subject of Kinema as an aid to education.

The difficulties and objections brought forward were chiefly as follows :—

(1) Kinema conditions are often far from hygienic. Ventilation is inadequate, while the glare and flicker, the rapidity of motion, and the concentration of visual attention promote eye-strain.

(2) It is affirmed that the first condition of education is mental effort, and that the dilution and peptonisation of the material presented render the child more difficult to instruct in other ways.

(3) The children have little appetite for educational films. The main interest is outside their school curriculum, and the residuum of information is small.

(4) The cost is out of proportion to the results obtained. Various makers, especially Messrs. Pathe Freres, have devoted much time and money to the production of scientific and educational films, but at a considerable financial loss.

The hygienic difficulties do not seem to be very formidable; while the second objection vanishes under a true conception of the educational use of the film, and the Kinematograph should be made first of all an instrument of inquiry. There is plenty of scope for mental effort in such enquiries not only in getting information, but also by explanation and improvement in method. The difficulty of cost is always with as for everything but it ought not to be made an insurmountable objection.

Re-Incarnation

In the last number of the *Occult Review* there is an article by Jocelyn Underhill about the growing belief in re-incarnation and about some personal memories with reference to the subject. The writer puts forward several experiences as evidence for the truth of re-incarnation, a hint of the continuity of memory from life to life, an echo of the certainty of life after death, and a suggestion of re-union in future lives with those we have loved and for the present lost.

A belief in the teaching of Re-incarnation has been growing steadily for the past forty years amongst the thinking minds who are devoting time and study to a consideration of the well-being of man, his past efforts and future destiny. The teaching was brought under modern notice most largely by Dr. Anna Kingsford—a brilliant and eccentric psychic and mystic who left no successor to carry on her teaching—and Mme. H. P. Blavatsky, the co-foundress of the Theosophical Society. A very large literature has grown up especially round the views expounded by Mme. Blavatsky, much of which is dogmatic and most of it the result of clairvoyant research on the part of two or, at most, three individuals, whose results often conflict with earlier testimony, and who give little information as to methods of research, beyond hinting at a special training in psychic investigation.

The conception of re-incarnation is itself so helpful, so satisfying, even when crudely expounded, that many people eagerly accept it without any direct perception or personal knowledge as to its truth. Although unable to remember past lives, they are resolute in believing that such lives have been lived. In some cases direct memory is claimed, but in these, generally speaking, the incongruity displayed between the present position and character and the previous character is so marked as to make one pause and wonder if self-deception has not entered in.

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A Christian View of Indian Politics

In a lengthy article in the Madras *Christian Patriot* reviewing the present Home Rule agitation Mr. K. T. Paul, B.A., presents the following recapitulation of what Christians think of the present situation.

1. We are grateful to note the purpose of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in regard to the 'progressive realization' of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.

2. We offer to Government to accept a share in every responsibility to which the peoples of India may be called whether in Councils or in administrative machinery. In doing so, we desire to be recognized as one of the important minority communities in India which, in regard to capacity for rendering public services, is more advanced than its numbers would imply and is always on a thoroughly progressive path.

3. We ask for the immediate introduction of a measure of truly 'responsible Government' as understood in all democratic countries. For this purpose we recommend that the Imperial and the Provincial Legislative Councils be at least three-fourths elective, and that they be given definite portfolios of administration to execute through their leaders over whom they should have virtual powers of nomination and removal.

4. That the policy should be gradually to devolve more of the portfolios on the Councils so empowered.

5. That as regards the portfolios not so devolved the powers of the Councils be no greater than they are at present.

6. That the principle of communal representation be strictly adopted in making up the membership of these Councils, which shoud for this purpose be greatly enlarged.

7. That for the purpose of affording a real training and equipment for the art of 'responsible Government,' immediate advances be made along two lines, (*a*) Education, and (*b*) Local Self-Government.

8. (*Education*). That a scheme of education be introduced such as will suit the bulk of the people of India we cannot and obviously should not go to Universities.

9. (*Local Self-Government*). That a really liberal policy be pursued in introducing local self-government all over the country in village, taluk, district, and town.

That membership in all their governing bodies be made mainly elective and on the communal principle : in village and town the franchise being on the territorial basis, and in taluk and district on the community basis.

That all these bodies be given the privilege of electing their own executives.

10. That many more posts in all the services be thrown open to Indians ; That community interest be carefully safe-guarded in appointments ; that during the process of devolution, however, the posts reserved for Indians be always less than half and that preference be always given to candidates who have had training abroad.

Cattle Farms in Native States

In his article on cattle-farming in the *Agricultural Journal of India*, H. E. Lord Willingdon says that some Native States, in the Bombay Presidency have done good work in that line. "I am glad to be able to state that already in this Bombay Presidency two ruling princes are establishing stud herds in their States. His Highness the Raja of Rajpipla having started a herd of Kankreji cattle at Nandod, and His Highness the Nawab of Junagadh a herd of Gir cattle at Junagadiano, while the Chiefs of Sangli, Jamkhand and Aundh are directing attention to the Krishna Valley and Khallari breeds—examples which I trust may be followed by many more princes, chiefs, and landowners.

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Ideals of Womanhood

The "Vedic Magazine" for January contains a number of interesting articles dealing with different aspects of womanhood. The articles are all written by ladies of culture, both English and Indian, and discuss the mission and destiny of womanhood in the light of the Vedas and modern thought as well. Kumari Vidyawati Devi, B.A., writes with special reference to Vedic teaching in her paper on the education of Indian women. On the other hand, Kumari Krishnabai Tulaskar is all for the most up-to-date American system of education. She writes feelingly of the condition of Indian women and urges a strong plea for the training of the future citizenness of the new "old" India. "She sees no harm in co-education." Eight other articles are devoted to the same topic. The Editor in his notes offers an instructive review of education for women in India and with ample arguments from the Vedic scriptures defines the supreme destiny of womanhood. He urges that the education of the two sexes must essentially be different as facilitating their respective avocations. He rails at what is now known as the economic independence of women. He also condemns the idea of educating women for professions as such occupations interfere with her supreme mission of womanhood. The Editor contends, however, that though physically and intellectually weaker than man

> Woman is not only not inferior to him but has actually been the goddess of his worship in all ages and in all civilized communities. She is emotionally superior to him and therefore exercises a potent and unshakable sway over his heart. She has finer intuitions, greater practical wisdom, greater capacity for judging individual character, perceptions more refined, greater charm, sweetness and persuasiveness, stronger love, deeper powers of attachment, stauncher fidelity, tenderer mercy, sweeter compassion and a more capacious and warmer heart. She rules by love, and the influence of a good, sweet, beautiful and cultered woman is uplifting, sanctifying and holy. She can, by her charm, regenerate sinners much more effectively than can the thundering sermons and withering and shrivelling fulminations and pasquinades of a hundred pastors and moralists.

Caste and Communal Representation

The Brahmin, observes the *Wealth of India* for January, (which by the way is amply illustrated) has come in for a great deal of criticism and abuse of late, specially in the Madras Presidency, on account of his supposed oligarchical tendencies; "but he gave up his claim to superiority long ago when he entered the Abkari Department and began testing the proof strength of arrack in liquor shops frequented by 'Pariahs'. A visit to the Mysore Tannery, Ltd., will show how freely the Brahmin mixes with and works for the amelioration of the much despised chuckler. The fact is the difficulties on account of caste are not so much due to the wily conduct of the Brahmin as to the non-Brahmins themselves. It is the latter that want the perpetuation of the caste in India. How else can be justified the loud cry for communal representation in the political controversies of the day. No better means could have been devised to retard the progress of social and political reform in this country than the grant of communal representation for Mussulmans under the Morley-Minto reforms some years ago."

INDIA IN INDIAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

DISABILITIES OF MUNICIPAL SWEEPERS IN BOMBAY. By A. V. Thakkar, L. C. E. ["The Social Service Quarterly" January, 1918.]

THE VERNACULAR FINAL IN BOMBAY. ["Indian Education" January, 1918.]

ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF THE MARWARIS. By Prof. V. V. Tamhaukar, M. A. ["The Mysore Economic Journal" December, 1917.]

MARRIAGES BETWEEN ENGLISH-WOMEN AND NATIVES OF BRITISH INDIA. By Sir E. J. Trevelyan ["The Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation" November, 1917.]

THE PROBLEM OF INCREASED FOOD PRODUCTION IN INDIA. By Nagendranath Gangulee B.Sc., ["The Modern Review" February, 1918.]

THE STUDY OF INDIAN ART ["The Indian Review of Fine Arts," January and February, 1918.]

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University Education in Calcutta

The Rev. W. E. Holland, Principal, St. Paul's Cathedral School, Calcutta, in his recent criticism of University education as now conducted in Calcutta, observes :—

As regards the University, quite frankly we confess that we are rebels. But the instruments of our rebellion are not violence, but persuasion. For we recognise that the pass to which things have come is not of any one's designing. The sheer weight of overwhelming numbers and the pathetic keenness which brings students swarming into the University have brought about a situation, quite impossible to be grappled with by a single Senate. But we are out against a system that prostitutes education to examination, and makes knowledge not an end in itself but a means to a salary of so many rupees. We are out against a system that measures learning horizontally, by the quantity of surface it can cover, and not vertically by the depth it reaches. We prefer quality to quantity every time. We are out against an education that has no standard except the average attained in recent years. We maintain that there is nothing arbitrary in University standards: that a University is a place where the greatest teachers give their best; and its proper students are those who can assimilate that best. We are out against a system which so crowds colleges that the students cannot get the individual guidance they require, and which drags down the teaching given to the better students to the level of the bottom benches of students who should never have been admitted. We are out against a system which dooms half its matriculates to failure, when experience shows that given decent standards of admission and decent teaching the success of the great majority can be ensured. We are out against a system which encourages booksellers to advertise little paper cram-books "the perusal of which," so the advertisements tell us "will make it superfluous to study the books prescribed by the University." We maintain that even to handle decent books, and to peruse their table of contents is the beginning of a liberal education; that a library which is used is three parts of a University. We are out against an education that has killed the ancient Indian *gurukula*, where training of character had a foremost place; and has substituted for it a soul-less, Godless system, under which the moulding of his student's character is no part of the teacher's concern; partly for the sufficient reason that his classes are so huge that he can never know his men by name. We are out against a system which Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore depicts, not as a garden where tender plants are helped to grow, but as a mill which rolls its alumni into one flat pattern of insipid uniformity. Its system of cramming engenders not a love of learning but a loathing of all books. We are out against these things because we greatly care; because Bengal has as bright brains as any other country; because we long that it should have the glorious opportunity of the education we ourselves enjoyed at Oxford or at Cambridge; because Bengal is being intellectually starved.

Our aim then is the inspiration of our students with a passion for the truth, and the disciplining of their character for the service of the Motherland. To this end we insist on being small, that we may be a true collegium, a real society where each knows all, and every one contributes to the common life. We pride ourselves on being the smallest or one of the smallest colleges in Bengal. Our small numbers enable us to select our students, and so to secure homogeneous classes for teaching. Our rolls are called by name, not number. Our professors have to know their students personally, or they will be unable to report on them when they appear one by one before the staff in the terminal review.

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Lord Chelmsford on Reform Proposals

In concluding his speech at the Imperial Legislative Council H. E. the Viceroy said :—

In the addresses presented to us we have had clearly placed before us the hopes and aspirations as well as the doubts and fears of the various communities in India. In the interviews we have endeavoured to elicit the opinions of those whom we were meeting. We have proved those opinions by searching cross-examination, not for the pleasure of mere dialectics, but to satisfy our minds that beneath the opinions expressed there was a solid substratum of fact and experience. I can say for my part, and I believe I can also speak for the Secretary of State, that we regarded these interviews as a liberal education. They enabled us to clear our minds and they assisted us to see how far opinions expressed in addresses were based on genuine conviction and solid thought. I should like to pay a tribute to the great ability with which so many of the addresses we heard had been drafted and to the careful labour and thought which they embodied. I also take the opportunity of cordially acknowledging the almost universal spirit of genuine co-operation which animated those who came to meet us in interview.

Availing ourselves then, of all the help that offers, we are threshing out the great problems with which we have to deal and I have every hope that the Secretary of State may be able to take home proposals embodying a sane and sober advance with future steps duly outlined so that provided we get that co-operation on which the announcement of August the 20th laid stress, we shall be able to progress towards the realisation of responsible government. Let me remind you of the words of the announcement that "ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament." If His Majesty's Government accept our request for publication, then it will be for those who represent the numerous communities interested to put their heads together and make reasoned representations to me upon them for transmission to His Majesty's Government.

I notice that it has been suggested that a deputation should go home and lay the case for the Congress-League scheme before His Majesty's Government. The same intention may exist in other quarters. I think that at the right moment that is a course worthy of consideration, and I would not have it thought that there is any desire on the part of Government to hamper any such representations. On the contrary I will gladly give all the advice and all the help which it lies in my power to give. You will observe that the procedure we propose to adopt is that which was followed on the occasion of the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme. It opens the door to full discussion and seems to me a highly convenient course to pursue. I do not disguise from myself that there will be those who will criticise our proposals whatever they may be, as not going far enough, while others will regard them as going dangerously far. That is inevitable but they will represent a sincere and honest attempt to give effect to the announcement of August the 20th which the Secretary of State and I have regarded as constituting our terms of reference, and therefore binding upon us. I would ask people generally to re-read that announcement as a whole, resisting the temptation to select that portion which suits their particular views and to reject the rest. I believe in the main, the announcement commanded general acquiescense and it behoves us all to endeavour to work together in general harmony with it, and to accept its spirit.

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Extension of Female Education in Mysore

It is understood that the education committee of the Economic Conference has recommended among other things, the formation of a special faculty and special degrees for women in the University of Mysore, the medium of instruction for girls to be vernacular and English a compulsory second language, the sanction by Government of 100 scholarships of Rs. 10 each in addition to existing ones to pupils who join the English classes in high schools to be awarded on a communal basis, the starting as an experimental measure of boarding schools in selected taluks of each district, the establishment of a residential college for the science side at Bangalore, the appointment of three inspectresses of schools and the payment to women of salaries higher than those given to men in the public services.

H. H. The Nizam and the Aligarh College

His Highness the Nizam during his visit to Aligarh inspected the college building and received address of welcome. His Highness directed the Honorary Secretary to announce an annual grant of Rs. 1,000 for Arabic education and donation of 50,000 for the reconstruction of Kachha barrack.

The Hon. Nawab Sir Fayaz Ali, Khan Bahadur, President of Trustees, announced a donation of seven thousand in honour of Nizam's visit. Before leaving the college H. H. the Nizam announced personal reward of Rs. 500 to Maulana Hakki, Professor of Arabic and Rs. 500 to Imam and staff of the Mosque.

Raja of Kalahandi

Raja Braja Mohan Deo, Feudatory Chief of Kalahandi—a native State in Orissa, was installed by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa at a Durbar held at Sambalpur on the 10th January, 1918. The State has an area of 3,745 square miles, and a population of nearly 4¼ lakhs. The ruling Chief has a permanent salute of 9 guns.

Sikkim's War Contribution

It is gratifying to find, writes the *Pioneer*, that since the outbreak of war this picturesque little State in the North-Eastern Himalayas has in proportion to its population contributed very largely to the armed forces of His Majesty. The actual figure is equivalent to slightly over one per cent. of the population, a proportion which will bear comparison with that of the Punjab.

Industrial Exhibition in Gwalior

The special feature of this year's Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition at Gwalior which comes off on March 11 will be the display of the varied and vast economic resources of the State: agricultural, forest and mineral. Like the two recent exhibitions at Bombay and Madras special encouragement is being given to the manufacturers of articles hitherto supplied by enemy countries. The work of fine arts, ladies' works, archæological and educational exhibits are included, while for the first time an exhaustive collection of indigenous medical drugs will be exhibited. The Gwalior spring race meeting will also be held during the exhibition season and already there are indications that there will be a large gathering at Gwalior in March. Large bazaars have been laid out besides the exhibition and for the convenience of visitors a separate camp has been provided to supplement the accommodation available in the hotels at Gwalior. In view of the growing importance of horse breeding in this country, special encouragement is being given by the exhibition committee to horse dealers and breeders and a large sale of horses and cattle is expected. The methods of commercial farming for which the Gwalior State offers such vast possibilities will be demonstrated in a big farm covering an area of several acres where a varied collection of big and useful machines of the American type have been brought together.

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Indian Emigration

Mr. Henry Polak whose comprehensive paper appears on another page in this issue, delivered a lecture before the East India Association on Febuary 12, criticising the scheme of assisted Indian Emigration to the West Indies and Fiji, propounded by last year's Inter-Departmental Conference.

Sir Valentine Chirol said that, in the interests of the wider Confederation of the Empire, such questions must be settled gradually by a conciliatory attitude on both sides. It seemed to him that the interests at stake in such a scheme were infinitesimal, compared to the harm which might be produced by a revival of the elements criticised by Indians in the indenture system.

Lord Lamington urged that it would be unfair to place any obstacle in the way of voluntary Indian emigration.

Natal Indian Congress

The Maritzburg Indians, at a meeting held recently, passed the following resolution on the question of the Natal Indian Congress :—

"That this Meeting of Indians of Pietermaritzburg, although recognising the urgent necessity of resuscitating the now defunct Natal Indian Congress, is of opinion that the Indians of Durban should consult the Indians of other centres in Natal with a view to affording them their due share of representation in the step taken to reform that body."

Mr. C. D. Paruk, in moving the above resolution, said it was highly desirable that, in view of coming events to organise themselves, thus aiming at the solidarity of all sections. The Natal Indian Congress was the first political body formed in Natal. Owing to several causes, it had become dormant, and steps were being taken by the Durban Indians to resuscitate that body. It was nothing but proper that Indians in other centres should have a say in its formation.

South African Indian Brigade

The *Natal Advertiser* wonders why the Government of the Union have not approved of the formation of a combatant brigade of Indians from South Africa for service on one of the fighting fronts : So far, Natal Indians are represented only by the Indian Bearer Corps, a non-combatant unit which has done excellent work in East Africa, but which surely should not represent the sum total of South African Indian activities in the war. It is a matter upon which Indians themselves should take the initiative by representing to the Government that there are a certain number among them willing to go forward as members of a fighting unit.—*Indian Opinion.*

Indians in British Colonies

The *Panjabee* writes : While the galling distinction existing between the coloured and the white races there (British Colonies) are bad in all conscience, new restrictions are being introduced to further deepen the colour bar. The new Railway Regulations approved of by the Governor-General contain the following clauses applying to coloured passengers, including British Indians : (1) Non-Europeans (coloured persons or natives) will only be allowed to travel in the compartments or coaches specially set apart for their use, and they may not frequent or remain standing in the corridors in any portion of a coach which is set aside for European passengers ; (2) Non-European (coloured persons or natives) may not travel by the Imperial or Royal mail trains or by fast passengers trains or any other trains specially excepted from time to time either in the official Tariff book or by public poster. Needless to add, these regulations have caused deep resentment among the Indian settlers in South Africa. We look to Lord Chelmsford to move in the matter. His Excellency should see that no Indian is treated in the un-British way in which he is being treated in the British Colonies, because of the crime of his colour.

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Shipbuilding in India

It is stated that Colonel MacGregor, of the Admiralty Construction Branch, is coming to India to inquire into the prospects of shipbuilding in the chief Indian ports and to discover how the labour problem in this country can be dealt with and what the needs are as regards material. Calcutta and Bombay shipbuilders are quite enthusiastic about the new scheme and are making all arrangements to provide every item of information for the Admiralty's representative. Some of them say that the great handicap is that of getting shipments of material needed for construction. The labour question is quite satisfactory, and it is believed that a start could be made in existing shipyards with a number of small craft and that as development went on bigger building will follow.

India's Foreign Trade

Before the Society of Arts Mr. D. T. Chadwick, the Indian Trade Commissioner, read a paper on Indian trade with Russia, France and Italy. He emphasised that before the war nearly fifty per cent. of Indian trade with Russia was done by Germany. The Russian demand for Indian products was varied and growing. There had been recently a desire in Russian circles to develop direct trade with India. Mr. Chadwick emphasised the importance of the questions of shipping and freights, and said it was stated that trans-shipment of goods at Hamburg was much cheaper than at London or Hull, and that it was in every way cheaper to ship from India *via* Hamburg.

With regard to France complaint was made with regard to the state in which certain Indian products arrived and also of depreciation in quality. This required attention, especially in view of the increasing competition. Italy promised to offer an aternative to Germany for several of India's products and he opined that there would be a wider field for Indian produce in Italy in future, though Germany would undoubtedly try to regain some of her position. In all three countries British weights and measures were criticised wholesale, (*as telegraphed*) and cleanliness, purity and quality were most important.

Lord Islington, who presided, said he hoped that the trade policy of the British Empire after the war would be characterised by broad-minded tolerance, even of enemies, but the products on which the safety of the Empire depended must be manufactured within the Empire not by enemies, and our raw materials must no longer be permitted to be the prime instruments, and sometimes the exclusive instruments of German trade and industry.

Japanese Line to India

Announcement has been made by the Toyo Kisen Kaisha that the firm will inaugurate a line to Calcutta with Kobe, the terminus in Japan. Its service will be two ships monthly with three ships in commission at the start. Among the ports of call decided are Kobe, Hongkong, Singapore and Calcutta, and the line may probably be extended to Rangoon later.

The Empire's Resources in Rice

Since the war it has become apparent that the resources of the Empire in food and raw materials have not hitherto been used to meet the needs of the Empire itself to anything like the extent that is desirable. Rice is a striking example of this state of things. Of the exports of Indian rice in the year 1913-14, Holland took 13·8 per cent., Germany 13·1 and Austria-Hungary, 8·7 per cent. the United Kingdom coming next among European countries with only 6·7 per cent. While this country occupied a relatively unimportant position as a direct importer of rice from India, it imported considerable quantities of rice from Holland and Germany, which had been first exported from India to these countries, and after being milled and polished there, had been re-exported to England.

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All-India Landholders' Association

A meeting of the All-India Landholders' Association was held at Delhi on January 27 under the presidency of the Maharaja of Darbhanga. Many zemindars from different parts of the country attended. The proceedings began with the opening speech of the Maharaja, the main portion of which is reproduced in page 143. In welcoming those present, the Maharaja referred to the last meeting at Calcutta in November last and said :—

"It was in November last that we met in Calcutta to consider the memorial that was to be presented to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India and in December we waited upon them in deputation and were most favourably received. I think you will all agree with me that our November meeting was of an unique nature and one fraught with far-reaching consequences. Among the business transacted the most important was the proposal to start an organisation which would adequately safeguard and, with timely watchfulness, promote the great interests of our community ; and for this purpose a sub-committee was formed. Since then much spade-work has been done. The rules have been drafted and the organisation which was proposed to be formed will, we trust, begin its lease of life with its headquarters at Delhi."

The Maharaja then reviewed the present situation indicated the lines of work in the coming year to facilitate the progress of the country, dilated at some length on the duties and responsibilities of Zemindars to the Government on the one hand and to the public on the other and concluded :—

"The picture I see before me is of the landed noblemen throughout the country, fully and suitably educated, vying with each other in discharging in the best manner their duty by the tenants, the public, and the Crown ; standing in a corporate and organised body and taking their place as the natural and acknowledged leaders of the country. And let me express my fond and earnest hope that the organisation which will be inaugurated into full life from to-day will lay the foundation for the realisation of this glorious picture of our future."

On the conclusion of the opening address, the draft rules were, after some discussion, adopted with modification providing for the formation of a central committee at the capital of the government and of provincial committees to carry out the work of the organisation, and for the holding of an annual conference at such place and time as may be convenient.

Lord Willingdon on Cattle-Farming

In the course of an article in a recent number of the *Agricultural Journal of India*, H. E. Lord Willingdon writes :

"It is said that the farmer in India cares little for milk production but breeds entirely to produce good draught stock. My answer to that is that a good milking cow will produce just as good a draught bullock as a bad milker, that milk is becoming more urgently necessary for the inhabitants of our big cities, that a good milker costs no more to keep than a bad milker and therefore it must be a more profitable animal for the farmer. Again, it is objected that the buffalo is par excellence the milking animal of India as it is claimed that its milk contains more butter fat than that of ordinary cow, which is essential for the production of ghee. That may be true at the moment, but I am inclined to think that, with careful selection and breeding from the best milking strains and good management, dairy cattle may be produced in this country economically as paying an animal as the buffalo. Of this I am certain that no lover of cattle would prefer to keep a herd of buffaloes, if he can secure equal good results from the many beautiful animals I have seen since I have lived in India."

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NOTICES OF BOOKS

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

Sir William Wedderburn's Speeches and Writings. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3.

This is a handy cloth bound volume of 560 pages containing a comprehensive and exhaustive collection of the speeches and writings of Sir William Wedderburn. In a touching tribute prefixed to the book Mr. Natesan points out that Sir William was good enough to help him in the selection of the matter and that but for the exigencies of business the book should have been published by the end of last year. "It is to me nothing short of a misfortune" writes Mr. Natesan, "that I have been denied the privilege of presenting him with a copy of this book." The Publishers have made every endeavour to make this collection comprehensive and up-to-date.

Twelve Portraits. By Mukul C. Dey, Amal Home, Sukea Street, Calcutta.

Mr. Mukul Chandra Dey is a typical representative of the new artistic revival in Bengal under the inspiration of his master Abanindranath Tagore to whom this volume is appropriately dedicated. His is perhaps the first attempt at etching in India, as Sir John Woodroffe says in his introduction, and his studies of the twelve representative Bengalis are more than surface likenesses. They are singularly expressive of the "fundamental characteristics of the sitters."

Life of Ranoji Rao Sindhia. By Mukund Waman Rao Burway. Judge, Small Cause Court, Indore City.

This work, as the author observes in his preface, purports to be one of a series of "Short Studies of Great Marathas." The hero of this narrative, Ranoji Rao Sindhia, laid the foundations of the Gwalior Raj in the first half of the eighteenth century. Mr. Burway who has already written a similar biographical sketch of Sir Dinkar Rao, brings much scholarship and judgment in his treatment of such historical studies.

Sandhyavandana. By B. V. Kameswara Aiyar, M. A., Dewan Peshkar, Pudukottah State.

A thoroughly revised and enlarged edition of this useful book has now been issued by Mr. Kameswara Aiyar. The text has been printed in Devanagiri as Part I and the trans-literation of the mantras, translation, notes and commentary in English have been printed as Part II. The book is sure to interest the English-educated Brahmans to understand and appreciate the spirit and purport of the Sandhya.

True Tales of Indian Life. By Divijendra Nath Neogi, B.A., Macmillan & Co., London.

This book, as its title indicates, contains select episodes from the lives of Indian celebrities. There are no less than sixty-six stories in all: and being illustrated they must afford instructive reading for children.

Maharana Kumbha. By Har Bilas Sarda, F.R.S.L., Ajmere.

Mr. Sarda has in this study offered an informing sketch of one of the greatest of Rajput heroes who flourished in the fifteenth century. The versatility of the Maharana as statesman, soldier and scholar is very well brought out in this interesting biographical study. We are glad to learn that this is the first of a series of monographs bearing on Rajput history.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

A PLEA FOR THE REPRESENTATIVE AND RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN BRITISH INDIA. By N. Chelapati Row, B. A., Pleader, Ongole.

THE KINGDOM OF THE YOUTH. By J. H. Cousins Ganesh & Co., Madras.

A GARLAND OF SONGS. By Mr. V. Subba Aiyar, Police School, Vellore.

REPORT OF THE FIRST MYSORE CIVIC & SOCIAL CONFERENCE. By M. Venkatakrishnayya and G. R Josyer, Government Press, Mysore.

MOONLIT LILIES OR H. H. SIR SHIWAJI RAO HOLKAR OF INDORE. By Jagannath Raoji Tullu, Indore.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

January 23. Attack on the *Goeben*.

January 24. Judgment was delivered to-day on the Bakrid riot cases.

January 25. A wild sensation of shop-looting in Bombay.

January 26. The death is announced of Sir William Wedderburn.

January 27. A railway collision at the Itwari-yard.

January 28. Dr. P. C. Ray lectures at the Madras University Senate.

January 29. Air-raid on London.

January 30. Allied War Council met in Paris.

January 31. Strike in Berlin of 700,000 employees.

Sir Edward Carson speaks on the peace offers.

February 1. The Committee of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Bombay, has addressed the Government of India on the report of the Inter-Departmental Committee.

February 2. British aircraft bombed enemy aerodrome.

The Swiss are reinforcing their troops on the frontier.

February 3. A purse containing Rs. 2 lakhs was presented to Sir J. C. Bose in Bombay at a meeting presided over by Sir Dinshaw Wacha.

February 4. Lady Willingdon opened an exhibition of educational work at the University Hall, Bombay.

February 5. Sir Douglas Haig's *communique* reports reciprocal activity at Hargincourt.

February 6. First Meeting of the Imperial Council. H. E. the Viceroy opened with a speech.

February 7. H. M. the King's Speech to the Parliament.

Aerial attack on Zeebrugge.

The "Ayuthia" disaster.

February 8. The Special Tribunal in the Behari riots delivered judgment to-day in the Bagabin case convicting 34.

Judgment was also given in the Mukhmilpore case convicting 9 of the accused.

February 9. Calcutta University institutes a faculty of commerce.

February 10. Sir Edward Carson has resigned.

German ultimatum to Roumania.

King Constantine's subsidy has been stopped.

February 11. Lord Ronaldshay opened the Carmichael College at Rangpur.

February 12. Mr. H. S. L. Polak lectured on Indian Emigration at the East India Association, London.

February 13. Sir James Meston has been appointed Financial Member in succession to Sir William Mayer.

Death of Sir Sundar Lal.

February 14. Sir James Meston presided over a meeting at Lucknow for inaugurating a fund for establishing a Kshatriya College.

February 15. Sir Harcourt Butler took charge of the Lieutenant-Governorship of the U. P.

February 16. Air attacks on London.

British aerial activity in the Western front.

February 17. Russo-German negotiations for peace.

February 18. Behar Planters' protest against the Champaran Agrarian Bill.

February 19. Third anniversary of Mr. Gokhale. The Servants of India Society has started a new weekly "The Servant of India."

February 20. The Dewan of Travancore opened the University Committee at Trivandram.

February 21. A dinner was given by the non-official members of the Imperial Council to the Secretary of State and his party at Delhi.

February 22. Annual meeting of the Bombay Medical Union was held at Bombay, Dr. K. M. Dubash presiding.

February 23. The meeting of the All-India Congress Committee came off to-day at Delhi.

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Literary

ALL-INDIA LIBRARIES' CONFERENCE.

The first All-India Conference of Libraries met on the 4th January at the Government College Hall, Lahore, the Hon. Mr. Sharp, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, presiding. There were thirty one members present including representatives from the Libraries and Colleges of the different parts of India.

The President after welcoming those present, said in the course of his address :—

"The main subject, which as it seems to me, we have to consider is the mobilisation of India's library resources. We are often told that India is a poor country ; and there is no doubt that it is a very large country with the major centres of population often situated at great distances from one another. The seeker after truth often finds himself inevitably cut off from books—or at least from books of a particular kind—collections are inevitably concentrated in the larger centres and even every such centre cannot offer all specialist facilities. We have to consider how the student in Peshawar may have access to the wealth, say, of the Connemara Library, or how the great collections of Calcutta, the Imperial Library, the Library of the Asiatic Society or the Botanical Survey may be made available to the dwellers in various parts of India which are not provided with such works as these contain. All the same, the number of important libraries in India is not so small. There are, of libraries that are public in one sense or another, the Imperial Library, the Connemara Library, the Libraries of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Madras Literary Society. There are four or five large University Libraries and a considerable number of important College Libraries. Some of these contain large collections of scientific periodicals. Apart from that they are what might be described as "all round" libraries, not generally specialising, on the scientific side. The Scientific Libraries are those of the Geological Survey in Calcutta—Geology—the Indian Museum Library—Zoology—the Sibpur, Pusa, Cawnpur, and Dehra Dun Libraries—Botany and Forestry—the Simla and Alipur Libraries, Meteorology—the Library of the Surgeon-General, Bengal, that of the Medical College, Calcutta, and many others Medicine. There are collections of Engineering books at Roorkee, Sibpur, etc., of Agricultural in Calcutta (in the office of the Director of Agriculture) and elsewhere ; of Survey at Dehra Dun and Calcutta.

"The main object of our meeting, as I understand it, is to devise means for bringing these Libraries into touch with one another and for making the contents of one readily available to the readers of another."

On the conclusion of the address the session considered the nature of the numerous topics brought forward by the members and settled which should be discussed in full Conference and which in Committees. This done, the different Committees were formed for the discussion of the various topics on which resolutions were passed, notably some relating to "Reciprocity between Libraries" which was moved by Mr. G. A. Chapman of Calcutta. The Conference met again in full session on the following day. After the reading of papers on kindred subjects resolutions touching the principle of inter-borrowing of books between Libraries and the desirability of dividing India into a number of circles in order to afford facilities for circulation of periodicals and books and numerous other matters of allied interest were considered.

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Educational

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN BOMBAY.

Three more municipalities in the Bombay Presidency have decided to take advantage of Mr. Patel's Bill. Out of these, two are very small municipalities, Islampur and Baramati. The *Kesari* in drawing attention to this fact says that it shows that the desire for the spread of education is not restricted to any class or community, nor to any special areas, but that the desire exists all over the country.

SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND IN BURMA.

A Meeting was held at Bishop's Court, Rangoon, on January 19, under the presidency of Mr. Justice Young, to consider ways and means of raising funds for the support of a school for the blind in Burma, who number some 15,000. What is wanted is a school to serve as an adjunct to the present building. Dr. Jackson, recently appointed as clergyman in charge, has been himself totally blind since the age of three, and the chairman remarked that he was a living example of what could be done by training. He had won high honours at Oxford and had shown that a blind person could hold his own in other walks of life, he being a swimmer, an oarsman, and a skater. At the close of the meeting over Rs. 18,000 was subscribed or promised towards the starting of the building.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS.

The young citizen, says the Rt. Hon. G. W. E. Russell, must be, first and foremost, a lover of Freedom—Heaven's best gift to the individual and to society. The liberty, which Milton loved, "to know, to utter, and to argue freely"—the liberty to act in things secular and sacred, in public and in private according to one's own conviction of what is right—is the one incomparable good of life, the one priceless possession for which no earthly equivalent can be found, no conceivable boon be taken in exchange.

THE WEDDERBURN PRIZE.

Dr. P. C. Ray, C.I.E, who had been to Madras last month to deliver a series of lectures under the auspices of the Madras University has handed back to the University the honorarium paid to him for his lectures, to be instituted as a prize for proficiency in Chemistry. The prize is named after the late Sir William Wedderburn and will be awarded every year on the occasion of the University Convocation.

EDUCATION IN PUNJAB.

The Report of the Director of Public Instruction of the Punjab for the quinquennium ending March last year offers some interesting figures and observations. The programme drawn up in 1912 aimed at the establishment of 2,750 schools, but only 1,500 schools were actually established during the five years. The total educational expenditure for the year 1916-17 was Rs. 109 lakhs corresponding to Rs. 69 lakhs in 1911-12. The total number of students of all classes numbered 477,000 as against 381,000 and the number of institutions increased from 7,400, to 9,400. The number of primary schools for boys and girls increased from 3,417 with an attendance of 179,410 pupils at the end of 1912, to 4,913 with 245,628 pupils at the end of 1917. For every ten villages in the Punjab there was a school five years ago, but now there is one for every seven villages. The Director points out that "the average duration of school life is less than 4 years, and more than half the total number of pupils at school are in the two lowest classes. A year or two of a child's life spent in an infant class with children in varying stages of progress can have no lasting effect on the mind. Not only so but it discredits education in rural areas." The Government suggest that an increased staff and improved methods are the remedies, but they also point out that "before we force people to accept our gift, we should satisfy ourselves that the gift is one that they can turn to good account".

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Legal

THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

In recording the elevation of Mr. Justice Darling as a Privy Councillor on December 21, the *Daily Chronicle* observes :—The office is old and honourable, and the Council has made important history during many centuries. Its Judicial Committee is the final Court of appeal for the Empire. That Committee decides questions which the Dominions themselves cannot settle ; but its attention is called to strange minute affairs in India whose coming to England for trial is a mystery to the man in the street—the ownership of a field, the ownership of a baby claimed by two Indian mothers. At home the Privy Council has done great things and strange things. It abolished the curse of army purchase : it decreed the blood-red profits painted upon stricken houses in the Plague ; it has even sent a needy scholar to a university and a fellowship.

A CHARGE AGAINST THE BURMA BAR.

Some remarks in the recent judgment of the Senior Magistrate of Mandalay in awarding four years' rigorous imprisonment on a charge under Section 326, I. C. P., to a Mandalay Burman have aroused the indignation of the Mandalay Bar, and four well-known Burman Barristers in Mandalay have promptly lodged an appeal for the appellant against this judgment, in the course of which they ask that these remarks be expunged as uncalled for and irksome. The chief remark to which exception is taken is as follows :—" The defence is the usual ready-made collection of perjury with which my friends of the Bar see fit to beguile the tedium of my afternoons in Court. I wonder if it ever occurs to these gentlemen what a lot of harm a stupid defence may do their clients, quite apart from the extra time they have to spend in jail before sentence is passed."

ANGLO-INDIAN LAW.

Presiding at the Rhodes Lecture at the University College by Sir John Jardine on "The Building up of a Corpus Juris in British India," Lord Islington said that a broad survey of law-making in India during the century and half in which Britain had been closely connected with India showed that there had been a genuine desire not to interfere with the customs and personal laws of the people of India. British administrators had treated with scrupulous care Indian usage and custom. Law and practice in many vital respects have remained undisturbed as they had been handed down through centuries. He paid a tribute to the ability and probity of the long list of lawyers and judges to whom the system of Anglo-Indian law was due.

Sir John Jardine emphasised that statesmen should only with great consideration modify the laws of India, which had grown from old customs many of which were based on religion.

THE LATE SIR C. M. GHOSE.

The death of Sir Chandra Madhab Ghose, Kt., retired judge of the Calcutta High Court, last month, removes one of the oldest Indian Judges. Born in 1838, he was educated at the Hindu and Presidency Colleges and passed the law examination at the age of 22. He rapidly rose in his profession and commanded a leading place at the Calcutta Bar. He was law lecturer for some time and among his students then were Sir Gooroo Das Banerjee and Sir Rashbehari Ghose. In 1885 he was raised to the bench of the High Court. He officiated as Chief Justice in 1906 and retired in the same year. He had also been a member of the Bengal Council and President of the Faculty of Law of the Calcutta University. He was elected President of the Indian Social Conference in 1906. The deceased was 80 at the time of his death.

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Medical

DR. ROW ON MEDICAL WORK.

In concluding his presidential address to the recent All-India Medical Conference at Calcutta, Dr. Row of Bombay said :—

There is only one more matter which I might refer to here and that is to study carefully how the medical profession in Great Britain and Ireland has built up its own reputation and the prestige it enjoys to-day. Is it by Government support or favour of State concessions? The conditions in the two countries, I admit, are entirely different especially with regard to the attitude of the public to the medical profession. This is why the medical profession in India has a greater up-hill task before them, because it will be imperative for us in our own interest not only to do the self-sacrifice required for the professional work but undertake a propagandist work not by so much precept as by example and actual work done, with the hope of enlightening the public and awakening them to the sense of responsibility towards their fellow-men. Once we bound ourselves as enthusiastic and earnest workers, it does not seem to be a difficult task to work out a scheme of *modus operandi*. All one has to do is to impose on each one of ourselves a graduated tax and thereby collect a fund which can be utilised by the central body and distributed according to the contribution of each focus, for (1) founding small medical institutions and (2) to finance the pioneer workers with at least a minimum living allowance. Once such institutions are broadcast, they will not only be soon self-supporting, but will contribute to the popularity of the workers who will establish for themselves a reputation and even a good income for themselves when they once make their usefulness felt, and thereby also increase income for the central body. The details of such a scheme can be left to the committees, local as well as general, and a regular organised effort should be undertaken. Should these suggestions I have put forward commend themselves to this Conference, we need have no cause to fear or regret for this opportunity which is quite now in our own grasp, quickly slipping from our hands and mourn that some one else had done the work of "exploitation" in a sphere of work which is our own, and where labours of love can be achieved by us as by anybody else, independently of any extraneous aid, to the lasting benefits for the profession and the country in general.

ANTI-MALARIAL CAMPAIGN IN BENGAL.

At the end of January a very important Conference was held in Calcutta, when the members of the District Boards of Nadia, Jessore and the 24 Parganas met, at the invitation of Lord Ronaldshay, to consider some questions regarding the anti-malarial campaign which His Excellency proposes to inaugurate in those districts. There were also present some Zamindars. His Excellency dwelt on the acute danger of malaria which was sapping the vitality of the people with almost fiendish relentlessness. Even the Bengal Census Report of 1911 mentioned this as one of the main causes of the poverty of the people. Lord Ronaldshay mentions the 'Magra Hat' undertaking, where the drainage scheme has resulted in a wonderful prosperity. The land thus reclaimed has proved to be remarkably fertile and has yielded an outturn of crops worth almost Rs. 46½ lakhs, i.e., more than twice the amount spent on it. The three schemes now proposed would mean an expense of almost Rs. 19¾ lakhs, out of which the Government is prepared to contribute Rs. 4¼ lakhs. The District Boards will have to find the rest of the money, and it was in order to induce the Boards so to co-operate with the Government that H. E. the Governor of Bengal called them to this Conference.

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Science

THE CHEMISTS' CONFERENCE.

The Chemists' Conference assembled at Lahore on Tuesday the 15th January with Sir Thomas Holland, President of the Indian Munitions Board in the chair. Sir Thomas put in a strong plea for the organization of chemical research in India especially in its bearing on the utilisation of raw materials in this country. The main portion of his speech on this subject appears in another page (112.) Sir Thomas pointed out that the war has shown the necessity for every country to be self-contained and that the chemist is a more dangerous fighter than either the gunner or the cavalryman. He then alluded to the work of the German chemists in the war and concluded by urging that research work should be organised and carried out on broad and efficient lines in India.

THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS.

The fifth session of the Indian Science Congress was held in the Town Hall, Lahore, on Wednesday the 9th January. Over three hundred delegates from various parts of India were present. His Honour Sir Michael O'Dweyer opened the session with a short speech welcoming the delegates on behalf of the people of the Punjab. Dr. Gilbert T. Walker, C.S.I., M.A., F.R.S., then delivered his presidential address which was illustrated with lantern slides. The president began with a reference to Sir Denzil Ibbertson "the only member of the Imperial Executive Council during the past twenty years with a scientific training." He then referred to the loss sustained by the Congress by the death of Dr. E. G. Hill and Prof. J. H. Barnes since they met last, and proceeded to discuss some features in the teaching of science which we reproduce on page 151. The president went on to observe that the initial cost of efficient equipment in research work would be more than compensated by the splendid results that would follow this experiment.

"It would be idle to contend that the initial cost of efficency will not be large; but the importance of the issue is enormous, and there can be no doubt that the expenditure would ultimately be remunerative. Let us consider wheat-growing as an example. Before the war an acre of wheat in England yielded about twenty-three maunds, but in India about eight maunds. In view of recent research work, however, it would appear not impossible to improve the Indian yield by two maunds an acre after which it would still not be half what is obtained in England."

The improvement of sugar and the revenues from forests afford further proofs of the need and value of scientific training and research work. Dr. Walker then spoke at some length on the prevalence of fever and malaria and urged that more attention should be paid to statistical methods.

"In conclusion I would urge on those of you who have any control over the collection of statistics to exercise all the care within your power in order to secure accuracy, and so by laying up invaluable materials for their use to deserve the gratitude of posterity."

On the conclusion of the President's address the Congress broke into sections with different presidents. The Congress came to a close on Saturday the 12th. The public functions of the Congress included a lecture by Major Norman White, Officiating Sanitary Commissioner to the Government of India, on "Some little living things: parasitism and disease," illustrated with cinematograph films. Major Hutchison and the officers of the Royal Flying Corps gave an interesting aviation display followed by a lecture on aviation by Lieutenant-Colonel Griffiths. The last day's functions included a garden party at Government House to meet the delegates, followed by a lecture on the same evening by Dr. D. N. Mullick, of the Calcutta University, on the planetary system, ancient and modern.

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Personal

THE HON. MR. V. S. SRINIVASA SHASTRI.

The Bombay correspondent of *Capital* (5th January 18) writes :—

It is generally admitted by the official member of the gilded chamber that the non-official members who represent the Bombay Presidency are far and away from the soundest students of political science in the popular party; they are always worth listening to; Mr. Shastri, for instance, enjoys a reputation similar to that long possessed in the House of Commons by Mr. Tim Healy. When he begins to speak everybody, who had fled from the Chamber to escape some bore, returns at once and remains to the end of the speech. I have heard a European critic declare that Mr. Shastri combines the pungency of Mr. Joe Chamberlain with the graceful suavity of Lord Roseberry. Then we have the torrential Wacha, whose declamation is packed with facts, strong as Holy Writ; the shrewd Rahimtula; the reliable and self-reliant Fasulbhoy; and the collected Malcolm Hogg.

THE LATE SIR SUNDERLAL.

The Hon'ble Sir Sunder Lal, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, and the leader of the Allahabad Bar, died on the 13th instant after a brief illness, at the age of 60, from heart disease. Sir Sunder Lal was one of the oldest Congressmen, having been Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Allahabad Congress of 1910, when he had the honour of welcoming Sir William Wedderburn. He was respected both by the Government and the people. Sir Sunder Lal was very popular with all classes and his death is widely mourned throughout the country. In his death the Hindu University of which he was the Vice-Chancellor has sustained an irreparable loss. Sir Sunder Lal has two brothers, Pundit Baldeo Ram Dave, Vakil, and Pundit Kanhya Lal, Additional Judicial Commissioner, Oudh.

MR. GANDHI ON THE SITUATION IN KAIRA.

Speaking at a largely attended public meeting at Bombay on Febuary 5, Mr. M. K. Gandhi explained the present situation in the Kaira District which had been the subject of a press note recently issued by the Bombay Government. Mr. Gandhi said that the responsibility of the notice isssued by the Gujrat Sabha of Ahmedabad was his; and nobody expected that the Government would misinterpret the objects of the notice. The Gujrat Sabha had sufficient proof of the plight of the people in the Kaira District and that the people were even obliged to sell their cattle to pay taxes, and the notice was issued to console those suffering from hardships. The Sabha's request was to suspend the collection of dues till negotiations were over. If the Commissioner of the Division had not been angry with the deputation and had talked to them politely, such crises would not have happened. He fully expected that the deputation which would wait on the Governor would be able to explain the situation to His Excellency and the people's cause would succeed in the end. Public men had every right to advise the people of their rights. He trusted that those who had given the people the right advice would stand by them and would not hesitate to undergo hardships in order to secure justice. Mr. Gandhi continued :—

The first and last principle of passive resistance is that we should not inflict hardships on others but put up with them ourselves in order to get justice, and the Government need not fear anything if we make up our mind as we are bent on getting sheer justice from it and nothing else. We can have two weapons on occasions like this :—revolt or passive resistance, and my request is for the second remedy always. In order to remove distress through which the Gujrat people are passing, it is my firm conviction that if we tell the truth to the Government, it will ultimately be convinced and if we are firm in our resolve, the Kaira District people shall suffer wrongs no more.

The Chairman (Mr. Jamnadas Dwarakdas) then exhorted the merchants to contribute Rs. 25,000 needed for opening grain shops in the District, and announced that Rs. 10,000 has already been collected.

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Political

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

Mr. Lionel Curtis writes:—

Communal representation, as I understand it, means that Hindus and Moslems are to vote in separate constituencies, in such manner that a Moslem voter must vote for a Moslem candidate. He may not vote for one of any other religion; and the same applies to any other community to which communal representation is accorded. Moslems will thus learn to depend on an artificial protection, instead of facing the real source of their weakness, their relative backwardness in education. It is like keeping in irons a weak but healthy limb, which only needs exercise to recover its strength.

The concession of this principle when electoral institutions were inaugurated a few years ago, is the greatest blunder ever committed by the British Government in India. I believe that, if this principle is perpetuated, we shall have saddled India with a new system of caste which will eat every year more deeply into her life. So long as it remains, India will never attain to the unity of Nationhood. The longer it remains, the more difficult will it be to uproot, till in the end it will only be eradicated at the cost of civil war. To enable India to achieve Nationhood, is the trust laid on us; and in conceding the establishment of communal representation we have, I hold, been false to that trust.

The system has eaten into the life of this people so deeply that, already, it is not possible to abolish at one stroke what might have been refused a few years ago. But I feel that we shall be guilty of an unpardonable crime against India if we fail now to make provision whereby these fetters, in which we have allowed her to bind herself, can be loosed.

The experience of America, in the matter of slavery, may help to a solution. When the constitution was framed, it was laid down that the importation of more slaves from Africa was to cease in a particular year; I think in 1808. And the slave trade ceased in that year. But the courage of the convention failed them in the matter of slavery itself; and no time was fixed after which slavery should cease to stain the soil of America. The result was that eighty years later slavery was abolished, but only by drenching that soil with the blood of a million men.

I plead this precedent for a definite time-limit, to be set in the matter of communal representation. India is tied and bound by the chain of her past. Our first duty is to help her to break that chain instead of allowing one generation to rivet it more firmly than ever on those who come after. The least we can do is to fix a time-limit after which any arrangement now made for communal representation shall expire. Then we may hope that, meanwhile, the people of India may have learned such trust in each other that minorities will not insist on a system fatal to the development of all national life.

These, I know, are hard sayings for the Moslem community; yet "faithful are the wounds of a friend." Things there are bitter in the mouth, that chewed, swallowed and digested are sweet in the belly.

APPOINTMENT OF ASSISTANT ENGINEERS.

The following Press *Communique*, dated the 6th February, Delhi, says:—

The Secretary of State for India in Council has decided under the existing conditions not to appoint any Europeans as assistant engineers in the Indian Public Works and State Railways Departments in 1918. Applications for appointments will, however, be accepted from the Natives of India. They should be submitted on the prescribed form and addressed to the Secretary, Public Works Department, India Office, London, in time to reach him by the 31st March next.

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General

THE ALL-INDIA HINDU SABHA.

The fourth session of the All-India Hindu Sabha met at Allahabad on the 9th January, with His Holiness the Jagatguru Sri Sankaracharya of Karvir Peeth, (formerly Dr. Shri Maha Bhagavat, Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.A.S., etc.) There was a large gathering of learned pundits and the proceedings commenced with the singing of devotional songs by Pundit V. A. Kashalkar, Professor of Music in the Kayestha Pathshala. The Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi of Kassimbazar who welcomed the delegates made a lengthy speech describing the evolution of the Hindu people and the development of the system of caste. He eulogised the freedom and heroism and learning and piety displayed by women in ancient India, traced the growth of caste and the true meaning and import of that system (see page 149). and concluded :—

"Let us not interpret Hinduism in the light of its modern exegists and exponents, and let us not deceive ourselves into thinking that Hindu ideas are not capable of improvement and development. We must realize the fact that so long as we do not take care to interpret at every step the great truths of our philosophy in terms of our social and national life, there is no hope of our again occupying a place in the sun. I appeal to you, gentlemen, from the very bottom of my heart, to do your very best to resuscitate the best precepts of Hindu culture and to put them into practice every day of your life, to preach what you practise and practise what you preach, to have the old Hindu ideals always before your mind's eyes and to take courage in both hands to translate them in your life and conduct."

Pundit Deva Ratan Sharma then gave the substance of the speech in Hindi. The Hon. Lala Sukhbir Singh then having proposed the Jagatguru to the chair, the latter made an eloquent address in Sanskrit which was listened to with much respect.

He exhorted all Hindus to do all they could to uplift the Vedic *Dharma* which inculcated adherence to truth and *dharma*, (*Satyam vada, dharmam chara*). He regretted the neglect into which Sanskrit had fallen, but did not agree with those who called it a dead language. In his opinion it was not dead ; rather it was life-giving. He was not an opponent of the English language. On the other hand, he had a great regard for it. But what he urged was that proceedings of religious gatherings should be conducted in Sanskrit. He hoped that Hindu religion and language would again rise as a man wakes up after sleep.

Urged to speak in English, His Holiness said that they were gathered together to find means for guarding the ancient ideals and for preserving the unity of the Hindus.

Speaking of current events his Holiness said that the whole world was marching towards democratic ideas and no Government, no systems of repression could stop it. The attacks made the march swifter and more dangerous. His Holiness in conclusion dwelt at length on the resolutions on the agenda and showed how Hindu society could again be elevated.

Several resolutions were adopted, including one on loyalty to the Crown and success of British arms and another in connection with the recent Hindu-Muhammadan riots, calling upon Muslim and Hindu leaders to impress upon their respective communities the paramount necessity of respecting the religious feelings of their neighbours and of promoting a spirit of fellow-feeling and mutual regard and to exhort them to respect the agreement mutually entered into and requesting the authorities to work in full co-operation with the representatives of both communities.

The session concluded on the 14th January.

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

PUBLISHED ABOUT THE THIRD WEEK OF EVERY MONTH.

EDITED BY G. A. NATESAN.

Vol. XVII. MARCH, 1916. No. 3.

FAREWELL TO LORD HARDINGE

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

IN bidding farewell to the Members of the Imperial Legislative Council at the last meeting, over which he presided a few days ago, Lord Hardinge gave touching expression "to the pang of regret," with which he had to say good-bye to the representatives of the people who had co-operated with him during the past five years and more. How deep should be the pang to the princes and people of India, who had found in Lord Hardinge an administrator of no mean order and, above all, a genuine Englishman who strove his best to make India realise that England ruled India not for her own aggrandizement but for fulfilling the nobler and higher purpose of her mission in this country! Lord Curzon who left to his immediate successor, Lord Minto, and after him to Lord Hardinge, a great legacy of discontent in this country, in one of his brilliant rhetorical performances uttered the remarkable sentence: "You will never rule the East except through the heart." Curiously enough the Proconsul who gave expression to this fine sentiment never realised it in practice, and instead of winning the affections of the people only alienated their sympathies and infuriated the disaffected. It was left to Lord Minto—blessed be his memory—to sooth aud allay this discontent, and by wise and timely measures assure the people of India that the policy of trust and confidence in the people would be pursued without any further interruption and that the legitimate demands and aspirations of the people would be respected and encouraged. In a speech made in London soon after the announcement of his appointment as Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge assured his hearers that he would "watch over with utmost care and vigilance and do his utmost to consolidate the beneficent and far-reaching scheme of reforms introduced by Lords Morley and Minto for associating the people of India more closely with the management of their own affairs." He rightly at the same time added that he would "strain every nerve to conciliate all races, classes and creeds." It is now nearly six years since the Viceroy gave public utterance to these memorable words. Princes of the country and people of all classes, castes, and creeds can now with one voice acclaim that Lord Hardinge has proved true to every one of his promises, indeed has gone further than many of his predecessors to redeem them. The whole country acclaims to Lord Hardinge a high and honoured place in the rôle of the few Viceroys, who have writ their names large in the history of British rule in India. The truth is, to adapt the language of the great Christian soldier, General Gordon, Lord Hardinge tried to get into the skins of our people, strove strenuously to realise their feelings and understand their aims and aspirations.

The high mission of England in India has long been recognized by a succession of liberal statesmen. Macaulay's well-known vision of a renovated India is a commonplace with many of us. John Bright echoed again the same sentiments and confirmed the liberal prognostications of Macaulay. Speaking at Manchester, John Bright said:—

I believe that it is our duty not only to govern India well now for our sakes and to satisfy our own

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conscience, but so to arrange our government and so to administer it that we should look forward to the time when India will have to take up her own government and administer it in her own fashion. I say he is no statesman—he is no man actuated with a high moral sense with regard to one great and terrible moral responsibility—who is not willing thus to look ahead and thus to prepare for circumstances which may come sooner than we think and sooner than any of us hope for, but which must come at some not very distant date.

Lord Ripon, one of the greatest and noblest of Indian Viceroys, in reply to an address presented to him on the eve of his departure from the country, gave expression to a similar sentiment :—

If England is to fulfil the mighty task which God has laid upon her and to interpret rightly the wondrous story of her Indian Empire, she must bend her untiring energies and her iron will to raise in the scale of nations the people entrusted to her care, to impart to them gradually more and more the richest gifts which she herself enjoys and to rule them not for her own aggrandisement nor yet for the mere profit of her own people, but with a constant and unwearied endeavour to promote their highest good.

Lord Hardinge has been truly following the footsteps of his illustrious and honoured predecessor, and no wonder that he stands to-day in the affection and esteem of the people of India on the same level as Lord Ripon. Lord Hardinge has honestly endeavoured, to use the famous expression of Lord Morley, to apply "the spirit, the temper, the principles and the maxims of British institutions" in this country. It is difficult to mention even in brief the many acts of Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty, which have won for him the affection of millions of His Majesty's subjects. With the sanction of His Majesty the King Emperor and Secretary of State for India, he undid by one masterstroke of statesmanship the mischief and the injury done by the Partition of Bengal. He had also the courage to give expression in a public document as to what should be the policy of British rule in this country. We can never forget the significant passage in the momentous despatch of 1911, in which Lord Hardinge laid down that "in course of time, the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country will have to be satisfied and that the only solution would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of Self-Government until at last India would consist of a number of administrations autonomous in all provincial affairs with the Government of India above them all." But not only did the Viceroy say it in his despatch but in his last utterance he has repeated it emphatically and given it full meaning, notwithstanding attempts made in high quarters to whittle it away. Throughout his Viceroyalty he has tried his best, subject to the limitations of his office, to secure for India "a just and proud place in the Empire."

It is now an open secret that it was Lord Hardinge who was mainly instrumental in urging upon the authorities at Home the advisability and the necessity of giving opportunities to the Indian troops to "fight the common foe side by side with sons of Great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand." We can certainly look back with pride upon the brilliant achievements of the Indian troops in the battlefields of Europe. Lord Crewe was right when he declared : "that it would be a disappointment to our loyal Indian fellow-subjects if they found themselves debarred for any reason from taking part in the campaign on the continent of Europe." His Lordship went on to say : "We shall find our army re-inforced by soldiers, high-souled men of first rate training and representing an ancient civilization." That was the spirit in which the Secretary of State took up the decision of Lord Hardinge, who, in despatching the Indian troops, believed that "there is nothing like comradeship in arms before the enemy and joint participation in the dangers and hardships of war to level all distinctions, to inspire mutual respect and to foster friendship." "I cannot help feeling," continued His Lordship, "that as a consequence better relations will be promoted amongst the component parts of the British Empire, many misunderstandings removed, and outstanding grievances will be settled in an amicable and generous manner."

Witness again his brave efforts to bring about an amicable settlement of the South African Indian question and his labours in connection with the problem of immigration to Canada and other parts of the Empire on the basis of "mutual reciprocity." Indeed, the problem of indentured labour has for some time past elicited his most anxious care, and his courageous utterances and solicitous actions on behalf of the Indian emigrants are too well known to be repeated. But no half measures on this obnoxious question would satisfy the Indian public. Accordingly, to the infinite rejoicing of the country, when at a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, on March 20, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved a Resolution for the abolition of the system of Indentured Labour, His Excellency on behalf of the Government of India and with the sanction of the Secretary of State announced his

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decision to accept the motion which, to quote his own words, would pave the way for the "eventual abolition" of the Indentured System. This crowning act of his is not the least of his title to the gratitude of India, and his speech on this occasion is a fitting commentary on his enlightened and sympathetic administration :—

No one who knows anything of Indian sentiment can remain ignorant of the deep and genuine disgust to which the continuance of the indentured system has given rise. Educated Indians look on it, they tell us, as a badge of helotry. This is soon to be removed for ever, and is a source of deep personal satisfaction to myself that one of the last official acts that I shall perform in this country is to tell you that I have been able to do something to ensure that Indians, who desire to work as labourers in the tropical colonies, may do so under happier conditions and to obtain from His Majesty's Government the promise of the abolition in due course of a system which educated opinion in India has for long regarded as a stigma on their race.

Almost every province in India has reason to be thankful to Lord Hardinge. During his time the Central Provinces and Assam have been given Legislative Councils and in addition to the Executive Council, Behar has had a Legislative Council with an elected majority, a High Court and a University. We know Lord Hardinge's earnest attempts to create an Executive Council in the United Provinces and a High Court for Punjab, and we know it too that he has set his heart upon obtaining these for them. Lord Hardinge's recognition of the growing demands of Education and Sanitation has been proved by the large outlays on these heads during his time. His Excellency has declared himself over and over again and given the proof of his great faith in the effects of higher education and on the need for more Universities in this country :—

I share the view of those thoughtful Indian gentlemen who see in *the action of the new Universities the greatest of boons which the Government can give India, namely, the diffusion of higher education.*

It is the declared policy of the Government of India to do all within their power and within their means to multiply the number of Universities throughout India realising, as we do, that the greatest boon the Government can give to India is the diffusion of higher education through the creation of new Universities. Many, many more are needed, but the new Universities to be established at Dacca, Benares, and Bankipore, soon to be followed, I hope, by Universities in Burma and Central Provinces, may be regarded as stepts taken in the right direction.

But it is not so much the nature of the particular acts of his administration as the outstanding feature of his Viceroyalty that is of special note. Lord Hardinge never flouted public opinion like some of his predecessors but always paid the utmost regard to the opinions of the people's representatives though often inviting on his head the wrath of a section of the Anglo-Indian Press. Occasions there have been when the popular representatives and the Government of India have been unable to see eye to eye on many questions of policy and administration. But it has been a matter for congratulation that the relations between the Viceroy and the people's representatives have been throughout most cordial.

Every one who has come in contact with Lord Hardinge bears testimony to his serene temper, his charming manners and to his coolness and resourcefulness in success as well as in difficulties. But the supreme virtue of forbearance and forgiveness he showed when, a few days after the dastardly attempt on his life and on that of his beloved consort, at Delhi, he declared in no faltering accents that "the incident will in no sense influence his attitude." His attitude recalls the historic words spoken on *Calvary*.

In bringing to a close his last Council Meeting, His Lordship gracefully acknowleged that from experience gained in different parts of the world, he was in a position to say that the Imperial Legislative Council is "second to none in the dignity of its proceedings and the good feeling that animates its members." And his farewell is particularly touching :—

I am the second of my family to hold the highest office under the Crown, and I love India with an inherited love, increased manifold by personal experience of the sterling qualities, the kindness and the sympathy of the people of India. I can honestly say that I have given of my best for India, and that she will never be absent from my heart and my thoughts. I shall continually pray that the peoples of India may be blessed in all those things that make life brighter and better worth living.

India can only say, in reply, in the words of the All-India Address presented to him, at Delhi, on the 25th March :—

We salute you as the greatest Viceroy since the days of Lord Ripon. We recall with grief the terrible ordeals you have passed through in the performance of your arduous duties. The quick and deep sympathy of a nation followed Your Excellency in those troubles and tribulations. While we feel assured that you will continue to take an abiding interest in the people of this ancient land whom you have loved and served so well, we deeply regret that you are leaving us and that Your Excellency's official connection with India, which will form such a bright chapter in her history, will soon cease. May your days be long and prosperous, and may the Giver of All Good shower upon you and yours His choicest blessings.

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INDIAN FINANCE IN WAR TIME

BY PROF. K. T. SHAH.

The main features of the Financial Statement for 1916-17 are :—

New taxation to meet an estimated deficit in 1915-16 of over £2 millions in the Imperial, as distinguished from the Provincial, revenues.

The new taxation takes the form of :—

(1) Increase of income-tax to :—

Six pies on incomes of Rs. 5,000 a year.

Eight pies in the rupee on incomes from Rs. 10,000 a year.

One anna in the rupee on incomes of Rs. 25,000 and over.

Increased income tax falls on only 57,000 persons.

(2) Increase of customs duties both by steepening the rate and by shortening the free list.

Grain, printing and other machinery, and railway material will henceforth pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. instead of being free.

Arms and ammunition will pay 20 per cent. *ad valorem* instead of 10 per cent.

Spirit and wine duties are increased, as also those on cigars and cigarettes.

The Government of India have not touched the cotton duties, in deference to the British Government, who desire to avoid fiscal controversy.

An export duty of Rs. $2\frac{1}{4}$ per bale is imposed on jute and an export duty of Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ per 100 lbs. on tea.

The salt tax is raised to Rs. $1\frac{1}{4}$ (from Re. 1) per maund.

Six pies in the rupee (instead of five pies) on incomes over Rs. 5,000 but under Rs. 10,000.

The total gain in revenue from all increased taxation will be :—

£2,150,000 from customs and liquor duties.

£600,000 from salt.

£900,000 from income-tax.

EVEN in normal times the finances in this country are a very fruitful source of anxiety to the minister in charge. It is impossible to make any accurate forecast when the most important source of public revenues are dependent on the annual rainfall, so that budgetting in India may very fitly be described as a "gamble in rain and railways." When war conditions supervened those already existing, the uncertainty of our finances became doubly alarming. For the peculiar trend of our recent development has resulted in reducing our old-world self-sufficiency and made us increasingly dependent on the outside world. Our artificial currency system has made our money-markets sensitive to every foreign influence. Our national prosperity has become indissolubly connected with foreign trade, and that trade is with the whole world, and the exports particularly to the continent of Europe. Little wonder then that every branch of finance was affected by the War.

And yet the direct effects of the War were comparatively insignificant. But for a slight spell of terror due to the ravages of the German cruiser *Emden*, the dislocation in trade was very little. True, the trade with the enemy countries was entirely cut off, and the unusually large stock of piece-goods in the country foreshadowed a depression in that important branch of trade. But as against these, there was a plentiful—an exceptionally good—harvest. The Treasury balances were a million and a half sterling in advance of the estimated figures at the date of the War. The five crore loan in India had proved a great success. Under the circumstances, then, it may be said that the economic and financial conditions were by no means dispiriting at the

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outbreak of the War. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the unbroken peace of two generations or more had made the Government in this country, as in every other part of the British Empire, out of touch with war conditions, and our estimates of the cost as well as the duration of the War were sadly inadequate.

Even before the first War Budget was introduced in the Council, steps had to be taken to safeguard the peculiar artificial currency system of India. The first shock of war was felt by the rupee as was inevitable. Government decided—and they announced this decision very soon after the declaration of hostilities—to sell a million sterling every week in London to maintain the Exchange value of the rupee. This measure at once tranquilised the market. The total amount of the bills thus sold did not exceed £9,000,000. But this was not all. The stock of gold must be preserved if the whole structure of credit were not allowed to break down. There was an appreciable panic in the first weeks of the War. Rupees and currency notes were withdrawn to be exchanged for gold. The English pound sterling reached a premium not known since the currency legislation at the end of the last century. A million and three quarters was withdrawn before the Government stepped in and refused to issue gold altogether to private persons. As if frightened by this action of the Government, people rushed to withdraw their Savings Banks deposits, and to change the currency notes for coin. The total withdrawals from the Post Office Savings Banks amounted to Rs. 10 crores and a half. As these deposits represented the unfunded debt, Government had to meet it by an equivalent loan from the Gold Standard Reserve. And as regards the rush to change the notes for cash, Government followed the excellent banking adage and gave every facility to the impatient holder of notes for encashment. By this policy the total note circulation was reduced by only Rs. 7 crores. Government paper depreciated only by $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and when we consider the high value it had reached before the outbreak of the War, the depreciation is insignificant. First class securities remained practically unaffected, and the Bank rate fluctuated between 5 and 6 per cent. On the whole, then, in spite of the dislocation of the internal trade due to the timidity of the Marwaries, in spite of the cessation of the greater part of the export trade due to the exclusion of vast regions from the Indian markets, India was able to weather the storm with relative ease. No Moratorium had to be declared; no special emergency legislation was needed; no considerable interference with trade and industry by the Government was required. India had not the same stress put upon her as was the case in the United Kingdom; but neither had India the same dislocation of trade and industry, the same shock to credit, as the United Kingdom.

This was the situation at the outbreak of the War. By the time that the First Budget of the War was ready, the conditions had appreciably altered. During eight months of war, the Government had passed the most dangerous stage of the War. They began to settle down to War conditions. They realised the unusual character of this War. But still the hope of its speedy termination was not given up; and estimates were prepared in those hopes.

The outstanding feature of the First War Budget was that in spite of a large deficit of £3,833 millions *no new taxation was levied.*

We do not propose, said the Finance Minister, on this occasion to raise any money by increased taxation. We should not hesitate to do so to meet a deficiency in revenue which promised to be more or less of an abiding character. But the present circumstances are altogether peculiar. We know that ordinarily we can count on surpluses. India too has a very small unproductive debt; and with trade conditions depressed, and the present abnormal rise in food prices, we have come to the conclusion that we ought not to add to the existing taxation unless it is absolutely necessary.

Including the capital account, *i.e.*, the loans incurred every year for productive works, and a further possible drain upon the Post Office Savings Banks deposits, the total liabilities came to about $14\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. There were besides pending obligations amounting to 14 millions. The whole of this was proposed to be met by borrowing. The loan of £7 millions from the Gold Standard Reserve was left outstanding; and so also the Secretary of State's £7 million India bills were renewed. The rest was proposed to be met by permanent and temporary borrowing as follows:—

		£
From balances	...	4,500,000
Rupee loan	...	3,000,000
Sterling loan	...	6,500,000
Famine insurance, &c.	...	400,000
Total	...	14,400,000

It is one of the well-known maxims of sound finance that all non-recurring, unproductive, unforeseen expenditure should be met out of borrowing, provided steps are taken to redeem

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the debt thus incurred in a definite period. The policy of the Government of India is thus so far beyond cavil. True, this estimate of theirs was based on the expectation that the War would be over by the end of the year, and to the extent that this estimate has been proved inaccurate, their policy may be considered to be open to criticism. But in this mistaken estimate of the duration of the War, the blame does not lie on the Government of this country. They took their cue from the Home Government, who were in this respect more to blame than any of the other Governments in the Empire. And in their borrowing the Government of India adopted much sounder principles than those which the British Government adopted in theirs at least at first. The Rupee loan was, it is true, raised at a slightly higher rate of interest, *i.e.*, 4 per cent. as against the old 3½ per cent. But it was made redeemable by 1923, and the whole of it was underwritten by the Presidency Banks. The total subscriptions were 60 per cent. more than the amount of the loan. Besides an effort was made to enlist the sympathies of the small investor by offering special facilities through the Post Office, and nearly Rs. 50 lakhs were raised by that means, a lesson which the Home Government copied in their next great loan.

(2) As the War went on, the need for still greater caution became still more evident. Besides the curtailment in the usual borrowing programme, *rigid economy was exercised on all sides except the Military.* The Provincial Governments were instructed to restrict their expenditure in every possible way. The policy of reducing expenditure does not commend itself always to the spending departments, especially in a country like this. However unfashionable that policy might have become, one cannot deny that for a poor country at least it is the only sound policy; and we would not be the poorer for a closer attention to it even in normal times.

The War, however, went on beyond the calculations of the Government, and the Second War Budget had to be prepared on entirely different principles. The conditions were no longer the same. The first shock of War was over, and with it had disappeared the rush on the Savings Banks deposits and the frenzied demand for the encashment of currency notes while the deposits have remained practically at the same figure at which they stood in the last Budget, the notes in circulation now amount to Rs. 54 crores. On the other hand, the monsoon has been very poor, and trade continues to be depressed on account of the same reasons. Scarcity in shipping and dearness of freight have added to the effects produced by the closure of the ordinary channels and special restrictions on trade. In spite of some improvement in revenues over the Budget estimates, which has reduced the budgetted deficit from 3·8 million to 2·7 million pounds, there is still a heavy deficit to face. On the present basis of taxation the total revenue for 1916-17 is estimated at £82·5 millions and the total expenditure at £85·5 millions. There is thus a net deficit of £3,000,000, of which £400,000, the provincial deficit, is to be met out of the provincial balances.

The War continues, said the Finance Minister, and we cannot go on year after year with uncovered deficits. We consider it essential in the present uncertain outlook to increase our revenue resources to make good the anticipated Imperial deficit of the coming year and also to supply a substantial surplus.

Before, however, we consider the new taxation, we must offer some general remarks. The Budget cuts down the capital account in a fairly drastic manner. Including the £2 millions for the discharge of debt, it is brought down to £6·6 millions as against the £14 millions of 1915-16 Budget (subsequently reduced). The Railways, for instance, get £3 millions as against the £4·9 millions of the revised estimates of 1915-16, and the Budget estimate of £8 millions for the same year. This year there is to be no sterling borrowing, but a Rupee loan will be raised to the extent of 6½ crores. By this means and the adjustments in taxation there is expected a surplus of nearly a million. Now the first question is:—

(1) It may not unreasonably be questioned whether there is any great likelihood of such a deficit as is budgetted for. The estimates of revenues are admittedly very cautious. Even apart from the possibility of the termination of the War (which cannot last for ever) an abundant rainfall and a fairly normal war trade could easily convert the anticipated deficit into a surplus. Such things have not been unknown in the past in Indian finance.

(2) Assuming that there would be a deficit if the existing basis of taxation were retained, would it not be possible to meet the deficit by borrowing? This is admittedly an unusual demand not likely to continue after the War, and it has always been recognised as a sound maxim in public finance to meet all such unusual demands by borrowing. Even supposing that there is no

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further room for reduction in the capital account, the experience of last year would seem to show that the Government could easily raise in this country alone the small deficit likely to occur. It is true we are cut off from borrowing in the London market, and it is generally believed that there is only a limited scope for borrowing in India. But the ease with which the £3 million loan was floated and over-subscribed last year would warrant the belief that there is a much greater field for borrowing in India than is generally believed. And even admitting that there is not an unlimited field for loans in this country, we have ample cash balances to meet such deficit as might still occur after the Government had borrowed all that it conveniently could.

(3) Granting that the deficits were inevitable and that borrowing was either impossible or inadvisable, it is still questionable whether it is good finance to deliberately budget for a surplus of a million pounds in such a poor country as this by additional taxation. And if it is prudent to get a surplus, it ought at least to be got from sources least likely to prove burdensome to the people. Briefly stated the changes in taxation are :—

(*a*) The general import tariff of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, to be raised to 7½ per cent. with the exception of sugar, calculated to bring in an additional £420,000.

(*b*) An import duty of 10 per cent. on sugar. expected to yield an extra £400,000.

(*c*) A material curtailment of the free list being confined to gold coin and bullion, silver, bronze, and copper coin of India, some essential materials, certain agricultural requisites, etc., etc.

(*d*) 2½ per cent. *ad valorem* duty on grain and pulse, cotton spinning and weaving machinery, railway material, and ships, and printing material.

(*e*) The 1 per cent. duty on steel and iron to be raised to 2½ per cent. Other metals to pay the 7½ per cent. general tariff.

(*f*) An export duty of Rs. 1½ per 100 lbs. on tea, Rs. 2-4 on raw jute, Rs. 10 a ton on jute sacking, and Rs. 16 a ton on hessians.

(*g*) An increase of the salt duty by As. 4 per maund, bringing in an additional £600,000.

(*h*) A graduated rate of the income tax, being 6¼ per cent. over yearly incomes of Rs. 25,000 and upwards, and yielding an additional £900,000.

This Budget is likely to be regarded by some as heralding an altered fiscal policy. The Finance Minister has called it a message of peace as well as of hope. It is impossible however to find any distinct indication of a changed fiscal policy in this Budget. The one great grievance of Indian industries is the duty on cotton manufacture made within the country to counterbalance the duty on imported cotton manufactures of 3½ per cent. It was hoped that this most unpopular tax on Indian industry would be removed, and the duty on imports of cotton manufactures would be raised. Conscious of the prevailing sentiment in the country, the Government of India put the case before the Home Government, who, however, "felt that the raising of this question at the present time would be most unfortunate," and the matter was therefore postponed to a more convenient season. Whatever the wisdom of this decision, we cannot regard the present Budget as having inaugurated a new fiscal policy. The duties are one and all revenue duties, and there is very little reason to believe that the development of India's resources by means of the action of the State has become a recognised policy. High hopes had been raised ever since the Viceroy, speaking for the Government of India and with the authority of the Government of His Majesty, approved of the Resolution of the Hon. Mr. Shafi, in September last, asking for a direct representation of India at the next Imperial Council. And these hopes were further stimulated by the Resolution in the House of Commons, asking for a closer co-operation between the various parts of the Empire with a view to the better development of the resources of the Empire. But these hopes have for the present to be content with the assurance that "His Majesty's Government feel that fiscal relationship of all parts of the Empire, as between one another and the rest of the world, must be re-considered after the War; and they desire to leave the question raised by the cotton duties to be considered then in connection with the general fiscal policy, which may be thought best for the Empire."

Apart from this disappointment in the case of the cotton duties there are other points in which the Budget leaves much to be desired. The rise in the duty on salt has very properly been taken exception to. If it is not fair to raise the duties on import because the Manchester industry is already hard hit, it seems still less fair to impose a duty on the Indian poor, which is already a serious tax on their slender resources, especially as there are other directions in which the requirements of the Government can be more easily met. And, besides, even if the salt duty had not been

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raised, there would have been no deficit; for while the expected yield by the increase in duty is estimated at £600,000, there is a surplus of nearly a million provided for. So that if the whole increase in the salt duty were removed, there would still be a surplus of £400,000.

If we cannot approve of the increase in the duty on salt, the same cannot be said of the other tariff changes. The export duty on tea and jute can be supported on economic as well as fiscal grounds, though perhaps not in equal degree. For, while jute is a practical monopoly of India, and the demand for it is inelastic, the tea trade is by no means a monopoly of India, nor is the demand for that article as intense as that for jute. The imposition of heavy duty on tea in England must curtail the demand appreciably; and it is to be seen how far the duty on tea becomes productive for the Government. The duty on imported sugar might conceivably encourage the production of that article in India.

The changes in the income tax are noteworthy. The principal of graduated taxation has been carried a little further, though of course not to the same extent as in the United Kingdom. If additional taxation were necessary, this seems to be the most unexceptionable method of raising it. It is to be wished that the graduation were a little more steep, for people with very high incomes are not likely to feel even a 10 per cent. or 15 per cent. duty very much.

The scheme of borrowing and conversion, which is such a remarkable feature of the present Budget, demands a passing notice. It is proposed to raise a loan of Rs. 6 crores, which under certain circumstances may be raised to 12 crores. This proposal is accompanied by an offer to convert the three, and three-and-a half per cents. All subscribers to the new 4 per cent. loan have the option to convert into 4 per cent. an equivalent amount of 3 per cent. and 3½ per cent. paper. The rates of conversion are to be fixed later on and the privilege is open for three years. This step was dictated by the need of maintaining the price of India's premier security. At the same time the Government had to consider that the holders of any particular form of security did not get any special advantage. As far as can be judged at present, this new policy is likely to be eminently successful.

On the whole, finance in India during the War has been better managed than in England. India has every reason to be proud of the part she has played in this World War. Besides sending the flower of her manhood to fight in the battles of the British Empire, she has rendered timely and important services in furnishing supplies, in training the troops, in fitting out transports. "The total value of the supplies and services of all sorts which she has undertaken on behalf of the War Office amounted to £10 millions in 1914-15, and is estimated at £18 millions in 1915-16 to £20¾ millions in 1916-17." These services, moreover, do not include a recoverable outlay of £850,000 in 1915-16, and a million in 1916-17 for services rendered by this to the Australian Government. We have increased our taxation, arrested the material development of the country and added to the unproductive debt. That we have not been able to do more is due not to any want of zeal but rather to that shortsighted policy which has prevented the full development of the resources of this country. The Government cannot borrow very much in this country because the savings of the people are limited. We cannot bear additional taxation because our ability is so limited. Let us hope that the lessons of this War will not be lost. If a serious effort is conscientiously made to develop the industries of India, if a judicious outlay is made upon works that directly add to the productiveness of the land, there is every reason to hope that India would be able to bear any unusual strain upon her with relative ease; and that she will be a source of undiluted strength to the Empire of which she is no insignificant part.

GOKHALE'S SPEECHES AND WRITINGS.

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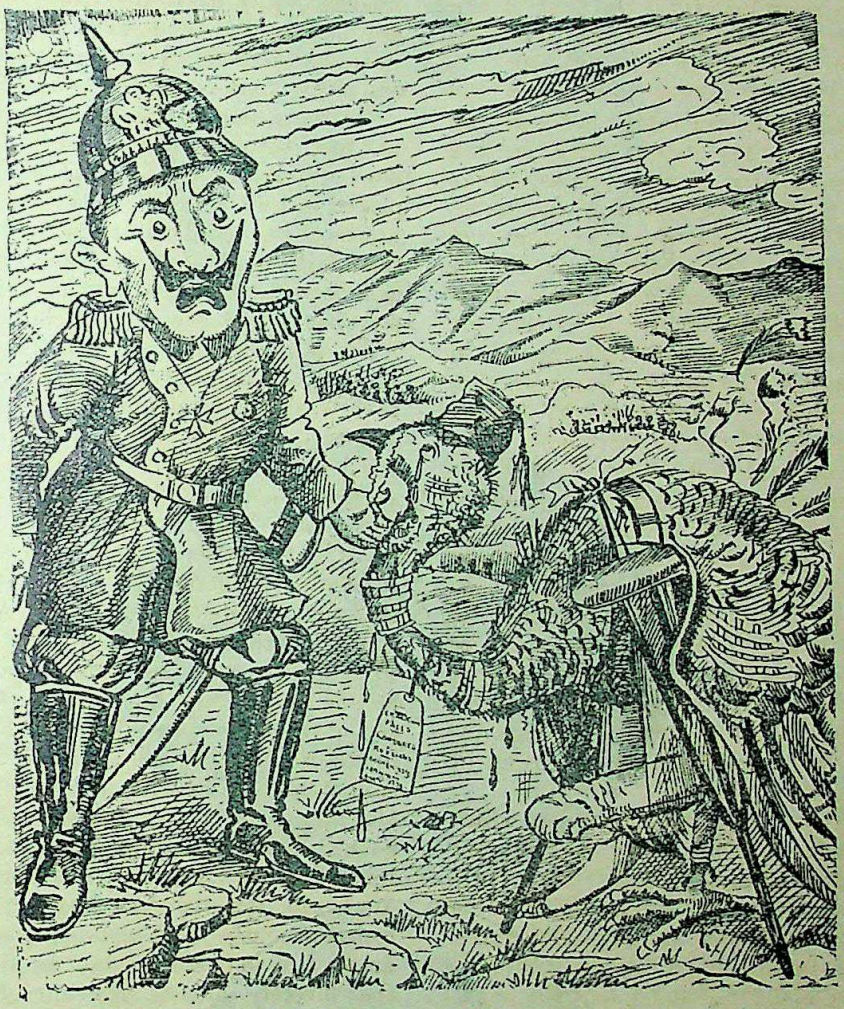

THE RETURN FROM ERZERUM.

GERM-HUN KAISER—What! The Bear's hug has done it all! I expected you to tear his claws and draw his teeth!

TURKEY—Yes, Sire, and I attempted and failed! Following your instruction and advice has brought me to this pass!

[PETROGRAD, February 16.—The Grand Duke Nicholas has telegraphed to the Tsar:—God has accorded the valiant troops of our army in the Caucasus such great help that Erzerum has been taken after five days of unprecedented assault. I am inexpressibly happy to inform Your Majesty of this victory.]

Hindi Punch.

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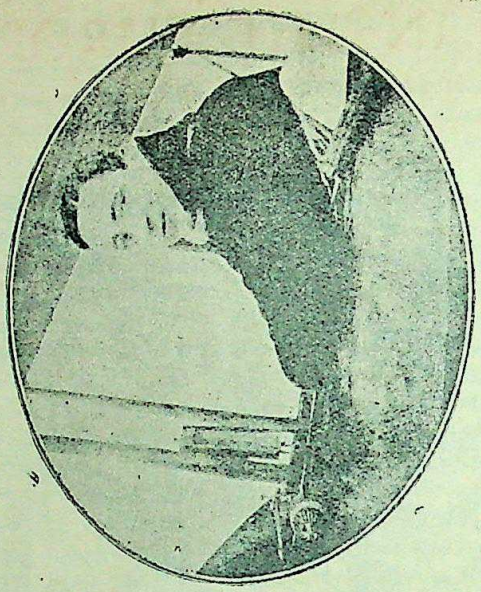

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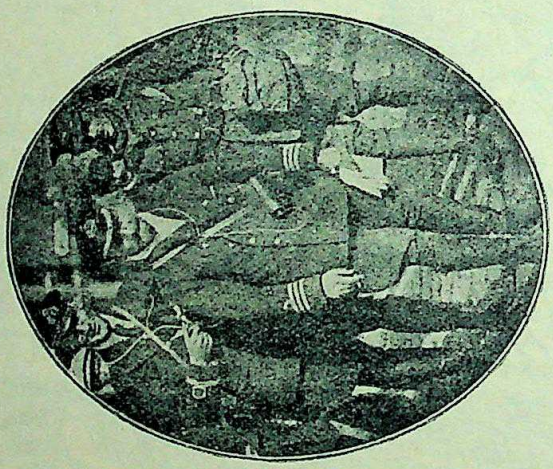
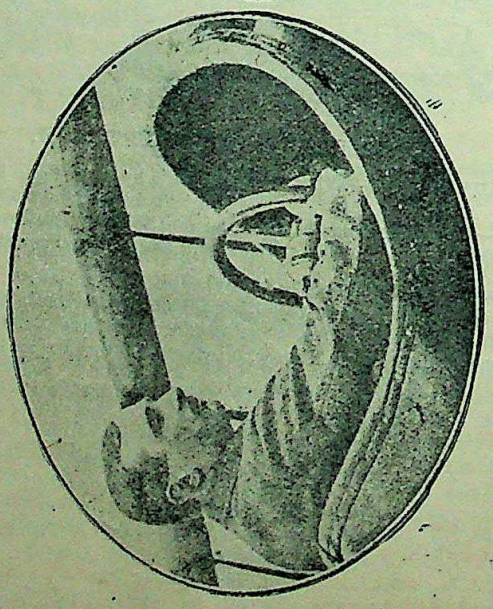


The Dashing Aviator Commander C. R. Samson.



Flight Lieutenant C. H. Collet.

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AIRCRAFT IN THE EUROPEAN WAR

BY MR. J. W. MADELEY, M.A., M. INST. C.E., M.AM. SOC., C.E.
(*Special Engineer, Madras Corporation.*)

THE present European War is the first in which aircraft have been extensively employed by the belligrents on both sides. In the Balkan War, very few aeroplanes and no airships were used. In the invasion of Tripoli, aircraft were confined to the Italian side. Hence there was little on which to form an opinion of the services that aircraft could render to armies and navies. In the present war, the effect of aviation has been so profound as to modify greatly the character of military operations.

Uses of Aircraft.—The principal uses to which aircraft have been put in the present war are for :—(1) Reconnaisance. (2) Directing of artillery fire. (3) Attack of localities. (4) Driving off of hostile aircraft.

By far the most important of these are reconnaissance, and the direction of artillery fire.

Reconnaissance.—Reconnaissance may be defined as the examination of territory for the purpose of ascertaining the strength and the positions of the enemy. This work, which is of the greatest possible importance, has in the present war been carried out almost entirely by aircraft. Thus aircraft have relieved cavalry and infantry of a dangerous but important duty for which they are much better suited because : (1) They can scout infinitely more quickly than horsemen, and at comparatively small risk. (2) They can explore far behind the enemy's fighting line.

So much better than cavalry are aircraft for this purpose that commanders have, as never in the past, been supplied with information, both accurate and detailed, concerning the movements of the enemy, traffic on railways, troops on the march, and position and composition of hostile forces.

Owing to their high speed, aircraft have been able to place the army commanders in possession of details of enemy movements within a very short time of the movements being initiated. As a result, Generals have, in this war, possessed a much fuller and more accurate knowledge of the position and movements, both of their allies and of the enemy, than in any previous war. The consequence has been the almost *complete elimination of surprise*. This is the most notable result of employing aircraft in the present war. It is only at night that troops can be moved without being observed by enemy aircraft, and, in view of the fact that aircraft are now being provided with powerful search-lights, even this opportunity to move unseen is likely to vanish to a considerable extent during the present war. For reconnaissance purposes then, aircraft have usurped the function of cavalry.

An example is afforded by the recent reconnaissance by the Roumanians when, according to a telegram dated 18th February 1916, "the Roumanian Government are anxious regarding the movements of German and Bulgarian troops and have sent three squadrons of aeroplanes over Bulgaria. The airmen, despite heavy fire, discovered a few new trenches and 50,000 troops, but no heavy artillery."

When it is remembered that it is only from the information obtained from strategical reconnaissance that the plans of campaign are made, it becomes obvious that aircraft are now of the very greatest possible importance as the eyes of the Commander-in-Chief.

Method of Carrying out Reconnaissance.—There are two methods of carrying out aerial reconnaissance which are in general use. In the first, the observer is directed to pass over a selected line of country, and in the second, to travel above a certain area, and record everything of value that he sees. The latter is comparatively slow and is only resorted to when detailed information is required.

Qualities of an Observer.—It has been found that a good observer must possess qualities of the highest order. He must possess extensive military knowledge, in order that he may know what to look for, and that he may understand what he sees. He must be able to read a map quickly, and must be able to record on it accurately anything that is of Military importance. The observer must be courageous, and able to endure hardships, such as driving rain or snow in a temperature many degrees below freezing point. He must be able to work when the machine is pitching and rolling in a gale as a ship pitches and rolls in a heavy sea. Above all, the observer must have the power of concentration. While his machine is under shell fire, and while bullets are continually piercing the planes, he must be able to concentrate his attention on his objective. Observers have been found to require careful training and practice before they can bring accurate and complete information.

Height during Reconnaissance.—Before the present war, 3,000 or 4,000 feet was usually consid-

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ered safe. That height still continues to be practically safe from rifle fire. Anti-aircraft guns have, however, been developed to such a degree that to be safe, it is now necessary to fly at an altitude not less than 8,000 feet. But at 8,000 feet it is impossible to obtain much detailed information, and it therefore becomes necessary for aviators to take risks to obtain information, that is to say, they have to descend to altitudes where they are liable to suffer damage from anti-aircraft guns. Having once obtained the required information, an aviator should immediately ascend to safety in order that he may preserve, not only himself and his machine, but also the information which he has obtained.

Direction and Control of Artillery Fire.—The most striking successes achieved by aircraft have been in the directing and controlling of artillery fire. In fact, aircraft have become indispensable to the artillery, and have given it an importance that it has not possessed since the days of Napoleon.

Before the present war, it was essential that the fire director should see the target. Now it is not necessary. He can fire from behind a hill, taking his line and range from a map. For instance, suppose an enemy battery is doing mischief and has to be silenced. The fire commander instructs the aircraft commander to locate the battery. He indicates as nearly as he is able what he considers to be the position of the battery. An aviator takes up a map of the district which has been carefully divided into squares, and searches the country until he locates the battery. He then marks its position on one of the squares of the map and returns to the fire director. From the position thus marked on the map, the fire director determines, and gives instructions as to range and direction. The aviator goes up again and, noting where the shells strike, signals back the corrections necessary until a hit is registered and the battery destroyed. This is known as "firing off the map."

Again, if it is required to drop shells on distant trenches that may be on the other side of a hill, an aviator flies to the trenches and signals when he is over them, perhaps dropping a smoke ball, so that the fire director may have a fairly stationary object on which to range. The fire director then opens fire, which is observed and corrected by the aviator until the trench has been thoroughly searched.

An interesting result of the control of artillery fire by aircraft is that, where artillery is used, infantry trenches are usually placed on the reverse side of a hill and fairly close to the summit, because it is in this position that it is most difficult for artillery to hit them. If they are on the near slope of a hill, artillery can render them untenable, unless they are extremely deep and well protected, and such trenches can only be made at the expenditure of much time and labour, that is, in semi-permanent positions.

Aircraft in Attack.—Aircraft have been used to attack aircraft stations, railway stations, convoys, bridges, trains, troops, and railways, also to precede the infantry attack by a storm of darts and bombs dropped on the enemy, and to pursue him in retreat with the same weapons. Up to the present, however, no great success has been achieved. Probably the most successful have been the raids by fleets of British and French aeroplanes to destroy airship sheds, interrupt communications, and prevent the effective bringing forward of reinforcements. The aeroplane has proved much more effective than the airship in attack. As a result of their Zeppelin raids on England, the Germans, up to 30th August 1915, had killed and wounded 278 civilians and 7 soldiers. The raids were brutal, but from a military point of view quite ineffective.

The most common weapons used by aircraft have been explosive bombs and incendiary shells, which when dropped on vulnerable points cause great damage. It has, however, been found very difficult to hit vulnerable points. Another weapon of offence that is used against troops is the dart, which takes the form of a light steel rod, pointed at one end, and feathered at the other to ensure descent point downwards. It has been found that from as low an elevation as 600 ft. such a dart has the power of a rifle bullet to kill or wound. In a Munich paper Dr. Volkmann has stated that a dart which struck a man on the shoulder traversed the whole of his body. The wounds inflicted are almost always mortal. An aeroplane can carry some 15,000 of such darts. If a cloud of darts is launched against troops in close formation, a great deal of damage will be done.

Zeppelin Raids on England.—For the attacks referred to above, aeroplanes are usually employed. The Germans have, however, used Zeppelin airships for attacks on English towns. While in some cases these attacks have been on objects of military importance, there is no doubt that most of the raids have aimed at producing a moral effect, and causing panic among non-combatants. They certainly have produced a moral effect, but not that which the Germans desired; for, instead of causing panic, they have aroused the bitterest anger

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and determination to punish the murderers, who have caused such suffering to many innocent women and children, without any attempt to achieve a military object.

It may be asked why the Germans do it? The reply is that they know themselves to be in a severe predicament. Their effectives are nearly exhausted. Their armies are beginning to dwindle in numbers, and they hope by such demonstrations of "frightfulness" to hearten their own men, and to dishearten the British, and thus bring about a condition of public opinion that would be favourable to a peace which would leave intact the Prussian military system.

Should we adopt reprisals? Thoughtless people have replied yes, and large meetings of citizens of London have urged Government to do so. The proper reply is *no*. We should use the whole of our military forces to destroy the German power. We should not deflect one single airship, one plane, or one bomb from its military work—the destruction of the German armed forces. The use of military might to achieve 'frightfulness' argues weakness in the Germans. It would do the same with us. Further, there is the moral standpoint. We must not lightly give up the higher plane on which we are fighting, and the moral superiority that it gives us over the Germans.

Defence of Cities against Air-raids.—While, on the one hand, air raids have not produced any striking military results, on the other hand, the defence against air raids has not been notably effective. In the last air raid on London, it is stated that only one of the aeroplanes that went up was able to sight a Zeppelin, and it was not able to overtake it. The best scheme of defence has yet to be worked out. In defences, which are a combination of aircraft, and of anti-aircraft guns, the airman has to be very careful not to enter the "dangerous zone" of the gunner, otherwise he is likely to be destroyed by his own side. Likewise, the gunner has to take care that he fires in such a manner that the shells do not inflict damage on the area that he is protecting. Obviously the protection of cities should be stationed some distance away, for instance, in the case of England, the large cities would be best defended by aircraft stations along the coast, with a second line of defence between the coast and the cities to be protected.

One reason why the defences of London have not been particularly effective is that we have no airships that can compete with Zeppelins, and it is difficult to oppose an airship with an aeroplane. An airship would not venture into the aeroplane sphere during the day time. It can only attack in the dark, or in foggy weather. While this militates against its doing good and effective service, it also makes it difficult for aeroplanes to destroy airships, because it is very risky for an aeroplane to fly in the dark. If it endeavours to do so, it will have to come down in the dark, and make a landing that is very likely to be converted into a fatal mishap. Finally, it is not easy to find an airship. We all know how difficult it was to catch the "Emden," which could only move in two dimensions. She found little difficulty in slipping past our ships. The difficulty of discovering and catching an airship is much greater, for she is not confined to the surface of the land and sea, but can cruise anywhere amid vast expanses of the atmosphere.

Naval Air Service:—The daily reports of work done by aircraft refer chiefly to the Army Flying Men, but the Royal Naval Air Service is doing at least equal work, though for the most part it is less conspicuous than that of sister service. A great deal of this work is carefully concealed, as a knowledge of it would be valuable to the enemy, The following summary of work done is taken from the Navy League's circular:—

(1) Since the war began seaplanes have maintained continuous patrol of the Grand Fleet, and both seaplanes and aeroplanes have secured most valuable results by 'spotting' objectives for ships' guns.

(2) Seaplanes, from seaplane carriers, enabled H. M.'s ships to smash up the German cruiser *Koenigsberg*, and a similar 'spotting' has been carried out in the Dardanelles.

(3) Kite Balloons of the Royal Naval Air Service, operating from ships, have also contributed to render naval gunnery effective in Gallipoli.

(4) The Cuxhaven raid was successfully carried out by seaplanes from a British Flotilla.

(5) Projectiles dropped from seaplanes have sunk several Turkish ships in the Sea of Marmora.

(6) In anti-Zeppelin operations coastal patrols have given warnings of approaching raiders, and on various occasions have succeeded in driving off the invaders.

(7) The Royal Naval Air Service Detachment at Dunkirk:—

(*a*) Destroyed at least six German airship sheds, two of these having airships inside.

(*b*) Damaged one Zeppelin and destroyed another in the air.

(*c*) Destroyed another Zeppelin on the water which had previously been damaged by anti-aircraft guns.

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(*d*) Damaged submarines in the Cockerill Yard, at Antwerp, and

(*e*) Continuously worried submarines in Zeebrugge and Ghent harbours.

A submarine was also sunk by Naval Aircraft off Ostend.

(8) The Royal Naval Air Service Kite Balloon Sections in Flanders have been co-operating with artillery with excellent results.

(9) Various naval airships and other aircraft have been doing most useful work, *which cannot be detailed.*

(10) Attacks have been made by the Royal Naval Air Service on works of military importance on German territory at Dusseldorf, Cologne Friedrichshaven, and Cuxhaven.

Future Development of Aircraft.—What are the lessons to be learnt from the present war? The chief lesson undoubtedly is that the mastery of the air will be of the very greatest importance in all future conflicts. This mastery of the air will entail profound modifications in warfare—modifications which we can at present but dimly conceive.

At the beginning of the present war, aeroplanes were used by the Allies solely for scouting. Subsequently, some of them were transformed into fighting machines, and now there are large double-engined battle planes of high speed, great carrying capacity, and able to remain in the air for long periods. There is no doubt that, in the future, aircraft will largely increase in size, speed, and air worthiness. It is quite possible that in times to come, great battles may be fought by aerial fleets with land-forces used to occupy conquered country.

To-day aeroplanes penetrate some 200 miles with hundreds of pounds of explosive. Before long, their scope will be greatly increased, and it is probable that we shall have large heavily laden, comparatively slow machines, carrying large quantities of explosives, or numbers of men, and protected by fighting machines. Aircraft in those days, will act in fleets rather than individually, and air fleet commanders will direct operations as admirals control navies. Possibly there may be airships carrying a hundred or more men, and much explosive. There certainly will be aeroplanes of this capacity. The sea and land fortifications will be of little use against invasion by the air, for aircraft can pass over such obstacles and can descend at unexpected and undefended spots.

Further, the nation which possesses the mastery of the air will be able to use its aircraft to clear the sea of hostile ships, of thus facilitate the landing of its troops.

The development here foreshadowed cannot take place during the present war, for the design and construction of the aircraft will take years to complete, neither could the necessary men be trained in time. Nevertheless, if any of the belligerent powers can develop a fleet distinctly superior to the others, that power will secure a very important advantage over the others. There is no doubt that the war staffs of the nations are to-day doing all they can to obtain this superiority.

THE NEW SPIRIT

BY MR. HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE, B.A.

THE speech Lord Hardinge delivered at the Simla United Service Club Dinner shows a bold and statesmanlike recognition of the New Spirit in India which is the direct, palpable, legitimate and inevitable outcome of British rule in the country. Lord Hardinge said :—

> England has instilled into this country the culture and civilisation of the West with all its ideals of liberty and self-respect. It is not enough for her now to consider only the material outlook of India. It is necessary for her to cherish the aspirations of which she has herself sown the seed, and the English officials are gradually awakening to the fact that, high as were the aims and remarkable the achievements of their predecessors, a still nobler task lies before them in the present and the future in guiding the uncertain and faltering steps of Indian development along sure and safe paths. The new rôle of guide, philosopher and friend is opening before you, and it is worthy of your greatest efforts. It requires in you gifts of imagination and sympathy and imposes upon you self-sacrifice, for it means that slowly but surely you must divest yourselves of some of the power you have hitherto wielded. Let it be realised that great as has been England's Mission in the past, she has a far more glorious task to fulfil in the future in encouraging and guiding the political self-development of the people. The goal to which India may attain is still distant and there may be many vicissitudes in her path, but I look forward with confidence to a time when, strengthened by character and self-respect and bound by ties of affection and gratitude, India may be regarded as a true friend of the Empire and not merely as a trusty dependent. The day for the complete fulfilment of this ideal is not yet but it is to this distant vista that the

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British official should turn his eyes; and he must grasp the fact that it is by his future success in this direction that British prestige and efficiency will be judged.

It is a recognition of the New Spirit which appeared on the distant horizon of Macaulay's imagination and loomed large before the far-seeing eyes of Rickards, which rose as a vision before the eyes of Bright and was welcomed by Minto, which Lord Curzon was unable to crush, and Lord Morley could not fail to notice.

The East India Company's Charter was renewed in 1833 for twenty years, dating from April 1834. Macaulay was in the House of Commons when the Act was passed. And his speech made on the 10th July 1833 "in a thin House" shows how he looked forward to the day when this New Spirit will quicken the atrophied veins of the East. There was a clause of the Act which ran thus :—

> And be it enacted, that no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company.

Macaulay spoke on this clause. And his famous speech will bear repetition :—

> We are free, we are civilised, to little purpose, if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilisation. Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative by every person who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the natives from high office? I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us, and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour."

Macaulay went on to say :—

> The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjectures as to the fate reserved for a State which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena; the laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown the system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk to the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverses. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. These triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws.

After an interval of about a century, during which the bonds of union between England and India have been tightened by mutual understanding and trust, and India has been converted into an integral part of the British Empire, as one reads these remarks one thinks that Macaulay rose on the wings of prophesy when he spoke of the awakening of ambition in the Indian mind, the demand for European institutions in India and the capacity for better government.

And as we read these remarks and admit that though India lay outside the range of Macaulay's actual experience, it certainly lay within the range of his imagination. We recall the remarks of another Englishman made the year previous to the renewal of the Charter. In 1832, Mr. Rickards had published his "Essays on India" in two volumes. In one of his essays he had referred to the English writings of Indians and remarked :—

> With all these facts before us, with the sincerest conviction of my own mind of their importance, as well as truth, I now again appeal to the constituted authorities in England; and solemnly say: Beware! Recollect, gentlemen, that 'knowledge is power.' You have now laid the foundation of it among an acute and intellectual people. Its diffusion is inevitable. The schoolmaster is abroad with his primer, pursuing a course which no power of man can hereafter arrest. A light is now rising in the East, destined to attain meridian strength and splendour, and to 'shine more and more unto the perfect day.' Through the medium of schools, literary meetings and printed books, all the learning, and science of Europe will be greedily imbibed, and securely domiciled by the Hindoos of India. Knowledge, gentlemen, is power. The immortal tree is at length planted in India; and if its growth be skilfully directed, may yield to Britain the fruits of everlasting honour, and of permanent prosperity. . . . Your institutions must be reformed. . . . . The natives of India are now in a state to desire your protection; and they will greatly return the boon if it be granted with real liberality and justice. The groundwork of the future fabric should be co-operation with the natives in the government of themselves.

At the time when Macaulay made his famous speech "in a thin House," the average English statesman had not begun to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of England's vast dependency beyond the seas. And Trevelyan in his *Life of Lord Macaulay* explained the thinness of the House as "a circumstance which may surprise

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those who are not aware that on a Wednesday, and with an Indian question on the paper, Cicero replying to Hortensius would hardly draw a quorum." But circumstances had so changed in about fifty years that when Bright and Gladstone —bright constellations in the English political firmament—were in the zenith of their influence, both of them paid attention to Indian questions. John Bright speaking at Manchester on the 11th December 1877, said :—

> I believe that it is our duty not only to govern India well now for our sakes and to satisfy our own conscience, but so to arrange our government and so to administer it that we should look forward to the time when India will have to take up her own government and administer it in her own fashion. I say he is no statesman—he is no man actuated with a high moral sense with regard to one great and terrible moral responsibility—who is not willing thus to look ahead and thus to prepare for circumstances which may come sooner than we think and sooner than any of us hope for, but which must come at some not very distant date.

The change from Macaulay's doubt—"whether such a day will ever come I know not," to Bright's conviction that the changed circumstances "must come at some not very distant date" must be considered significant and proof positive of Bright's insight into the changes rapidly taking place in India, changes which had not yet manifested themselves in the changed policy of her political agitation as found in the Congress and the Conferences which have now assumed so much importance. These institutions may be said to owe their origin directly to the unfortunate attitude of Anglo-India towards the Ilbert Bill, by which the Government of Lord Ripon sought to redress a wrong and remove an uncalled-for disability. Now when the dust of that controvesy has cleared away and the name of Lord Ripon is held in everlasting honour, as one examines the provisions of the Bill, one cannot help saying that they were not sufficient to satisfy the natural ambition of the people. The measure of self-government with which Lord Ripon's name is associated also was meagre, but the precursor of greater reforms.

Then came the Congress movement. And men like Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra hoped that it would be a movement by which the scattered units of the race will coalesce and come together to make us live as a nation. For good or for evil we are committed to this form of political agitation and although our way may sometimes lead through the wilderness, he is no true leader who would advise a return to the onions and garlic of the older form of agitation. We may feel disappointed at the slow realisation of our ambition —but we must not lose heart :—

> If what shone afar so grand
> Turns to nothing in thy hand,
> On again, the virtue lies
> In the struggle, not the prize.

And the prize—it also will come sooner or later.

From Bright we come to Lord Morley for years Secretary of State for India. In his first Budget Speech (1906) he spoke of the "continuous, rational improvement in the Indian system of Government," and thus recognised the New Spirit in India :—

> Everyone—soldiers, travellers, and journalists—they all tell us that there is a new spirit abroad in India. Be it so. How could you expect anything else? You have now been educating the peoples for years with Western ideas and literature. You have already given them facilities for communication with one another, How could you suppose that India could go on just as it was when there was little higher education, and when the contact between one part and another was difficult and infrequent? How could you think that all would go on as before? As for education, let the House think of this little fact. There is this year a Senior Wrangler from India; and I am told by the Master of Trinity that he was Senior Wrangler after two years' residence, when all the others in the class had three years' residence. I mention that as showing that you cannot go on narrowly on the old lines. We should be untrue to all the traditions of this Parliament and to those who from time to time and from generation to generation have been the leaders of the Liberal party, if we were to show ourselves afraid of facing and recognising the New Spirit with candour and consideration.

He gave the Congress the recognition it had sought in vain from successive administrators and which Lord Curzon had declined to extend to it by his refusal to receive Sir Henry Cotton as the President of the Congress. And he even said: "Our own reforms and changes have been achieved by dissatisfied men who were no more disaffected than you or I." He advocated the introduction of the spirit of British institutions—"the spirit, the temper, the principles, and the maxims of British institutions" in this country. But his shortcoming lay in his not being a practical politician. His acquaintance with India was made through the medium of books, and his views about Indian questions were borrowed from the utterances of "sundried bureaucrats." This was evident when His Majesty the King Emperor unsettled his "settled fact"—the Partition of Bengal. To combat his view—"India for a long time to come, as far as my imagination could reach, would be of absolute and personal government." We need only say that the Moderates—whom he said, "it would be the height of political folly for us at this moment to refuse to do

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all we can to rally to the cause of the Government, simply because the policy will not satisfy the Extremists," have preferred the direct control of the British Parliament to absolute and personal Government. Even a cautious Moderate like the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta did not hesitate to say :—

It is safer to rely on the ultimate sense of justice of the whole British nation which in the end always asserts its nobility than on the uncontrolled tendencies of an officialdom trained in bureaucratic tendencies, and not free from the demoralising prejudices incident to their position in the country.

But Lord Morley's "Man on the spot," Lord Minto understood the situation better. He came to India after a period of feverish activity evidenced by that theatrical personality of Lord Curzon, whose fatal genius for misplaced energy had created complex questions but left them unsolved. In a Note, Lord Minto drew up for circulation among his colleagues, he wrote :—

The growth of education which British rule has done so much to encourage is bearing fruit. Important classes of the population are learning to realise their own position, to estimate for themselves their own intellectual capacities and to compare their claims for an equality of citizenship with those of the ruling race, whilst the directing influences of political life at home are simultaneously in full accord with the advance of political thought in India. * * * * But we, the Government of India, cannot shut our eyes to present conditions. The political atmosphere is full of change. Questions are before us which we cannot afford to ignore and which we must attempt to answer, and to one it would appear all important that the initiative should emanate from us ; that the Government of India should not be put in the position of appearing to have its hands forced by agitation in this country or by pressure from home; that we should be the first to recognise surrounding conditions and to place before His Majesty's Government the opinion which personal experience and a close touch with the every-day life of India entitle us to hold.

That personal experience and close touch had made Lord Minto take a correct view of the situation one must admit. To quote the words of the late Mr. Gokhale, he found the whole East "throbbing with a new impulse—vibrating with a new passion," and said that : "a volume of new feeling was gathering, which required to be treated with care." And he openly said :—

I recognise that politically India is in a transition state; that new and just aspirations are springing up amongst its people, which the ruling power must be prepared not only to meet but to assist. A change is rapidly passing over the land, and we cannot afford to dally.

Even greater candour prevailed in his speech on the occasion of the debate on the Sedition Bill :—

I am well aware of the growing strength of political hopes and ambitions in this country, and I welcome them as the natural results of the education British administrators have done so much to introduce and to encourage. I have said so over and over again, and I deny the accusation of a disregard of the growing influence of the educated classes in India. Far from wishing to check the growth of political thought, I have hoped that, with proper guidance, Indian capacity and Indian patriotism might earn for its people a greater share in the government of their country. . . . The Government of India would be blind indeed to shut its eyes to the awakening wave which is sweeping over the Eastern world overwhelming old traditions and bearing on its crest a flood of new ideas. We cannot check its flow, we can but endeavour to direct it into such channels as may benefit the generations that are to come. We may repress seditions—we will repress it with a strong hand. But the restlessness of new-born and advancing thought we cannot repress. We must be prepared to meet it with help and guidance.

Thus the recognition of the New Spirit in India by generations of English statesman responsible for the good government of India is complete. And the help and guidance which British statesmen are willing to lend it will surely result in its inaugurating in the country a new era not of restlessness and chaos but of peace and prosperity.

And those who have striven to foster this New Spirit in the country when—

Hope was ever on her mountain ; watching
[till the day begun—
Crown'd with sunlight—over darkness—from
[the still unrisen sun.

need not lose heart at occasional excesses. The exuberance of energy which characterises the beginning of a new movement often breaks dams and floods fields, but it passes away rapidly leaving behind a rich silt of new thoughts and ideas which fertilise the fields. So it was in France—

France had shown a light to all men, preach'd
[a Gospel, all men's good ;
Celtic Demons rose a Demos, shriek'd and
[slaked the light with blood.

But it was fertile in new ideas which have exerted so much influence on the political thought of Europe. Let us then not lose heart, but "Follow Light, and do the Right."

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THE LEGALITY OF WAR

BY MR. C. E. ODGERS.

THIS is in many ways a remarkable book* and deserves to be read by not only lawyers, to whom it naturally chiefly appeals, but by every thinking man who cares to enquire into the sources of the various steps recently undertaken for the defence of the Empire; the rights and liabilities of allies and enemies and their property and those of the persons who have dealings with them during a state of war; the laws of war on land and sea and many various topics in connection therewith. We do not remember to have previously come across a book which combines a summary of what is strictly International Law, *i.e.*, the rules of law as between sovereign states, with a digest of the Municipal Law regulating the raising of the Army and Navy and the Indian and other Forces; the extraordinary powers taken by the Crown to regulate the life and habits of the people during the war; the scope of the Regulations promulgated to provide for the public safety—which range from a prohibition against allowing any light to escape from the windows of a private house to forbidding an alien resident in Great Britain to change his name—during the course of the war. The work shows evidence of great research and very considerable learning on the part of the authors. In their criticisms of the Regulations made under the Defence of the Realm Acts they display much acumen especially in the argument as to what powers the Crown possesses over the people in the case of a war waged outside the realm—as in the present case. They come to the conclusion (page 93) that in the case of war outside the realm the Crown is not invested with such powers over British subjects within it, but may on the other hand take such steps as it pleases against alien enemies within it. Amongst the powers taken by the Regulations is the power to destroy private property, and the argument of the learned authors is that such power is *ultra vires* of the Statute. A perusal of the Statutes and the Regulations made in pursuance of these justifies the conclusion that "certainly never in our history has the executive assumed such arbitrary power over the life, liberty and property of British subjects. The net of restrictions is now so finely woven, so ingeniously developed that it enmeshes every activity of the citizen."

Living as we do in India and as far as the ordinary avocations of life are concerned practically untramelled as we are, it is a little difficult to realize that our fellow citizens in the United Kingdom are living under a state of military law, whereby any action almost may be called in question either by the military or civil authorities. It is of course on account of the very propinquity of the country to the scenes of operations and to the presence therein at the commencement of the war of thousands of alien enemies—also to the extensive commercial relations hitherto existing between our own people and those of the enemy, that these stringent regulations are undoubtedly necessary. Another interesting topic and one treated with great ability by the authors is that of contracts with alien enemies. Story laid it down some time ago that "no principle is better settled than that all contracts made with an enemy during war were utterly void." This sounds simple, but what if the alien enemy has a neutral agent resident in the enemy country, or the alien enemy is himself resident in a neutral country? Can either insist on performance? If a failure of performance takes place can either sue in a British Court. The cases cited are chiefly American but as these arose during the American Civil War there is reason for holding that they are not authorities for cases arising in an International War. Trading with the enemy is equally well-treated and this subject as well as that of contracting with the enemy should prove useful to all merchants and others who at the beginning of the war had business dealings with any of the subjects of the countries with which we are at war. This remark will also apply to the chapters on the Moratorium—or postponement of payments. The first of these was effected by the Proclamation of the 2nd of August when war was imminent and continued with extensions subsequently. Enough has perhaps been said to show that the book is of very varied interest. It deals with subjects of vital importance at the present day, for many of which there has been hitherto very scanty authority in our law—and in many cases what authority there is has hitherto escaped the legal text writers and lain hidden in our reports. The investigations and research of Professor Morgan and Dr. Baty have now brought much of this to light, and the result has been not a dry legal text book, but discussions in a thoroughly logical way of points of interest to us all at the present crisis.

* *War: Its Conduct and Legal Results*, by T. Baty, D.C.L., LL.D., and Professor T. H. Morgan, M.A., London: *John Murray*, 1915. *10s. 6d.*

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FROM THE VOICED TO THE UNVOICED.*

BY DR. JAGADISH CHANDRA BOSE, M.A., D.SC., C.I.E., C S.I.

In tracing the characteristic phenomenon of life—from simple beginnings in that vast region which may be called Unvoiced, as exemplified in the world of plants, to its highest expression in the animal kingdom one is repeatedly struck by one dominant fact, that in order to maintain an organism to the height of its efficiency, something more than a mechanical perfection of its structure is necessary. Every living organism in order to maintain its life and growth must be in free communion with all the forces of the universe about it. Further it must not only constantly receive stimulus from without, but must also give out something from within. And the healthy life of the organism will depend on these twofold activities of inflow and outflow. When there is any interference with these activities then morbid symptoms appear, which ultimately must end in disaster and death. This is equally true of the intellectual life of a nation. When through narrow conceit a nation regards itself self-sufficient and cuts itself from the stimulus of the outside world then intellectual decay must inevitably follow. So far as regards the receptive function. Then there is another function in the intellectual life of a nation—that of spontaneous outflow—that giving out of its life by which the world is enriched. When the nation has lost this power, when it merely receives but cannot give out then its healthy life is over and it sinks to a degenerate existence which is purely parasitic.

THE FUNCTION OF A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

How can our nation give out of the fulness of the life that is in it and how can a new Indian University help in the realisation of this object. It is clear that its power of directing and inspiring will depend on its world-status. This can be secured to it by no artificial means; nor can any charter assure it. This world-status can only be won by the intrinsic value of the great contributions to be made by its own Indian scholars for the advancement of world's knowledge. To be organic and vital our new University must stand primarily for self-expression and for winning for India a place she has lost.

Knowledge is never the exclusive possession of any particular race nor does it recognise geographical limitations. The whole world is interdependent and a constant stream of thought had been carried out throughout the ages enriching the common heritage of mankind. Although science was neither of the East nor of the West, but international in its universality certain aspects of it gained richness by reason of their place of origin. Has India then any great contributions to offer for the advance of human knowledge ? And we have also to realise in this connection : What has been her strength in the past and what is the weakness that has been paralysing her activities ?

CONDITIONS FOR SCIENTIFIC SUCCESS.

For the accomplishment of any great scientific work there must be two different elements and these must be evenly balanced; any excess of the one at the expense of the other would be highly detrimental of the discovery of truth and advancement of knowledge. These elements are : first, a great imaginative faculty, and second : a due regulation of that faculty in pursuance of rigid demonstration. An aimless experimentation can lead to no results, while an unrestrained imagination will lead to the wildest speculation, which is subversive to intellectual sanity. A true inquirer has, therefore, to guard against being self-deceived; he has at every step to compare his own thought with the external fact; he has remorselessly to abandon all in which these are not agreed. Thus what he slowly gathers is certain, forming a sure foundation of what is to come. Even in this path of self-restraint and verification, he is making for a region of surpassing wonder. When the visible light ends he still follows the invisible. Where the note of the audible reaches the unheard even then he gathers the tremulous message.

How have these wonderful feats been rendered possible ? First by the recognition of man's own limitations and then undaunted by these in setting about the creation of artificial organs, which would require great genius for invention and extraordinary skill in construction. Indian inquirers had even at an early stage clearly understood our physical limitations. They recognised that there are *infra*-sensible phenomena, which exist but cannot be detected on account of the imperfection of our senses. For want of finer instruments—which are in reality artificial means for extending the range of our perception—the progress of knowledge was arrested. The cause of our scientific ill success has been just this want of a true recognition of the experimental side. This may have been due to decline of national life, however brought about, or to the general distraction consequent on the unsettled condition of the country. No great experimental work can be carried out unless the mind of the inquirer remains

* Address delivered in connection with the inauguration of the Benares Hindu University.

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undisturbed, unless he be connected with an institution having great and inspiring traditions where constructive skill of great mechanicians has been handed down from generation to generation. Whatever the reason might be, the mind gradually drifted from the irksome curb of slow experimental verification to the fascination of unrestrained speculation. What could be more enchanting than that delightful story in the Arabian Nights when the prince presses a pin in the neck of a mechanical horse and the machine flies through space! To confuse romance with reality is but one step. It is by the contact of the hand with real things, that the brain receives a constant stream of stimulating message; and the answering impulse of the brain gives the hand its cunning. Without action, the mind must lose its vigour and will succumb at last. It will begin to think that great achievements in science may perhaps be won by some lucky chance or by certain feats of jugglery. I cannot think anything so deadening to progress as this attitude of mental degeneracy.

LIFE OF AN INVESTIGATOR.

It is no easy life that lies before a scientific investigator. He has to steel his body and nerve to the utmost. There is to be for him no life of ease. It is to be one of unending struggle. Even after all this there is no assurance whatever of success to reward him for his ceaseless toil. He has to cast his life as an offering, regarding gain or loss, success or failure, as one. This will perhaps be better realised when I recount the real history of the conquest of air. I had the unusual opportunity of coming in close contact with the work of the man to whom this great achievement is ultimately due. Many lives had previously been sacrificed in various ineffective attempts till the investigation on the supporting power of moving surfaces was scientifically taken up by Langley in America. After many years of patient experimentation new data were obtained which were contrary to all previously accepted theories of aero-dynamics. Then the question of light motors presented insuperable difficulties. After these had been overcome Langley took up the question of flying machines and a small model of automatic flying machine ascended the air on the 6th of May 1896, for the first time and after describing a series of special curves in the air safely descended on the Potomac river, having accomplished the length of flight of over 3,000 ft. I had this recounted to me by his friend, Graham Bell, the inventor of the telephone who watched this flight. Great interest was aroused, and the American nation keenly watched for the occasion when a larger machine was to make its flight before the public. In this public demonstration a small screw was left loose by the carelessness of a workman, with the result that the machine instead of rising was precipitated into the river. A chorus of derision arose which was magnified by the Press, and Langley died of a broken heart.

This has often been the fate of great inventors and discoverers. But the lure that draws heroic souls is not the success which can easily be achieved but defeat and tribulation in the pursuit of the uattainable. I have seen at the Smithsonian Institution this machine failed at the first experiment. But after Langley's death the experiment was repeated, and the aeroplane rose into the air like a bird that has been set free after a long period of imprisonment.

THE MENTAL FACTOR.

I spoke in some detail of the source of the weakness that had so long arrested our scientific advance. This was our neglect of the experimental factor. I shall show later how this defect can be remedied if we once realised and faced it. I shall now take up the other factor, the mental, in which fortunately we do possess certain advantages. It is to be remembered that every experiment has to be carried out first in the inner region of the mind. To keep the mental vision clear great struggles have to be undergone, for the clearness of the inner vision is lost too easily. The greatest wealth of external appliances is of no avail, where there is not a concentrated pursuit of a great object. Those whose mind rush hither and thither, those who hunger for public applause or personal gain instead of truth, by them the quest is never won In pursuit of knowledge an Indian inquirer has the burning imagination which could extort truth out of a mass of disconnected facts, a habit of meditation without allowing the mind to dissipate itself. If he, caught with his scientific imagination a glimpse of a wonder-working ray as yet unknown to man, and believed that experiment would reveal its properties and potentialities, he would go on working ceaselessly through a long life and dying hand on his task to his disciples.

POWER OF DETACHMENT.

And what about the fruit of knowledge that has been acquired and its applications. It is well known that a moving machinery in increasing its unrestrained pace is rushing towards destruction, unless it has a self-checking governor to restrain it before the danger limit is reached. In the West there has been no cheque or limit to the

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competition for personal gain and lust for power in exploiting the application of knowledge not so much for saving as for causing destruction. And on account of the absence of this restraining force, Western civilisation is trembling to-day in an unstable poise on the brink of ruin.

Let us now look at the innate restraining power that governs Indian life and culture. We may call it the force of detachment or for want of a better phrase, the impulse of spirituality. Let us see how this common heritage reacts on the Indian mind. As an extreme case let us see how one of the greatest of warrior kings became suddenly transformed under its dominating influence even at the moment of his greatest victory. In the ninth year of his reign his arms were successful and the extensive territories of Kalinga were incorporated with his Empire. This is what the Emperor Asoka writes on imperishable stone as the record of his triumph :

"His Majesty feels remorse on account of the conquest of the Kalingas, because during the subjugation of a country, slaughter, death and taking away captive of people necessarily occur. And for this his Majesty feels profound sorrow. Although, a man should do him injury, he holds that it must be patiently borne. His Majesty desires for all security, peace of mind and joyousness."

And the chiefest conquest is through righteousness. So much about the man of the sword. As regards the other man who truly dedicates his life for quest of knowledge in our country, any longing for personal gain or misuse of his knowledge would be worse than sacrilege. Poised as he is between the infinity of the past and the infinity of the future, between universes of worlds and universes of atoms—can anything be worth his while for so sorry a prize? Can his mind be satisfied with anything less sublime than to be merged in the rhythmic sweep of the world-spirit itself.

SYNTHESIS OF SCIENCES.

The excessive specialisation in the West has led to the danger of our losing sight of the fundamental truth that there are not sciences but a single science that includes all. India is perhaps through her habit of mind better fitted to realise a wider synthesis. One of the greatest contributions in the realm of science would undoubtedly be the establishment of a great generalisation, not merely speculative, but based on actual demonstration of an underlying unity amidst bewildering diversity. Shall this great glory be for India to win? In my investigations on the action of forces on matter, I was amazed to find boundary lines vanishing and to discover points of contract emerging between the Living and non-Living. My first work in the region of invisible lights made me fully realise how in the midst of a luminous ocean we stood almost blind. But out of the very imperfection of his senses, man has dared in science to build for himself a raft of thought by which to make daring adventures into the great seas of the unknown.

LIFE UNVOICED.

Just as in following light from visible to the invisible our range of investigation transcends our physical sight, so also the problem of the great mystery of Life and Death is brought a little nearer solution, when in the realm of the living we pass from the Voiced to the Unvoiced. Is there any possible relation between our own life and that of the plant world? The question is not one of dreamy speculation but of actual demonstration by some method that is unimpeachable. This means that we should abandon all our preconceptions, most of which are afterwards found to be absolutely groundless and contrary to facts. The final appeal must be made to the plant itself, and no evidence should be accepted unless it bears the plant's own signature. This meant first the discovery of some compulsive force which would make the plant give some answering signal; then instrumental means have to be supplied for the automatic conversion of these signals into an intelligent script; and last of all we have ourselves to learn the nature of the hieroglyphic.

THE INNER HISTORY OF PLANT LIFE.

It was to be the discovery of the inner history of the plant hidden under a placid exterior, the detection of the subtle impress left on by storm and sunshine, by the warmth of summer and frost of winter, by a passing breeze or a drifting cloud. It can easily be imagined how extraordinarily delicate the instruments must be which would detect all these and reveal the secrets of the unvoiced and hidden life. It has to measure the twitching throb under a shock, the time it takes the plant to perceive it, and measure the rate of impulse with which the message is being sent along the conducting path of the plant. It has to measure its living pulsation and the stupor that comes under the action of narcotics and signal the exact moment of death under the action of poisons.

I said that the slur against Indian competence in science has chiefly lain in regard to lack of the experimental skill and the power of invention and construction of apparatus of extreme delicacy,

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To this the sufficient answer is, that the instruments just described have all been devised in India and constructed by Indian mechanicians. Their great perfection and extreme delicacy may be gauged from the fact that though these instruments have been widely exhibited in all the scientific centres of the West and though America boasts the possession of the greatest mechanicians of the world, yet even in America they found it impossible to repeat these instruments. And requests have in consequence been made by the different Universities in Europe and America for the supply of duplicates of instruments from my Laboratory these being regarded of essential importance for furthering the new investigations relating to life.

It will thus be seen that when we put our whole strength into the accomplishment of any object, all difficulties vanish and the impossible becomes possible. But this cannot be the outcome of easy complacency. For twelve years a single man had to bear the brunt of the fight against the whole scientific world and after years of drudgery and many failures success came to me at last.

You may ask whether dreamy speculations have been of any help to me. Twenty years ago I had to write a magazine article on the life of plants. It was written in one hour under the free play of an unrestrained imagination. It told of wonderful things, and it is not at all surprising that some of them did come out true; but the rest of the speculation was quite wrong. It is not the likelihood of something coming out right that is of the least importance in science. What really counts is the absolute certainty of demonstrated fact which is true for all time; and on this sure foundation alone can great superstructure be raised. How necessary it is to observe extreme caution in being misled by speculation will be obvious when we realise that we may be led astray by appearances which we accept as well-ascertained fact. All of us, for instance, have regarded 'Mimosa' as delicately sensitive, shrinking from touch, while most of tho ordinary plants were supposed to be devoid of all sensibility. My investigations show that the so-called sensitive plants are really paralysed, this motor paralysis being confined to one side; while many of the so-called insensitive plants are far more sensitive than the much-vaunted Mimosa. Again who has not been struck by the closing of the leaflets of certain plants at the onset of darkness, this being unhesitatingly regarded as the sleep of plants. In reality, closure of leaflets has nothing whatever to do with true sleep; my investigations show that plants, generally speaking, do not go to sleep in the evening but keep wide awake nearly all night long and fall asleep only about six in the morning! This will show how necessary it is for the discovery of truth to maintain a spirit of absolute detachment and perfect freedom of mind from all preconceived bias. The hardest struggle is to protect oneself from being self-deceived, and one has to guard against it and keep vigilant all the time.

THE WIDE VISTA.

It was after repeating every one of the innumerable tests by which animal life is usually differentiated that I was able to prove that the phenomenon of life with all its multiplex variations are identical in plant and in animal. In other words, all life is One. This identity has been proved to be so real that after discovering some new reactions in plants, I have been able to predict its occurrence, hitherto unsuspected, in the animal, and my predictions have come out invariably true. The unexpected revelations in the life of plants have opened out vast fields of inquiry in physiology, in medicine, and even in psychology. Many problems long regarded as insoluble have been brought within the region of experimental investigation. In physiology the new inquiry is concerned in the determination of the characteristics of life and death, and in unravelling the mystery of automatism. In medicine it deals with the fundamental reaction of drugs on protoplasm itself, by which its practice is raised from empiricism to science. It tries to solve the anomaly of an identical drug inducing two opposite effects on different individuals. In psychology a new chapter has been opened out by the discovery of nervous impulse in plants. Certain new phenomenon discovered in plant-nerve shows that the intensity of the nervous impulse which colours our sensation, as pleasure or pain, is not solely determined by the intensity of the external blow, but that the character of the sensation is capable of modification according to the predisposition which can be imparted to the vehicle that carries the sense-bearing message.

There are but a few of the many sided inquiries which have had their birth in India, and which cannot but affect many branches of science. Shall these remain the offering of an individual worker to come to an end with him, or shall there rise a school of science to hold the need of recognition which has been so hardly won and maintained

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a continuous and living tradition of India's gift to the world in the realm of science.

HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

In any case if India has to make any contribution to the world, it should be as great as the hope we cherish for her. Let us not talk of the glories of the past till we have secured for her her true place among the intellectual nations of the world. Let us find out how she has fallen from her high estate, and ruthlessly put an end to all that self-satisfied, little-minded vanity which has been the cause of our fatal weakness. What is it that stands in her way? Is her mind paralysed by weak superstitious fears? Not so; for her great thinkers, the Rishis, always stood for freedom of intellect, and while Galileo was imprisoned and Bruno burnt for his opinions, they boldly declared that even the Vedas are to be rejected if they do not conform with truth. They urged in favour of persistent efforts for the discovery of physical causes yet unknown, since to them nothing was extra-physical but merely mysterious, because of the hitherto unascertained cause. Were they afraid that the march of knowledge was a danger to true faith? Not so; for to them knowledge and religion are one. Do they now lack devotion to a life consecrated to knowledge? Not so; for they have still the *sanyasin* spirit which utterly controls the body and can meditate or inquire endlessly while life remains, never for a moment losing sight of the object, never for a moment let it be obscured by any terrestrial temptation.

These are the hopes that animate us. For there is something in the Hindu culture which is possessed of extraordinary talents and strength, by which is resisted the ravages of time and the distructive changes which have swept over the earth. And indeed a capacity to endure through infinite transformations must be innate, in that mighty civilisation which has seen the intellectual culture of the Nile, the Valley of Assyria, and of Babylon, wax and wane and disappear, and which to-day gazes on the future with the same invincible faith with which it met the past.

Asphyxiating Gases of Modern Warfare.

BY PROF. RAM RATTAN KHANNA, B.SC.

IT was never imagined that certain gases could be used as a formidable weapon, until quite recently Germany, in the teeth of all opposition offered by the civilised world as well as the distinct doctrines of international law, took the lead in using such cruel methods of inflicting havoc on the enemy's numbers. In the Concise Oxford Dictionary a "stink-ball" is defined as "a vessel containing explosive, etc., generating noxious vapours, used formerly in naval warfare and still by eastern pirates." The Germans have shown the world how science may be degraded in its application to the purposes of the pirate, and our military commanders have now to deal with a new weapon previously unheard of in the field. The Allies were quick to perceive the call upon their scientific resources and were prepared for the new emergency of the field. Steps have already been taken to provide protection for our men in the field. A survey of the whole question of the composition and the properties of the gases which have been, or are likely to be used, would be of sensational interest both to the chemist engaged in research work for his national welfare, and to a lay man interested in the world and what is happening in its sphere.

The Chemical Laboratory would be able to provide a very large number of offensive and poisonous gases and vapours. For practical purposes such vapours and gases would be limited to those which possess the following qualities:—

Firstly, they must be much heavier than air, because gases and vapours which are lighter than air or are of about the same density would be practically useless as weapons of destruction by suffocation. The reason is obvious. Carbon dioxide commonly called carbonic acid gas, which is, heavier than air, bulk for bulk, would thus be suitable as an agent for suffocation.

Secondly, they must be producible in large quantity in the form of a portable liquid, or solid, which in its turn will evaporate rapidly from the containing vessel so as to produce the gas. Ordinary liquids which give the most powerful fumes, acute in their irritating power and intolerate for their suffocating effects, are mostly useless for

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purposes of the field because they would not evaporate with sufficient rapidity to show a marked effect. The enemy becoming aware of the presence of such fumes in the neighbourhood would hastily retire in the direction of greater security. Thus we see that vapours in order to be effective should be condensed gases.

Thirdly, they should not be excessively soluble in water or much would be lost in rolling over moist ground. Every reader of the daily newspapers has now become familiar with the frequent reports of huge masses of clouds rolling along the ground at great speed. The atmosphere always contains a certain amount of moisture which is exhibited to students of Elementary Science by holding a tumbler containing an iced drink to them. More especially this is observed every morning in winter on grassy plots wetted with dew. If moisture is largely capable of absorbing these gases or vapours, much of their value as effective weapons would be lost.

In the newspaper accounts from eye-witnesses of the cloud of gas sent out by the enemy, it has several times been described as presenting a reddish colour. If this statement is based on correct observation, and it has been corroborated by chemist observers in the field, it is probable that the gas used on these occasions must have contained either bromine or peroxide of nitrogen, both of which have an orange-brown colour. Germany has lately been experiencing a nitric acid famine owing to a huge demand for nitric acid which is so largely used in the manufacture of explosives, etc. Moreover, nitric acid is an expensive article both for its own value and for the value of the nitrates from which it is derived. It, therefore, seems improbable that oxides of nitrogen would be so ruthlessly used. Bromine, however, is made from the salts in the Stassfurt deposits of Germany, and from this source up to the outbreak of war much of the bromine and bromides of commerce was obtained. Possessed of a large amount of mineral wealth in the form of these deposits, Germany would in all probability make the largest use of her natural resources. Thus, for economic reasons, the chances are in favour of the copious use of bromine or bromides in preference to nitric acid and the nitrates.

Bromine is at common temperature a liquid but it evaporates very easily and produces a vapour which is about five and a half times as heavy as air. It is not necessary that bromine should be pure for these purposes. Probably the amount of bromine available would be insufficient for the production of the enormous quantities of vapour required in these operations if used by itself. It is clear that the object of these manufactures is not the production of pure bromine but of something that will suffocate. Therefore the material used for this purpose may consist essentially of chlorine, an element closely allied to bromine, accompanied with a quantity of bromine sufficient to produce a suffocating effect. This reasoning also accounts for the colour ascribed to these masses of vapour by eye-witnesses in the field.

At the ordinary temperature chlorine is a pale green gas. It is about two and a half times as heavy as air. It is not largely absorbed by moisture and is also easily condensible into a liquid under moderate pressure. Thus it satisfies all the requirements of asphyxiating gas as used in the war. The gas was discovered by the Swedish chemist, Scheele, in 1744, and has been used for bleaching purposes since the end of the eighteenth century. It acts rapidly on nearly all metals if moisture is present either on the metal or with the gas. When free from moisture it does not act upon iron. For this reason it has been produced commercially in very large quantities for many years past in the liquid state and preserved in iron bottles. There can be little doubt that the infernal material from which our men have been suffering is sent into the trenches in iron cylinders. The suffering and death which are consequent upon getting the gas into the lungs have been ascribed to the gaseous chlorine which may or may not be accompanied by bromine. Other substances of a volatile nature have been suggested as possibilities. Phosgene, a compound of carbonic oxide gas and chlorine, is a heavy gas, about three and a half times as heavy as air. This also is easily liquifiable and the liquid evaporates rapidly on exposure. Phosgene has been manufactured by Germany as a commercial article for a fairly long time on a fairly large scale. Thus it seems possible that phosgene may also have been included among other poisonous gases.

Sulphur dioxide is a gas of common observation and is obtained by burning sulphur. As regards its fitness as an asphyxiating gas it would be sufficient to say that it is easily liquifiable, so much so that every chemical laboratory possesses liquid sulphur dioxide. Also the liquified gas evaporates rapidly, and is not absorbed by moisture to a very large extent.

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The other side of the question is probably of greater interest and importance at the present juncture. How is it possible to counteract the effect of these gases? Is it possible for a solider at the front to move about in a cloud of the asphyaiating gas without materially injuring his faculties? These are questions to which an answer is being found in the numerous research laboratories of Great Britian and her Allies. A brief summary of what has already been done may be of interest:

Fortunately all these fumigating agents resemble one another, in that it is possible to absorb them by passing them over or through strongly alkaline substances. The effectiveness of the latter would be considerably enhanced by the addition of a proportion of sodium thiosulphate, the familiar "hypo" of the photographer, if it were established that the gas cloud consist mainly of a mixture of chlorine and bromine. It is important to notice that it has been found useful to have a strong alkali and in sufficiently thick layers. Carbonate of soda has been found very useful for this purpose.

The War Office has been quick in supplying masks to the troops which are partially effective in counteracting the asphyxiating gases. Essentially these masks consists of material saturated, though not dripping, with a strong solution of common washing soda (sodium carbonate) mixed with an equal quantity of "hypo," to which 2 or 3 per cent. of glycerine has been added to keep the whole damp.

Another mixture which has been suggested would be the granular mixture of lime and caustic soda known in every chemical laboratory as soda lime. Glycerine may be left out of this.

It is interesting to note that many private persons actuated with a well-meant desire to help their soldier friends at the front have sent ineffective pads. Most of these attempts have not only been found to be imperfect but really dangerous to the men by leading them to consider themselves immune when practically there is no protection. No doubt, measures have since been adopted by the War Office to prevent such individual misfortunes.

NATIVE STATES AND INDUSTRIES.

BY RAO BAHADUR SARDAR M. V. KIBE SAHEB, OF INDORE, M.A.

COMMERCE and industries prosper under certain circumstances only; some of them are natural while others have to be created. The environment is the chief thing. Considerations of time, space and situation affect it. It is, therefore, not always easy to bring about a suitable environment, and in any case it has its limitations. Their just appreciation alone leads to success.

The number of Indian states is legion; so are their varieties. While some are independent as regards their internal administration, others exercise only limited sovereign rights. The finance of none of them, however, is national. It is either sub-national or local. This puts out of consideration any encouragement to the commerce or industries by means of the tariff. But there are several other ways of helping them.

It was not until the Crusades familiarised the routes that impetus was given to the inland trade in Europe. The opening up of the means of communication is a powerful factor in the flourishing of commerce. This means is within the reach of every Indian State, whatever its extent or rights might be. Monetary considerations are the only limitations.

The bright example of the Railways in general in India is worthy to be followed. If the cheaper mono-rail suceeds, it will solve the problem of communications as no other devise can. But in its absence, the metre and small guages in India are useful. For the purposes of opening up communications, states should combine and may even incur debt. Next to the railway come, macadamised roads. Where on account of the physical features the construction of a railway is unduly expensive, a motor car traffic can be established on main roads. It is, however, neither so certain nor so useful as a railway.

Next to the opening of the country comes the

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fostering of Industries. Capital and technical skill are the main factors in it. The one industry to which all the Indian States can and should devote attention is agriculture. This industry is capable of expanding in the direction of intensiveness, as well as of giving a better class of out-turn. Better seed will give better fruit, lessen dangers from diseases and command a paying market. The supplying of manure, irrigation and seasonable sowings will increase the output. The use of labour-saving machines ought to reduce the cost of cultivation, which means an increase of profits.

Allied to agriculture are sylvan industries. The advantages of a forest policy have been only lately understood. It is a host in itself. Worked within its natural limits, it gives both direct and indirect advantages. The forests of India are capable of starting several new industries, such as paper making, production of dye-stuffs and oils, and sericulture.

The exploitation of minerals may be advantageous to some states. The methods employed and the opportunity are the two determining factors in it. Generally speaking in the present stage of the development of the industries of India, this industry had better lag behind.

The advance made by science in the electrical engineering has placed a new power at the service of man. In several native states are water-falls, the energy of which is running to waste. There are also natural places where with a small labour and at a trifling cost artificial water-falls can be made. It will be of great use to harness them. Their energy can then not only be utilised for affecting economics in lighting, conducting trams and similar other things, but it can bring new industries into existance.

By nature Indian states, which are mostly situated in hilly tracts, are best fitted for starting glass-making factories. Waterfalls and quartz can be found in juxtaposition and at a comparatively small cost things of glass can be manufactured. India must be able to produce all such things required by it. The energy of water-falls can also aid many industries connected with forests.

If careful and minute attention is paid to local circumstances, many industries can be fostered, resusciated or even started. Chief among these is the handloom industry. There are certain kinds of fabrics in the making of which powerlooms are powerless. It is here where the handloom comes in. Owing to neglect and greater attraction of the work in mills, the condition of the weavers on handlooms has become deplorable. Its reformation is a necessity on more than one account.

The making of cutlery, metal utensils, toys and games and similar other things would not only find bread for many, but give the purchasers better articles at the same or perhaps lesser cost than the present.

The Courts of Indian rulers yet afford shelter to indigenous medicines. It is a matter for regret that, in spite of the vast stores of the raw materials at hand, neither any individual nor a combined attempt has been made to systematise the practice of the production of indigenous medicines.

The principle of the Government in native states is of the greatest help to the undertaking of new projects. These states are governed as autocracies. Every thing the state possesses belongs to the ruler personally and therefore, he can utilise his possessions in any way he likes. He can invest his money in commerce or industries.

For a great many of the states it will be convenient (and perhaps the only means of starting new industries,) if they themselves undertake to do so. They can command capital and technical skill which no institution of their subjects can. But some states at least can and must associate their subjects with themselves. This can be done by guaranteeing the interest on certain concerns, by partly subscribing to the capital or even by bounties.

The Governments of many Indian states can utilise the suggestions made to the Government of India in a paper contributed to this conference last year. The Mysore Government has set a good example by appointing a Director of Industries. It is, however, not easy to get a qualified man for the post. There are not many Chattertons. For bigger states it will be advantageous to send men to foreign countries and let them be trained. Smaller states may continue to secure such men. The establishment of technical schools of more or less quantity according to the ability of a state to incur the expenditure is one of their chief duties. The work of creating or fostering industries is not one which can be accomplished by a stroke of the pen or by arm-chair advisers; it requires patient and steady endeavours and minute and detailed surveys no less than enthusiasm, money, wide outlook and luck.—*Paper prepared for the Indian Industrial Conference.*

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LORD CURZON'S WAR POEMS.

BY MR. STANLEY P. RICE, I.C.S.

IT is not given to every one to be a poet and probably Lord Curzon would be the first to disclaim any such title for himself. There is hardly anything original in his book of *War Poems* (War Poems and other translations by Lord Curzon of Kedleston: John Lane, London), but there are many admirable translations. If the main impression left upon the reader is that, here is the work of the scholar and not of the poet, yet the renderings are for the most part both elegant and faithful. And their impression of scholarship is enhanced by the inclusion of several classical pieces—not only translations from Greek and Latin into English but also experiments in lyric and elegiac Latin verse. The author does not shrink from comparison with the originals which are very wisely printed opposite to the translations, so that the reader has the opportunity of reading either separately or both together.

The first part of the book is entitled "War Poems," but out of the series of 18 pieces only the first eight are directly connected with the War of 1914, and of these seven are from the pen of the Belgian writer, Emile Cammaerts. The "Song of the Belgians" is distinctly reminiscent of Aytoun. Here is a stanza at random :—

Come with flaming beechen branches
And the music of the drum;
Come and strew them on the earth-heaps
When our dead lie buried, come!
Choose a day like this, my brothers,
When the wind a pattern weaves
'Mid the shivering poplar tree tops,
When the scent of fallen leaves
Floats like perfume through the woodland,
As it doth to-day, that so
Some sweet odour of our good land
May be with them down below.

There is no attempt here to conform in any way to the French metre. It is well known that the absence of accent in French makes it particularly difficult to adhere to the metre and in this particular song the original verse is of the irregular type.

There is a good marching swing about "The Belgian Flag," which begins thus :—

Red for the blood of soldiers
Black, yellow and red—
Black for the tears of mothers,
Black, yellow and red—
And yellow for the light and flame
Of the fields where the blood is shed.

The lines are very close to the original and the rendering is very spirited, in spite of the fact that the translator is in 3 of the verses bound by the necessity of the 2nd and 4th lines : "Black, yellow, and red." It is one of his difficulties of translation that though the ideas are ready made, the exigencies of rhyme and rhythm sometimes compel the translator to abandon a close fidelity to the original, or on the other hand, where the *form* must be retained at all costs, to choose words which fail to reproduce a particular conceit or point of the author. This is especially the case where each verse ends in a kind of refrain, either repeated without change or varied according to the sense of what went before. Thus in Swinburne's "Rococo," the alternate verses end :—

..... pleasure
..... pain
and ..... remember
.. .. forget

Any translation which ignored this, would change the form and thereby lose the conceit of the poem. In "Bells of Flanders," Lord Curzon is hampered in this way. The poem describes in a series of four verses a quiet Flanders before the War, the approach of the enemy, the ruin of the country and, lastly, the ultimate revenge and victory. The refrain in the first verse is :—

Va! Sonne! Sonne gaiement!
Leger Carillon Flamand!

And in the succeeding verses "leger" becomes respectively "Vaillant," "noble" and "libre." The first three words are appropriately rendered by English dissyllable, but the word "libre" which is also a dissyllable, becomes "free-born, evidently because there is no appropriate dissyllable in English. But the point is lost. Flanders has emerged from her bondage into a new freedom; "free-born" entirely fails to give this idea. And while we are still concerned with details, it is worth while to mention several false rhymes. In "The Wounded Soldier," "impatience" is made to rhyme with "patients"; in "The Spring Road," "love" is made to rhyme with "love" twice over. This kind of rhyme is sometimes legitimate as in Verlaine's "Romance Sans Paroles", but in the "Spring Road," one fancies that the translator was driven to the repetition. Other instances of this occur in the translation from Dante, in some respects the best poem in the book. We find there "course" rhyming with "discourse," and "Universe" with "perverse."

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"The Wounded Soldier" is a spirited piece, the metre of which reminds one of Praed :

A veteran he with fierce moustache
The triple stripe he's wearing—
All prudes and hypocrites he loathes
And starts by loudly swearing.

* * *

What use to him their faithful watch,
The care that never ceases!
He knows his leg is lost and done
And he'll be hacked to pieces.

Of the epigrams, epitaphs and inscriptions, the worst is the famous couplet on the "Spartans at Thermopylae." One would like to quote the Greek but failing this the following is offered, though no special merit is claimed for it :—

Go, tell the Spartans, thou that passest by
That here, obeying their commands, we lie.

Lord Curzon has attempted the classical elegiac metre thus :—

Stranger, go hence and say to the men who hold [Lacedaemon—
Here, far away, we lie, proudly obeying her words.

It is well known that the elegiac metre does not suit the English language which has never yet produced really great hexameters and pentameters. Moreover, in order to get the metre a great deal of padding is put in. The Lacedaemonians do not "hold" Lacedaemon as the Germans hold Brussels, but as the French "hold" Paris in peace time, and the expression is hardly to be justified. These is nothing in the lines of Simonides which corresponds either to "far away," or to "proudly." Both the simplicity and the vigour of the original have disappeared. A more successful effort in this sort of thing is the following :—

Colley fell ill and is no more
His fate you bid me to deplore ?
But what the deuce is to be said ?
Colley was living, Colley's dead.

The three longer poems in the book are the Francesca da Rimini episode from Dante, the Myth of Er from Plato's Republic and the Vision of Mirza from the Spectator. The two last are an attempt to throw into verse material which is in the form of prose poetry. The task sounds perhaps harder than it really is, for the subjects are eminently poetical and the writer is not hampered by the form : he can be as free as he likes. Gilbert Murray has so treated the plays of Euripides, for the choruses especially must have been translated into English prose before they took lyrical shape.

All the three poems are in the metre of Tennyson's Palace of Art, but we have only space to dwell on one. The Dante is a distinctly happy effort and the verses keep very close to the original, though one must inevitably miss the famous lilt. We may compare :—

Io venni in loco d'ogni luce muto
Che megghia, come fa mar per tempesta
Se da contrari venti è combattuto.
To a spot I came
Void of all light which like a sea
Lashed with opposing winds that naught can tame
Bellows in agony.

One is tempted to quote more but of course attention is attracted to the two most famous passages in the episode :

Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella Miseria."

Which, not too happily, becomes :—

There is no greater woe
Than to old happiness from grief to turn.

and again :—

Quel giorno piú non vi leggemms avante.
That day
We read no more,

which is admirable in its simplicity.

For various reasons it does not seem desirable to offer any comment on the English translations into Latin. As Lord Curzon says in the preface to the book : "It is an exercise of much attraction and has provoked the expenditure of no small ingenuity. But one cannot help wondering what an ancient Greek or Roman would have thought of the Iambics or Elegiacs of even the most erudite of modern classical scholars, much more of the mediocre practitioner." Apart from the fact that such poems are probably "caviare to the general" in the case of the majority of the readers of this "Review," it would be presumptuous in one who is not a Professor of Latin, and who for many years has not tried seriously to cultivate the little he knew, to attempt to criticise. If the translations do not reach the highest watermark of translation into the English language, they are at any rate admirable and on the whole a successful effort. An example of the author at his best may fitly close this paper :—

Give me your hands ; give me your eyes
Your eyes that sparkle in my dream ;
My troubled heart to exorcise
Give me your hands ; give me your eyes,
Stars that beguile me as they gleam,
Give me your eyes, give me your hands,
Your hands with their magician's spell ;
To guide me through the unknown lands,
Give me your eyes, give me your hands,
Your hands Princess in mine to dwell.

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INDIAN CULTURE AND ITS CLAIMS.*

BY PANDIT SRI KRISHNA JOSHI.

It is now generally recognised in the learned world that the culture which has influenced the largest part of the human race is of Aryan origin. Historians, philologists, ethnologists and other scholars of Europe and America trace the descent of the principal nations of those continents from a common source, *viz.*, an Aryan people who are believed to have lived in remote times somewhere in Central Asia, and to have sent out colonies not only to different parts of Europe, but also to Persia and India. These people of the parent stock are supposed to have spoken a language of which Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, and the principal languages of modern Europe are regarded as dialects; and to have worshipped the great powers of Nature as divine manifestations. They are credited with having lived under a regular Government and having practised several useful arts, and employed mechanical devices which point to some advance in civilized life. The Greeks and the Romans are acknowledged to be pre-eminent among the groups of colonists who migrated to the West, because it was from them that Europe received its civilization. . . . . .

If Aryan culture played so important a part in the West, its developments in the East were no less remarkable. The Aryans of Persia founded a State which rose to such eminence that one of its kings, Cyrus, conquered the ancient and powerful kingdom of Babylon and subjugated Greek territories in Asia Minor. Another king, Dariaus, invaded the very home of the Greeks. Although the heroes of Marathon did not allow him to gain a footing in their country, Xerxes won victories and his son made conquests in Greece, and it required all the resources of the Athenians and Spartans to save themselves and their neighbours from falling under the Persian yoke. . . . . .

Far away from Persia and farther away from Greece and Rome, the Aryans of India, cut off from the rest of the world by the barriers of the Himalaya and the Ocean, reared a civilization of their own which is acknowledged to be no less developed than that of Rome or Greece, and to have reached an advanced stage of progress long before the Romans or the Greeks began to organise themselves into civilized communities. One of the most important landmarks in the history of Indian civilization is, the great war which is the subject of the Mahabharat and which cannot be placed later than the thirteenth century before the Christian era, even by those who exercise the greatest stringency in admitting proofs of the antiquity or the excellence of that civilization. According to Indian chronology based upon astronomical and other data, that war took place more than 2,400 years before Christ. Many of the greatest achievements of the Aryans of India had been completed long before that war. They had built cities and states, and their sovereigns had ruled over an empire stretching east and west as far as the ocean, that is to say, from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian sea of modern geography. This is evident from even earlier records than the Mahabharat. Among other authorities may be mentioned the *Aitareya Brahmana*, which contains a most impressive description of the ceremonials observed at the coronation of the paramount ruler, who is referred to as the one sovereign of the world extending to the ocean, आऽन्तादा परार्धात्प्रायण्ये समुद्रपर्यन्तायाएकराट्. The *Rajasuya* and the Asvamedha were performed to signalize the assumption of suzerainty over the then civilized world which was confined to India in the age of those sacrifices. The ritual for these sacrifices is laid down in the Yajurveda, which is regarded by modern scholars to be older than the *Aitareya Brahmana*. These functions belong to an age long before the formation of Greek States or the buliding of the City of Rome, which is said to have commenced about 750 B.C., and which was the nucleus of the Roman Empire and the starting-point of Roman civilization.

The Aryans of India not only made conquests of territories but did far greater things. They made conquests in the domains of thought, knowledge, and spirit. All the great civilizations of the world are well known to have had their beginnings in religion. The religion of ancient India, *viz.*, the Vedic religion, is not only the oldest of the religions of which any records exist, but can substantiate its claim to the highest spiritual and moral truths that are to be found in any religion. It is the highest form of monotheism ever conceived. Evidence is being slowly discovered which some scholars regard as pointing to the Vedic religion as the ultimate source of all the world-religions. There is no doubt about

* Paper read in connection with the Benares Hindu University Opening Ceremony.

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Buddhism, which is known to count 40 per cent? of the world's population among its followers, being derived from the Vedic religion. It may, in fact, be regarded as a Protestant form of that religion. The very founder of Buddhism says that his teaching is the ancient religion of India एसोधम्मो सनत्तनो (एष धर्मः सनातनः) occurs again and again in the *Dhammapada*. Modern scholarship has discovered that the highest truths of morality taught by Christianity formed part of Buddhism centuries before the birth of Christ, that the Sermon on the Mount was anticipated in Asoka's edicts, that the Buddhist monks in Palestine, known to the Greeks as the Essenes, had been preaching their religion in Asia Minor at and before the time of Christ, and that the foremost sacrament of Christianity, *viz.*, baptism was adopted from Buddhism by John the Baptist, and through him by Jesus who was afterwards honoured with the appellation of Christ for reasons similar to those for which Siddhartha Gautama came to be called the Buddha. These facts were incorporated by the late Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt in his *History of Civilization in Ancient India*, and summed up in the remark that: 'Christianity, as an ethical and moral advance on the religions of antiquity, is indebted to Buddhism as preached in Palestine by the Essenes when Jesus was born.' Mahomedanism may be said to be even more intimately related to Christianity than Buddhism is to the Vedic religion; for the Old Testament of Christians is a part of Mahomedan scriptures, and Christ is honoured by all Mahomedans as one of their prophets.

Whether the religion of India is or is not the parent of other religions is, however, of far less importance than the question how far that religion provides for the material, moral, and spiritual welfare of humanity. This question may, to some extent, be regarded as answered by the very terms in which the word religion, as understood in ancient India, is defined:—

यतोऽभ्युदय निःश्रेयस सिद्धिःसधर्मः

(That is religion which conduces to temporal prosperity and eternal bliss). Equally well known and equally authoritative are the oft-quoted texts of the Mahabharat to the effect that religion is so called because it unites and maintains individuals in communities, that its purpose is to make them prosperous and powerful, and that he alone understands religion who is friendly to all and devoted to the good of all by actions, mind, and speech:

धारणाद्धर्म इत्याहुर्धर्मेण विधृताः प्रजाः
यःस्याद्धारणसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः
प्रभवार्थाय भूतानां धर्म प्रवचनं कृतम् ।
यः स्यात् प्रभवसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥
सर्वेषां यः सुहृन्नित्यं सर्वेषां च हिते रतः ।
कर्मणा मनसा वाचा सधर्मं वेद जाजले ।

These texts are not merely on paper but were for ages observed in actual life. Those who have the privilege of direct acquaintance with the pictures of life in the societies regulated by the Vedic religion, and the codes of law and morals based upon the Vedas, cannot but feel a longing to live that life. It is true that there were wars and conquests in India in very ancient times, when civilization was being substituted for savagery, but it is equally true that those times were followed by a long era of peaceful life and true civilization in which moral force is substituted for brute force, and in which justice and freedom take the place of aggression and serfdom—a state of things which Europe is longing and struggling to secure. Prosperous communities lived under the government of their own chiefs and under the protection of a central power, which preserved peace and acted as the arbitrator between conflicting interests. That state of things is pithily described by Kalidas in the line:

नृपा इवोपप्लविनः परेभ्यो धर्मोत्तमं मध्यममाश्रयन्ते ।

The form of government mostly prevailing in those communities was limited monarchy. There were very few democracies, if any, like those of ancient Greece; but the most thorough-going democrat may be tempted to hail a monarchy in which the king is bound by law to see that his subjects do not suffer from hunger, preventible and curable disease, or from exposure to heat and cold. That the king was so bound is evident from such texts as the following from *Apastamba Dharmasutra*:—

न चास्य विषये क्षुधा रोगेण हिमातपाभ्यां वाऽवसीदेत कश्चित्

It is also evident from the Mahabharat that the king was expected to find means of living for his subjects, protect their possessions, promote their prosperity and prevent disease, avoidable mortality, and other dangers. This is concisely expressed in the couplet:

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राजमूला महावाहो योगक्षेमसमृद्धयः ।
प्रजासु व्याधयश्चैव मरणं च भयानि च ॥

That Vedic religion offers a complete scheme of the highest civil and spiritual life to its followers can be proved to any intelligent person who is prepared to undertake a moderate amount of trouble in studying the records of that religion. This may of course be claimed, to some extent, for all great religions which lay down rules of morality and insist upon their observance in order to make corporate life possible; they also enjoin devotion to God or other means of spiritual progress. But there are many features of the Vedic religion in which it can be proved to excel all other religions. No other religion can claim to allow liberty of conscience and freedom of thought and speech to the extent enjoyed by the followers of the Vedic religion. Europe has known martyrs of free-thought from the time of Socrates down to the days of the Inquisition. In India even downright atheists like the Charvakas were allowed to disseminate their views unmolested. Kapila never suffered any persecution for declaring that the existence of God could not be proved. On the contrary he has been given the unique distinction of being included among the seven fathers of Sankya philosophy called *Sanakadi Sapta manushyah* who are offered libations known as *turpuna* by all who offer them to their ancestors. This honour is not paid to the founder of any of the most orthodox systems of philosophy or to any one else, except Bhishma, the renowned hero of the Mahabharat, who is so honoured for his surpassing wisdom, virtue and valour. Gautama Buddha who broke away from the Vedic religion, and made converts of the followers of that religion, was never persecuted. On the other hand his renunciation of a kingdom, his lofty character and his humane teachings were rewarded by his deification as an *avatar* of Vishnu. His followers were allowed to live in peace along with the followers of the Vedic religion.

Another point in favour of the Vedic religion is, that it does not come in conflict with science. On the other hand, science in its onward march is vindicating and demonstrating the tenets, beliefs, institutions, and practices of that religion. A few instances will suffice to support this statement. One of the principal tenets of that religion is, that all this universe is a manifestation and modification of the spirit as is evident from such texts as सर्वं ह्येतत् ब्रह्म अयमात्मा ब्रह्म, (मांडूक्य १, २) पुरुष एवेदं विश्वं (मुण्डक २,१,१०). India is proud that this tenet has been scientifically proved by the epoch-making discoveries and demonstrations of her distinguished son, Jagadish Chandra Bose. Another tenet of that religion is that the spirit, of which the universe is a visible manifestation, is smaller than the smallest and larger than the largest. अणोरणीयान् महतो महीयान्। The first part of this Vedic text is supported by the theory of electrons and other recent conclusions of science regarding the constitution of matter; and the second part was proved some centuries ago by Copernicus who found with the aid of the telescope that the boundless space around us is full of countless worlds immensely larger than the earth on which we live, and who suffered dire persecution for the heresy of communicating this discovery to his contemporaries in Europe. In India this discovery had been made many ages before. It is referred to in the *Yoga-Vasishtha*, which cannot but be regarded as much older than the time of Copernicus. The idea has been beautifully brought within the comprehension of average intelligence by comparing the innumerable worlds of stupendous magnitude journeying with tremendous velocity over their orbits in the infinite space, with imaginary giants dancing in a vast wilderness pervaded by awful darkness.

भीमान्धकार गहने सुमहत्यरण्ये
नृत्यन्त्य दर्शित परस्परमेव मत्ताः ।
यक्षा तथा प्रवितते परमान्धरेन्त
रेवं स्फुरन्ति सुबहूनि महा जगन्ति ॥

The said Vedic text will receive a still further confirmation if it is satisfactorily proved, as attempts are being made by astronomers to prove that the solar orb, which is the centre of our planetary system, is itself a planet revolving around the Canopus which is known to Indian astronomers as Agastyamuni, which has now been computed to be thousands of times larger and brighter than the sun which gives us light and life. सूर्य आत्मा जगतस्तस्थुषश्च is another Vedic text which has been verified by modern science. It says that the sun is the source of all life, animal, and vegetable; and so say the science of chemistry and the physical theory of conservation of energy. So much freedom of thought has been allowed in India in the interests of truth which is regarded as the highest form of religion.

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सत्यान्नास्ति परो धर्मः is a dictum which is unreservedly assented to by all followers of the Vedic religion. They are, therefore, bound to accept all well-established conclusions of science, for those conclusions are confined to matters within the ken of our senses, and in such matters the testimony of the senses is the highest authority according to the well-known canon of *Mimamsa*, which limits the authority of revelation to matters beyond the reach of the senses, a canon which is accepted by so high an authority as Sankaracharya who ratifies it with the remark प्रत्यक्षादि प्रमाणानुपलब्धेहि विषये श्रुतेः प्रामाण्यं न प्रत्यक्षादि विषये and boldly declares that if a hundred revelations could be produced to prove that fire was cold and devoid of light, they would have no weight. न हि श्रुति शतमपि शीताऽग्निरप्रकाशो वेति ब्रुवन् प्रामाण्यमुपैति. Another leading feature of the Vedic religion is that it brings all human activities within its purview. It does not regard secular life as distinct from religious life. Every human act is to be performed as a religious duty. Marriage is a religious duty because society must be made numerically strong. What would not the President of the French Republic pay to have marriage recognized as a religious duty? Education and cultivation of knowledge are a religious duty because without them society would lapse into barbarism. Household life and pursuit of some useful avocation is a religious duty because wealth must be produced to make society prosperous. Fighting is a religious duty because society must be guarded against aggression and allowed to work peacefully for its welfare and enjoy the fruits of its work. It need scarcely be said that fighting without a just cause is an offence against religion. Even the preparation of daily meals is a religious duty. The Gita voices Vedic teaching when it says: those who cook for selfish enjoyment 'eat sin.' भुञ्जते ते त्वघं पापा ये पचन्त्यात्मकारणात्. Life should, according to that teaching, be a series of services and sacrifices for the good of the society. The very name for a householder's life, गृहमेध, implies sacrifice. Services and sacrifices for the welfare of society are regarded as offerings to God. In this sense society which is the direct beneficiary of services and sacrifices is metaphorically spoken of in the famous पुरुष सूक्त as God Himself. Morality was never placed upon a surer and a higher basis than it has been in the *Purusha Sukta*, which teaches us to regard ourselves as members of one body, *viz.*, the body politic.

Health, safety, refinement, and progress in useful knowledge and prosperity are special concerns of the Vedic religion, which devotes an *Upaveda* to each of these interests. The aim of the Ayur Veda, as we all know, is to maintain society in health. Dhanurveda is unfortunately lost; but its aim is stated by Madhusudhana Sarasvati, who has given a brief epitome of that Upaveda, as taught by Visvamitra, to be the protection of society from its enemies. He has given such epitomes of all Vedas, Vedangas, Upavedas and other authoritative works in commenting upon the word प्रभिन्ने प्रस्थाने which occurs in the verse of the *Mahimna Stotra*, which says that God is the goal of all religions as the ocean is that of all rivers. नृणामेको गम्यस्त्वमसि पयसामर्णव इव.

The aim of the Ghandarvaveda is to refine society and lead it to higher life through the influence of music. Little or nothing has been preserved of the *Sthapatya Veda*, but it is known that it consisted of sciences and arts relating to the production of wealth. Philosophy, poetry, sciences, and arts are all regarded in Europe as secular subject. But in India they have always been accessories of religion. Their very origin has been traced to religion. The Vedas are well known as the source of philosophy and poetry. Readers of Romesh Chander Dutt's history know how geometry and astronomy arose in Vedic times. Architecture, sculpture, painting, drama, and music have always been cultivated in India chiefly for religious purposes. In fact, the whole civilization of India is based upon religion and is the creation of religion. Law and jurisprudence, which are the first essentials of civilized life, are known in India as *Dharma Sastra*. Civilization is in reality the product of knowledge and thought, and no other country cultivated knowledge and thought-power as systematically and scientifically as India. The sole aim of Indian religion and philosophy is to attain true knowledge, and the Indian system of cultivating thought-power, as taught in the Yoga philosophy, stands unparalleled and unapproached. Equally unrivalled is the Yoga system of moral and spiritual discipline summed up in the words Yama and Niyama. The knowledge of Nature is regarded as essential to the knowldge of God. The Vedic religion

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therefore lays down two paths, one of activity and the other of renunciation, प्रवृत्ति and निवृत्ति. The former is to be pursued by discharging the duties of one's position in society, by obtaining temporal prosperity, and by the enjoyment of legitimate pleasures of life; and thus pursued, it leads to the latter path which is that of unlimited knowledge and eternal bliss. Nature, including matter and mind, is described in Patanjali's *Yogasutra* as having experience and emancipation for its purposes. प्रकाश क्रिया स्थितिशीलं भूतेन्द्रियात्मकं भोगापवर्गार्थं दृश्यम् The *Vyasa Bhasya* on this aphorism explains experience (भोग) as a complete knowledge of all that is good and evil in Nature. तत्रेष्टानिष्टगुण स्वरूपावधारणमविभागापन्नं भोगः And this is a direct incitement to the cultivation of science, which of course is nothing but the study of Nature. It is not possible to notice even the leading characteristics of Indian culture in one discourse; but what has been said now is sufficient to indicate that that culture is the product of a highly civilized state of society and to show that what remains of it is worthy of being preserved. It is acknowledged by Western scholars who have studied some works of Sanskrit literature and have formed some idea of the remains of that literature, which have hitherto been catalogued and examined that those remains are much larger in volume and not inferior in value and merit than the remains of Greek and Latin literatures which are now in existence. Sir William Jones who was the first European to learn the Sanskrit language declared it to be 'more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either.' Many scholars in Europe and America have since studied that language, made researches in its literature, written accounts of their discoveries and recorded their appreciations of Indian culture, which it would require volumes to reproduce. They have traced the beginnings of several sciences such as geometry, algebra, astronomy, and medicine to India. Even so old an art as that of extracting metals from ores was, many years ago, stated by Sir George Birdwood to have been discovered by the Aryans of India. Much still remains of Sanskrit literature to be studied and understood. Emerson says that there are not more than a dozen scholars in any age who fully understand the writings of Plato, whom he regards as the source of all that is good and great in the religion and literature of modern Europe and America. When such is the case with Greek literature, which is so largely studied in Europe and America, it is not surprising that abstruse subjects written in so highly complex and so foreign a language as Sanskrit should not be fully understood in the West. The question of the extent, to which European civilization is indebted to India, may remain unsettled for a long time; but there is no doubt about the influence of Indian culture having dominated the religion, art, literature, and other constituents of civilization over the greater part of Asia. It is worthy of note that while Roman culture was imposed upon conquered peoples, Indian religion, laws, philosophy, art, and other phases of culture were voluntarily and reverently adopted in China, Japan, Tibet, Burma, Assam, Siam, Ceylon, and other parts of Asia. Roman culture was disorganised by Teutonic conquests and remained in abeyance during the dark ages of Europe. Indian culture similarly came to a standstill after the establishment of Mahomedan supremacy in this country. It is true that Mahomedans were not an uncivilized people like the old Teutons, but their language and civilization were very different from those of India. When Persian became the State language, it was cultivated not only by those who sought service under their Mahomedan rulers but by all who aspired to any status in their eyes or cared for the advantages to be derived from intercourse with them. Thus Indian culture fell into disuse. It is showing some signs of revival under the British Government as Sanskrit has been given a place in the curriculum of schools and colleges; but as examinations for Government service and the learned professions have to be passed in English, the option of taking Sanskrit as a second language is not availed of by many, and most of those who pass examinations in that language rarely possess much more than an elementary knowledge of it. European culture and European mode of living are being adopted as eagerly as Mahomedan culture and Mahomedan ways of living were assumed in former days. Indian religion and Indian institutions are being neglected or unintelligently worked, and evils arising from the apathy or ignorance of the workers are being urged as arguments in support of ill-informed attacks on that religion and those institutions. These cannot be satisfactorily worked without an adequate and widely extended knowledge of Sanskrit literature. When that

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religion was in full force and its institutions were in full working order, India was the most prosperous and most civilized country in the world. This was acknowledged even by the Greeks who are said in Europe to have been the teachers of the world. The testimony of Herodotus that Indians were a greater nation than any people of his time in Greece is well known to scholars. It is true that Greece made much progress after the time of Herodotus; but India made still greater progress. No one who has even a second-hand knowledge of Sanskrit literature derived from Western orientalists, will dispute the claim that no country has produced profounder thinkers, braver warriors, wiser law-givers and greater teachers of mankind than India. It is well known that the arts, manufactures, and wealth of India were the envy of the world within comparatively recent times. To-day, however, we all know that India is one of the poorest, most illiterate, and most helpless countries. She is dependent upon the outside world for many of the barest necessities of civilized life. Even needles for sewing clothes are not made in this country. Owing to the disorganisation due to war, we are threatened with a famine of needles as of many other requisites of our daily life. Two months ago at least a dozen needles could be bought for one pice. At present needles are said to be selling, at Benares, at the rate of one for a pice. Let us hope and pray that peace may soon be restored to the world; but if war lasts another year or so, we may have to revert to very primitive conditions, and those who have adopted European dress and European mode of life will be the greatest sufferers. Men of plain living and high thinking—the old ideal of India—can live a highly civilized life, at least to their own thinking, with two pieces of unsewn cloth. Still it is not desirable that those who wish to wear sewn clothes should not have that little instrument which is necessary for sewing. Science and arts are necessary for maintaining a civilized life, and they cannot really become the possessor of India so long as they cannot be learnt through the vernaculars of India. These vernaculars can only be enriched from the treasures of the Sanskrit literature, as European languages are enriched from Latin and Greek. There is a widespread agitation in the Western world for the substitution of what is called modern education for Latin and Greek; but the best minds in Europe and America are convinced that their civilization should not be cut off from its real source. Latin and Greek therefore continue to be taught in schools and colleges not only in Europe but in the more go-ahead America. No one is regarded in the West as a really educated man who has had no classical education. Sanskrit ought to be in India what Latin and Greek are in Europe and America. Indian vernaculars must be nourished on their mother's milk, if they are to thrive and grow to a full stature. The terminology and the structure of the language of sciences and arts must, in India, be based upon Sanskrit as they are based upon Latin and Greek in the West. Indian vernaculars must be the medium of instruction if education is to reach the mass of the Indian population. But if agriculturists, artisans, mechanics, and petty traders must be taught through the vernacular, the leaders of thought and life, and builders of science and literature, must be well grounded in the Sanskrit language and literature, and if India is to rise to greatness once more, the characters of her leading men must be built upon the great principles of her religion and morality, and must be moulded on the models supplied by the great characters of ancient India. It is great men who make great nations. It is great thoughts which make great men, and really great thought was never conceived and expressed in a foreign language.

India still possesses the makings of a great civilization. Her soil is as fertile as any other land. She is still rich in mineral and sylvan wealth. But her greatest asset is the rich heredity of talents and aptitudes produced by the institution, which was designed to secure the highest social efficiency by assigning the various functions of a civilized life to the classes best fitted to discharge them, and by recognising the great truth that faculties for doing superior and efficient work are best developed by hereditary transmission. If this great wealth of heredity is brought to bear upon the wealth of India's material resources, she can make her way to the vanguard of the world's civilization in the near future as surely as she did in the past.

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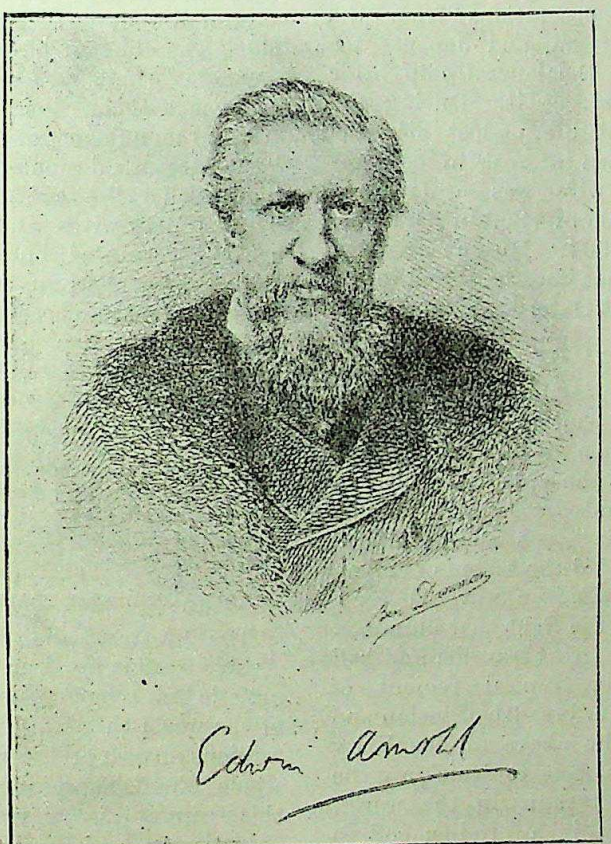
Sir Edwin Arnold & His Interpretation of the East

BY MR. K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

SIR Edwin Arnold was born on 10th June 1832, at Gravesend. He was the second son of Robert Coles Arnold, of Whartons Framfield, and elder brother of Sir Arthur Arnold. He was educated at King's School, Rochester, at King's College, London, and at University College, Oxford. He graduated in 1854 and became a Master of Arts in 1856. Although he got only a third class in the final classical school, he read classical poetry with a great deal of love and enthusiasm. In 1852, he obtained the Newdigate prize with a poem on *Belshazzar's Feast*. He published it in 1852 and afterwards included it in his volume entitled "Poems Narrative and Lyrical" published in 1853. He was second master at Birmingham in the King Edward's School for a short period. In 1856, he was nominated Principal of the Deccan College, Poona. It was his stay in India that enabled him to steep his soul in the outer and inner glories and enchantments of India. In his book on *Seas and Lands*, he says :—

I would wish to see cultivated those fields of Eastern philosophical thought which I have so feebly and hastily traversed, as affording a sweet sovereign medicine against the fever of a too busy national life.



He became a Fellow of the Bombay University and studied Eastern languages including Turkish and Persian. He translated *Hitopadesa* and his translation was published with fine illustrations by Harrison Weir. He wrote a pamphlet on Education in India in 1860, pleading for a more scientific grafting of Western knowledge on the learning of the East. He wrote also a History of Lord Dalhousie's administration. His kind and sympathetic attitude during the troubled times of the great Indian Mutiny won for him the love of the people and the appreciation of the Government of India. He returned to England in 1861, and got the post of leader writer on the *Daily Telegraph*. George Augustus Sala describes how early in 1862, a sweet and attractive Eastern note began to be felt in the leading articles of the *Daily Telegraph*. He was since then connected with the paper as editor also. He became the chief editor in 1873. As Editor for 28 years, he had a staff that included Edward Dicey, James MacDonnell, and H. D. Traill. On 1st January 1877, he was made a C. S. I. He was all this time busy with the great life-work of interpreting the life and thought of the East. In 1879, he published his epic poem : "The Light of Asia," to which he owed most of his fame. By the end of the century it went through sixty English and eighty American editions. His poem on "The Light of the World" (1891), was however not a success. It dealt with Christ as the previous poem dealt with Buddha. Other books by him are: *Pearls of the Faith*, *With Sa'di in the Garden*, *The Secret of Death and other Poems*, *The Song Celestial or Bhagawad Gita*, *Poets of Greece*, *Indian Idylls*, *Lotus and Jewel*, *Tenth Muse and other Poems*, *Adzuma or the Japanese Wife*, *Potephar's Wife and other Poems*, *In my Lady's Praise*, *Indian Poetry*, *The Voyage of Ithobal*, *Wandering Words*, *Japanica*, *Seas and Lands*,

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East and West, India Revisited, In Tent and Bangalow, The Queen's Justice, etc. In 1888, he was made a K. C. I. E. In 1889, he started with his daughter upon a travel, chiefly to the Pacific Coasts and Japan. He repeated his visit to Japan later on as he was fascinated by the artistic and social sides of Japanese life. His books on Japanese life spread optimistic views of Japanese progress in England. While he was editor, he arranged on behalf of the Proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* in conjunction with the *New York Herald* for the journey of H. M. Stanley to Africa to discover the course of the Congo. He must also be credited with the first idea of a great trunk line traversing the entire African continent. In 1891, he undertook a reading tour in America and also received foreign decorations from the rulers of Turkey, Persia, Siam, and Japan. He expected the reversion of the laureateship after Tennyson died but did not get it. During the last nine or ten years of his life, he lost his sight but still maintained his keen interest in contemporary affairs. His third wife was a Japanese lady. He died at his house in Bolton Gardens, London, on 24th March 1904. He was cremated at Brookwood, and his ashes were bestowed in the chapel of his old College at Oxford.

HIS PERSONALITY.

Arnold's nature was gentle and loving, and his poems and books of travel contain numerous personal touches bearing ample testimony to the sweetness of his soul. At the same time he had great strength of nature and courage of convictions. His "Light of Asia" was anathematised on many pulpits and offended the taste of many devout Christians. But he never wavered for a moment in his worship of the light that illumined his soul. Again, he was a great traveller and had a special love for the bright tropical regions of Asia. His travels gave him breadth of vision and depth of love and lifted him above all insularity of outlook and narrowness of heart which are the root causes of hatred and tyranny in the world. His brief career as Principal in an Indian college gives us glimpses of other rare traits of his character—his refinement, his sympathy, and his love. Above all, his insight into Indian life and character and art and his love of India are among the highest elements of his nature.

His revelling in Indian poetry and his passionate love for it are well known. For Indian philosophy and religion he had true love and genuine reverence. He says:

> The Hindu is quite assured that he has lived many previous lives and has many more to experience, and whether Vaishnav or Saivite, is troubled with none of the dismal doubts of modern materialism.—*India Revisited.*

It is in his insight into the true glory of Indian manhood and womanhood and his sense of the immemorial greatness, serenity, and refinement of the Indian race that we find the most perfect manifestations of his rare gifts of vision and love. He says: "Wherever you encounter Parsis in India, you will find intelligence, enlightenment, and energy."—*Ibid.* He says of Indian refinement: "There is nowhere greater grace or cordiality of greeting than among the educated families of India; but, in truth, this is the land of fine and noble manners."—*Ibid.* He says of Rajputana: "Rajputana is measurelessly old. The bluest blood of Europe is but of yesterday compared with that of the haughty families of this region." Of the wonderful architectural monuments of Moghul rule, he says that "the Moghuls designed like giants and finished like jewellers."—*Ibid.* He says of Indian women: "The Indian wives and mothers, among whom are to be counted humble saints and angels by the lakh—gentle, patient, laborious, faithful, pure, contented, cheerful, and affectionate souls."

What true love and insight throb beneath his fine farewell to India!

> I leave my heart behind me on leaving these Indian peoples, who have taught me, as I have wandered among them, that manners more noble and gentle, learning more modest and profound, loyalty more sincere, refinement more natural, and sweeter simplicities of life and love and duty exist in the length and breadth of British Asia than even I had gathered from my old experiences, before India was revisited.—*Ibid.*

NATURE AND TRAITS OF ARNOLD'S ART.

The greatest and most admirable trait of Arnold's art is his deep and vivid insight into the artistic and religious ideals of the great cultures of the world that still live and mould the lives of millions of men and women. The debt that the whole English-speaking world owes to him in this respect is immense. Islam, Buddhism, Christianity, and Hinduism have all been interpreted by him with a sincerity, an insight, and a passion of love that carry conviction to our hearts. Great and loving souls like Arnold's do more to soften the animosities of ages born of imperfect sympathies and partial comprehension than all the diplomats, the governors, and the evangelists put together. Wherever they bear their uplifted torches of love and learning, the darkness of the heart flies afar routed by the forces of light.

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Another aspect of his art that deserves prominent mention is his passionate love of beauty. It is so deep and dominating in him that he has been criticised for oversensuousness. In this respect he carries forward the great literary tradition of Keats and Tennyson. It was Keats who said :

> Beauty is Truth ! Truth Beauty ! That is all
> Ye know on earth and all ye need to know.

Keats' atmosphere of dainty and luxuriant fancy, his plastic and pictorial imagination, his exquisite sensitiveness to beauty—beauty of nature, beauty of sentiment, beauty of phrase and sound—and his approach into the shrine of beauty through the doors of sense-perception created a powerful literary tradition. Tennyson carried forward this tradition, though in breadth of outlook, variety of appeal, intensity of spiritual vision, and modernness of note he has a range that Keats who died in his glorious youth did not attain. Arnold, though far below them in the above characteristics, displays the same qualities as Keats.

Another great characteristic of Arnold's art is his catholicity of taste. He was equally at home in the literatures and arts of Islam, India, and Japan. Each great race looks through the window of its soul upon the ocean of beauty and records its experiences in radiant prose and rhythmic verse. The duty of every great soul is, while preserving its individuality and the special glories and graces of the race to which it belongs, to make its own the conquests made in the realm of beauty by the adventurous spirit of man, to which the quest of beauty is even more delightful and fascinating than her conquest and which seeks to set free everywhere some fair imprisoned beauty whether she be the presiding genius of arts, or the spirit of social love, or the pure-souled vestal virgin of religion guarding from tempests of doubt the lighted flame of faith on the altar of the heart. In this respect we who desire to set India free from her ancient chains and enable her to regain her inalienable birthright as the mother of religions, the queen of beauty and romance, and the model for the whole world in every respect, should learn this lesson of Arnold's life aright so as to serve our motherland wisely and well.

But Arnold was deficient in originality. His was not the higher type of mind that evolves out of the elements of beauty and glory brought within reach by study and observation a new cosmos of beauty that will shine and be a joy for ever. There is not a single original work by him. Nor had he much of lyric fire, or dramatic genius, or vivid story-telling power. Hence he belongs only to the second rank of poets though by his interpretative power he has done a great service to the cause of truth and love in the world.

ARNOLD'S STYLE.

He has an ornate style and felicitous versification. His blank verse is on the Tennysonian model, but, though fluent and sometimes grandiose, it is lacking in distinction and melody.

Arnold's blank verse is smooth, copious, and attractive, if it does not attain the great excellences of blank verse in the hands of the greater poets. In his heroic verse and other rhymed stanzas he carries forward the tradition of Keats and hence his style is somewhat loose-knit and lacking in strength. But on the whole he must be said to belong at least to the second rank of poets and has a fine feeling for beauty and harmony. His poems have much wealth of local colour and have frequently considerable beauty of description. His prose style is picturesque and attractive, and his volumes of travels are particularly interesting.

SOME FRUITFUL IDEAS FROM ARNOLD'S WORKS.

One great idea that he was never tired of repeating is, that the East should not give up its peculiar graces and glories but preserve them while assimilating the most modern culture from the West. He says in respect of Japan :—

> You cannot, gentlemen, import our civilisation; you must make science Japanese by time and patience . . . . But I cherish the hope that your path of progress will never lead you entirely out of sight of your own peculiar refinements, and that the primary duty of national self-assertion will never finally efface that which is so special and so precious in your own charming civilisation.—*Seas and Lands.*

He gave the same advice often to Indians also.

Arnold realised and said that the highest womanhood is the greatest glory of each civilisation. He quotes with approval President Eliot's remark : "The lady is the consummate fruit of human society at its best." It has been well said : "Men are very much the same all the world over : They are like the coarse grass which grows everywhere. But the flowers, you know, are different in every country." It is the duty of Indians to preserve the highest elements of true womanhood, the realisation of which was and is one of the great dreams of our race.

Above all he pleaded for more beauty, grace, and repose in individual and national life and for religious toleration and the attainment of a truly

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self-sacrificing and spiritual life. He was himself an example, a living embodiment, of the great ideas that he gave to the world, and his ideas have a special value and appeal to us Indians as those of a man who had the deepest love and reverence for India while possessing perfect clarity of vision and insight into the great dreams and ideals of the East and the West.

ARNOLD'S FOUR GREAT RELIGIOUS POEMS.

The volume of poems entitled *The Pearls of the Faith* is of great beauty in parts though it does not maintain a uniformly high level of poetic achievement. The most beautiful and inspiring elements of the great religion of Islam are well depicted therein. A genius who turns his powers to the uplifting task of discovering the universal elements of beauty present in all religions —elements by which they live for ever, though creeds, rituals, and other outer vestments of faith change from age to age—is one who does the greatest of all services to humanity, and from this point of view Sir Edwin Arnold is entitled to a high place in all men's hearts.

The following description of Allah is sublime :—

Allah ! there is none other God but He,
The Living God, the self-subsistent one ;
Weariness cometh not to Him, nor sleep ;
And whatso is belongs to Him alone
In heaven and earth ; who is it intercedes
With Him, save if He please ? He is aware
What is before them and what after them,
And they of all His knowledge nothing share
Save what He will vouchsafe. His throne's foundation
Sits splendid, high above the earth and sky,
Which to sustain gives Him no meditation ;
Mightiest He is, Supreme in Majesty.

Sir Edwin Arnold's poem "The Light of the World" describes the holy life of Christ and all that He accomplished for man to make him realise His essential divinity. It was evidently written as a companion poem to "The Light of Asia," but somehow lacks the serene beauty, the uplifting power, and the harmony of numbers that make the poem on the Buddha a poetic work of great beauty and power. The treatment of the subject is inadequate, and there are frequent infelicities due to his not rising to the height of the subject. There is no unity in the story, and the poem leaves the impression that the poet did the work as a task set by himself to himself and not because his heart and imagination were fired by it. The life of Christ is narrated in smoothly-flowing lines by means of a long dialogue between Mary Magdalene and one of the three wise men of the East, who were led by the star of Bethlehem to the place where Jesus was born. The poet says :

High cause had they at Bethlehem, that night
To lift the curtain of Hope's hidden light,
To break decree of silence with Love's cry,
Foreseeing how this Babe, born lowly,
Should—past dispute, since now achieved is this—
Bring Earth great gifts of blessing and of bliss.

The Light of Asia is perhaps the most widely known and most beautiful of his works. It tells the story of the life of one of the greatest spiritual leaders of the world ; it maintains a lofty ethical tone while delineating a great variety of incidents and thoughts ; and it is written in a style fluent, impassioned, musical. It is wonderful that he has been able to attain such vivid local colouring and to assimilate so thoroughly the faith of the enlightened (the Buddha) as is evident from the poem. The scholar and the philosopher in him are not less remarkable than the singer. The supreme ethical fragrance of the flower of Buddha's doctrine is felt in every page of the book. He says of it in his preface : "It has been composed in the brief intervals of days without leisure, but is inspired by an abiding desire to aid in the better mutual knowledge of East and West. The time may come, I hope, when this book and my "Indian Song of Songs" and "Indian Idylls" will preserve the memory of one who loved India and the Indian peoples."

Various translations of the poem by Sir Edwin Arnold have appeared in almost every European and numerous Oriental languages. It has been well said :

It may probably be claimed for it that many people otherwise well-read and educated would never have had more than the faintest notion of the exquisite beauties of the Buddhistic faith, had they not been presented to them in so delightful and at the same time so accurate a form as by the "Light of Asia.

Various Oriental scholars have found fault with the presentation of Buddhism as contained in the *Light of Asia*. But whatever its imperfections, the essential elements of Buddha's gracious message to the world are well brought out in it, while the poem contains permanent elements of beauty in its presentation of the picturesque and pathetic elements in the story of Buddha's life.

One of the finest passages in the poem is that where the old sage Asita sees the babe Buddha and tells Buddha's father King Suddhodana :

Know, O King !
This is the Blossom on our human tree
Which opens once in many myriad years—
But opened, fills the world with wisdom's scent
And Love's dropped honey ; from thy royal root
A Heavenly Lotus springs.

The episode of the wounded swan, which first made Buddha meditate upon the ills of life, is beautifully narrated.

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He saw
The thorns which grow upon this rose of life.

King Suddhodana's attempts to fetter Buddha's soul in silken bonds of love and luxury and Buddha's shaking them off and going forth in a passion of love for all to seek a sovereign remedy for the diverse ills of life are very vividly and imaginatively described.

Buddha's meditation and penances in search of truth are next described. The following description of sunrise is worth quoting:

At first a dusk so dim
Night seems still unaware of whispered dawn,
But soon—before the jungle-cock-crows twice—
A white verge clear, a widening, brightening white,
High as the herald-star, which fades in floods
Of silver, warming into pale gold, caught
By topmost clouds, and flaming on their rims
To fervent golden glow, flushed from the brink
With saffron, scarlet, crimson, amethyst;
Whereat the sky burns splendid to the blue,
And, robed in raiment of glad light, the King
Of Life and Glory cometh!

Buddha's attainment of illumination under the *Bodhi* tree and his giving of his gracious message to the world are delineated in verses throbbing with feeling and full of splendour of style and sound. I shall quote here only a few stanzas describing Buddha's doctrine.

Ye are not bound! the Soul of Things is Sweet,
The Heart of Being is Celestial rest,
Stronger than woe is will; that which was Good
Doth-pass to Better—Best.
* * *
Ye suffer from yourselves. None else compels,
None other holds you that ye live and die,
And whirl upon the wheel, and hug and kiss
Its spokes of agony,
Its tire of tears, its nave of nothingness,
* * *
Such is the Law which moves to righteousness,
Which none at last can turn aside or stay;
The heart of it is Love, the end of it
Is Peace and Consummation sweet. Obey!

One of the poet's masterpieces is *The Song Celestial*, which is a translation of the *Bhagawad Gita*. It has great elevation of tone and majesty and dignity of style. The blank verse is strong yet pliable and musical and sweet to the ear. There are many translations of the *Gita* but Arnold's translation has a place apart among them by its accuracy and the grave harmony of the verse.

The translation is dedicated by the poet to India. The dedicatory verses are (Arnold himself has translated them.):—

So have I read this wonderful and spirit-thrilling speech,
By Krishna and Prince Arjun held, discoursing each with each;
So have I writ its wisdom here, its hidden mystery,
For England; O our India! as dear to me as she!

Sir Edwin Arnold says in his preface:

This famous and marvellous Sanskrit poem occurs as an episode of the *Mahabharata*, in the sixth—or "Bhishma"—Parva of the great Hindu epic. It enjoys immense popularity and authority in India, where it is reckoned as one of the "Five Jewels"—*pancharatnani*—of Devangari literature. In plain but noble language it unfolds a philosophical system which remains to this day the prevailing Brahmanic belief, blending as it does the doctrines of Kapila, Patanjali, and the Vedas.

ARNOLD'S INDIAN POEMS.

Sir Edwin Arnold's volume of poetry entitled 'Indian Poetry' contains many exquisite translations and adaptations from Sanskrit literature. The first poem is a rendering of Jayadeva's Gita Govinda. As has been well said: "Nothing could be more graceful and delicate than the shades by which Krishna is portrayed in the gradual process of being weaned by the love of 'Beautiful Radha, Jasmine bosomed Radha, from the allurements of the forest nymphs in whom the five senses are typified." A breeze laden with the odours of Eastern flowers and spices seems to blow through its pages. The supreme literary grace and musical flow of diction which make the original poem unique even in Sanskrit literature are well brought out in Sir Edwin Arnold's translation. The very commencement strikes the key which is the very soul of the poem:

O, Radha, Radha! take this soul, that trembles
In life's deep midnight, to Thy golden house.

The rapturous attainment of divine communion after life-long yearning and search for God is well brought out by the poet who has thus been able to enter into the innermost shrine of the temple of Love and Beauty built to music by Jayadeva's artistic and spiritual genius. The following song in praise of Love is worth remembering:

Love—the mighty Master,
Lord of all the stars that cluster
In the sky, swiftest and slowest,
Lord of highest, lord of lowest—
Manifests himself to mortals,
Winning them towards the portals
Of his secret house, the gates
Of that bright Paradise which waits
The wise in love.....
Mighty love sways all alike
From self to selflessness.

The passage where Radha sends her maid to bring Krishna who was dallying with the *gopis* by whom the senses are typified is equally full of beauty:

To yield him up my bosom's maiden splendour,
And fold him in my fragrance, and braid
My shining hair for him, and clasp him close
To the gold heart of his Rose.

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The repentant Krishna yearns for Radha, having risen above the entrancements of the senses. He says:

Yet all day long in my deep heart I woo thee,
And all night long with thee my dreams are sweet.

The poem entitled the *Rajput Wife* does not strike a high note, though the subject lends itself to moving and impassioned narration. It describes how a brave and devoted and true Rajput wife avenged the murder of her loving husband and then followed her husband's soul through the shining gate of fire by performing *Sati*. The *spirit* of *Sati* is one of the greatest graces of womanhood in India though the *form* of *Sati* which was often associated with much cruelty is happily gone.

Other poems in the book describe details of Indian life. One poem deals with the ascension of the Pandava Princes to Heaven, and the other describes the night of slaughter in the Sauptika Parva of the Mahabharata. The volume concludes with translations from that mine of worldly and moral wisdom—the *Hitopadesa*. The translations have great merit and combine true poetic beauty with fidelity to the original. I shall quote here a few of them:

Twofold is the life we live in—Fate and Will together run:
Two wheels bear life's chariot onward—will it move on only one?

The volume of verse called *Indian Idylls* consists of eight graphic episodes from the Mahabharata. They reveal the poet's chief traits—his grace of style and his tenderness of tone—in a remarkable manner.

The poem 'Savithri' describes the heavenly life and the love stronger than death that make the story of Savithri unique in the whole range of literature in point of beauty and uplifting power. But Sir Edwin Arnold's treatment of the story is unsatisfactory as it misses in some undefinable way the high note of deep passion and watchful selfless love which must be movingly and powerfully brought out if the real beauty of the story is to be realised by the poet and communicated to the soul of the reader. The following description of Savithri in her self-chosen woodland home is very beautiful:—

From her neck and arms she stripped
Jewels and gold, and o'er her radiant form
Folded the robe of bark and yellow cloth
Which hermits use, and all hearts did she gain
By gentle actions, self-government,
Patience and peace.

The story of 'Nala and Damayanthi' is the next in the volume and is very long. It also lacks distinction and fire, though it like all other poems of Arnold's has a sweet flow of diction and a uniform elevation of sentiment. The following description of Damayanthi in the forest is very good:—

Those breasts
Beauteously swelling, form of faultless mould,
Sweet youthful face, fair as the moon at full,
And dark eyes by long curving lashes swept.

The poem on 'The Enchanted Lake' describes the episode known as *Yaksha Prasna* in the Mahabharata, and contains the quintessence of Indian thought on life here and hereafter. 'The Saint's Temptation' narrates how the pure-hearted child Rishya Sringa, whose holy presence in a country ensures the coming of rain, was beguilded by the sweet ways of women to go into a land thirsting for rain:

Once more she clasped her soft brown arms
About him, and with eyes fixed on his eyes
Withdrew; having enkindled passion's flame
Where only fires of sacrifice had burned.

The volume entitled "The Secret by Death and Other Poems" contains smooth and polished verse but does not rise to the height of some of the other volumes of his poetry. The 'Introduction' to the book contains a beautiful passage about the wisdom and the beauty contained in the Upanishads:

The subtle thought, the far-off faith,
The deathless spirit mocking Death,
The close-packed sense, hard to unlock
As diamonds from the mother-rock,
The solemn, brief simplicity,
The insight, fancy, mystery,
Of Hindu scriptures—all are had
In this divine Upanishad.

"The Secret of Death" is a translation of the Katha Upanishad. The following lines from it are worth remembering:

Whoso hath laid aside desire and fear,
His senses mastered, and his spirit still,
Sees in the quiet light of verity
Eternal, safe, majestical—His Soul!

Then follow a few Indian folk-songs. 'The Song of the Serpent Charmers' is a fine piece of writing and reproduces the peculiar droning music of the snake charmers:

Great uncle snake! creep forth and dance to-day!
This music is the music snakes love best;
Taste the warm white new milk, and play
Standing erect, with fangs at rest.
Dancing on end, sharp fangs at rest,
Fierce fangs at rest.

The volume of poems called 'Lotus and Jewel' does not contain the poet's best work, but it has the great merit of containing some of his original poems. Arnold's genius was one that was able

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to sustain a prolonged soaring flight in the poetic empyrean only when he had an Indian poet by his side, and his best and most enduring work is in the field of interpretation of eastern ideals to the waiting West. The poem however shows that Arnold was no mere rhymester and translator but had "the deep poetic heart," and that he had a true ear for melody, a true eye for beauty, and a true heart for love.

The poet's insight into the social life of India which is revealed only to the sympathetic vision of a true friend and which is quite unknown to casual observers and unsympathetic eyes is clear from the following lines :—

Oh and full well I know what happy hearths
Are here in India, and what stainless wives
Live their sweet lives and die their gentle deaths
Under your suns.

There is a sweet and pathetic beauty in the concluding lines :

Life is not life, if we must live thinking of love's last day ;
Oh, never come, my Love and Life ! or never go away.

The miscellaneous minor poems in the volume are not particularly noteworthy. We may however quote here an excellent sonnet bidding adieu to India :

India ! farewell ! I shall not see again
Thy shining shores, thy peoples of the Sun,
Gentle, soft-mannered, by a kind word won
To such quick kindness ! Oe'r the Arab main
Our flying flag streams back ; and backwards stream
My thoughts to those fair open fields I love,
City and village, maidan, jungle, grove,
The temples and the rivers ! Must it seem
Too great for one man's heart to say it holds
So many Indian sisters dear,
So many Indian brothers ? that it folds
Lakhs of true friends in parting ? Nay ! but there
Lingers my heart leave taking ; and it roves
From hut to hut whispering 'he knows and loves !.'

The above are the most important of Arnold's Indian poems. They are of great beauty in themselves and also show how India is yet the true home of romance and idealism despite the stress of materialism and competition. The revelation of the treasures lying unknown in the books, folk-lore, and customs of India is a great work which can be best done by Indians themselves, and the world is waiting for the great Indian genius who shall reveal the supreme ideals of India in poems,

Grateful to hallowed minds, lofty in sound,
And couched in dulcet numbers.
(Arnold's Indian Idylls).

ARNOLD'S MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

The volume called 'With Sa'di in the Garden' consists of a long poem excellently conceived and executed. It opens with a description of the Taj Mahal and introduces us a learned Mirza, two songstresses, and an Englishman who pass the night in the Mosque attached to the Taj, reading the chapter of Sa'di on 'Love' and conversing thereon. The book consists not only of translations from Sa'di but contains various exquisite lyrics and verse-tales full of oriental passion and picturesqueness. The following opening description of the Taj is full of beauty :—

Not architecture ! as all others are
But the proud passion of an Emperor's love
Wrought into living stone, which gleams and soars
With body of beauty shining soul and thought
In so much that it haps as when some face
Divinely fair unveils before our eyes
Some woman beautiful unspeakably—
And the blood quickens, and the spirit leaps,
And will to worship bends the half-yielded knees,
While breath forgets to breathe ; so is the Taj.

The volume entitled *In my Lady's Praise*, contains the poems called 'A Casket of Gems' which have been collected in the volume 'Lotus and Jewel' and which have been reviewed above, and a few other poems. The other poems are mostly elegiac poems in sorrowful praise of his dead wife. I shall quote here but one beautiful stanza from them :

Well ! One small word tells all things
'Love !' 'Love' concludes, begins, !
Defines—explains—exemplifies,
Conciliates, comforts, wins ;
Assails the sins we could not 'scape,
Sets right our wrong, and ends
All grief of this with one soul-kiss
Which links us lasting friends.

ARNOLD'S PROSE WORKS.

Sir Edwin Arnold's 'Wandering Words' is a book of travels which deals more with the interpretation of the soul of the lands he visited than with the recording of mere outer incidents. It is especially valuable as an interpretation of Japanese and Indian life. He says :

To see popular gatherings alive and brilliant with happy colours, and to find the lost repose and delightfulness of daily life extant, and visible, and placidly prized, one must wander to-day among Indian cities and enter the precincts of the temples of their gods and the courts of the Hindu princes.

Sir Edwin Arnold's *East and West* is a book of traveller's impressions. It contains a few exquisitely narrated stories and some sketches of Indian and Japanese life. The chapter on "The Indian Upanishads" is as remarkable for its insight as for its sympathy. He says :

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The days are of gold, and the nights are of ivory, in these natural temples of the Asiatic waste, where the "gymnosophists" of Alexander and Arrian—the *Maharishis* and *Mahatmas* of Indian philosophy—meditated, to depths of abstraction profounder perhaps than Plato or Descartes, than Kant or Hegel, have ever reached, upon those problems which cannot be solved by mortal man while he lives here below, but which he must nevertheless strive constantly to solve, if he would give due growth and training to his soul.

"India Revisited," from which I have already quoted, is an excellent book of travels, full of picturesque description and sympathetic interpretation of the East. The chapter on "New Bombay" gives a full and glowing description of the queen of the Indian Ocean. The description of the Elephanta caves is very fine. He says of the statue of *Ardhanareeswara*:

This statue, of colossal size, is nevertheless very delicately cut, and the limbs and features possess an almost tender beauty. But the right half of the deity from head to foot is male, and the left moiety female. On one side of the figure are the knotted hair, the breast, the limbs of a god-like man; on the other the smooth and braided tresses, the swelling bosom, the rounded contour of a goddess.

The following wise words of Arnold to England and India are worthy of serious attention:—

The time is gone when we could hold India by mere force. She must be 'ours' in the days to come because England is 'hers,' because the basis and purpose of our sovereignty there are her advancement and her benefit; because the best thing for the two populations is that they should dwell sisterly, the stronger protecting the weaker. What is good for India, in the sense of wisely and naturally developing her social and political emancipation, must henceforth be gladly done . . . . . There are no longer two policies—one which suits the Empire, and one which satisfies India; there is but one henceforward, to find and to follow—the policy, that is to say, which is best for India.

Sir Edwin Arnold's "The Marquess of Dalhousie's Administration of British India" is in two volumes and was published in 1862. He finely says at the commencement of the work: "He confesses to approach this labour with a conviction that India should be ruled for the Indians and that no imperial necessity can be stronger than imperial obligations." These are wise and weighty words that deserve to be treasured up in all true hearts. Lord Wellington when he was in India said once: "I would sacrifice every political consideration ten times over rather than sanction the slightest infraction of British good faith." There is a serene jubilation dignified by a high sense of duty in the following passage in Arnold's book:—

Strength, indeed, is sure to be respected in practice; but it demands the regard of the philosopher also, being of its nature divine; and, at least a presumptive title to authority. Strength, inspired by benevolence, needs only wisdom to be the earthly analogue of the Divine Government. The two first are present together on all the pages of the history of the English in India. Sordid those pages sometimes are with the contact of money, blotted sometimes with innocent blood, but they always recite a progress to other gain than gold, and to other conquest besides territory. . . . . But, when all is conceded that envy or candour can ask, there remains that wherein England may challenge the comity of nations to match her work. The mantle of the Roman is descended upon us; bringing a larger gift, and a better spirit. We have overspread the earth; for our own gain, truly, but not for that alone—nor always for that at first. Where we have come, justice, the best we know, is done; benefits, the best we possessed, have been imparted. . . . . If we have not yet gained the affections of India, at least we have never yet despaired of deserving them; and the temptation of a military mutiny has failed to enlist against us the accusation and hostility of her working people . . . . . we have deserved to keep what we have dared to acquire, and they read history ill, and fail beside in duty to their country, who speak of our Indian annals as fair to apologize for them. Let them be written, extenuating nothing and enlarging nothing, and a record will stand which the future will value and the present may be proud of.

We however see in the book a few traces here and there of lack of sympathy for India and the Indian nature—a defect that disappeared altogether in his maturer work. The history of Dalhousie's administration is narrated with considerable fulness and in a spirit of sympathy. A Government that suppressed Thugge, slavery, and infanticide, and consolidated the administration, and gave peace and justice and progress to the governed certainly deserves every commendation, whatever may have been its mania for annexation and its errors and its shortcomings. Arnold says of Lord Dalhousie: "He visited in person every province of the country which he had added to India; he crossed its rivers; dwelt in its cities; rode over its wild plains; and threaded its winding defiles. Wherever his provident glance observed an opportunity, or detected a want, he registered it for improvement or reform." It used to be said of Lord Dalhousie that he wrote "sixty minutes to the hour." Let all Englishmen remember the following precious words of Arnold:—

We are introducing in India an idea unknown to the East, as it was unknown to Europe before commerce and the Italian cities taught it—the idea of popular rights and equality before an impartial and written law. If in that mission we violate justice, and let our ambition get before our duty, we shall spoil our own work; which will else bring the circumference of civilization back to its starting point, and completing the round of human intercourse, repay to the East the heavy debt due to it from the West, in religion, art, philosophy, language—in almost everything but the science of government.

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MORE MONEY WITHOUT TAXES

BY MR. S. B. BANNERJEE, M.A.S., (LONDON.)
(*Editor*, "*The Calcutta University Magazine.*")

THE new Budget is out. It is a deficit Budget, as everybody believed it would prove to be. Many new taxes have been imposed, all but two or three of which will affect the well-to-do. As may be expected, the press have criticised some of the "impositions" in more or less strong language, but they are all agreed that the Government had no other alternative open.

There is no knowing when the war will end. Supposing it lasts for another year, we may expect another deficit budget next year. To make up the deficit, fresh taxes will be imposed.

The cry everywhere is "curtail your expenditure." Many excellent schemes are hung up for want of funds. How long they will remain in a "state of suspense," nobody can say. It is just possible that many of them will have to be abandoned for ever. This is not desirable.

The people will have to find more money for education, sanitation, etc. They will not pay subscriptions to funds readily, however high their object may be. High interest may induce a few to invest their spare cash; but high interest is not a healthy sign of Government. For a Government like ours, five per cent. is the highest interest that should be paid. Anything more should be deprecated for reasons of State policy.

Surely education, etc., must not suffer. The people will have to be induced to find money for education, sanitary improvements, etc. The only way of inducing those who are hoarding to invest their spare cash, is to tempt them to invest in Premium Bonds.

Almost all the European countries have their Premium Bonds. Some of them even pay a small interest. These Bonds form an excellent mode of investment, and the big prizes, which are offered, attract the capital of all and sundry.

What I propose is this: The Government of India should arrange to issue Premium Bonds of the value of £100,000,000. The face-value of the bond should be five rupees—to enable the small investor to buy one or more bonds as he likes. Drawings should be held twice a year. There should be one hundred prizes, the first prize being a lakh of rupees and the second fifty-thousand rupees. Not more than ten lakhs of rupees should be distributed in prizes every year. The bonds may be sold through the post offices and banks only. No commission should be charged on sales, and no transfer fees should be levied. In a word, the bonds must be made easily available and transferable. I have no doubt that Premium Bonds will prove immensely popular in India, if they are issued on the lines indicated above. The help of the Press will have to be taken to impress their utility upon the general public. Foreigners must be allowed to purchase the bonds. As these will have the backing of the Indian Government, they will not hesitate to buy them in large quantities. The fact of the creation of the bonds should be advertised in France, Portugal, Italy, Russia, Switzerland, the United States, and elsewhere. If this be done, the whole amount of issue will be snapped up within a year.

The money thus secured must be spent in the spread of education, sanitary improvements, etc. Thus the Government will be able to spend the people's money usefully without having to pay anything for its use. The advancement of the country will thus be rendered easy, bad times notwithstanding.

I am not in favour of lotteries. There is an element of gambling in them and, therefore, lotteries should not be encouraged. Lotteries are still held in Dholpur and certain other Indian States. Their proceeds are devoted to charitable purposes, and so they are patronised by Indians. Premium Bonds will prove more attractive both to the masses and the classes.

I hope and trust that my suggestions will be duly considered by the Government of India and adopted at no distant date.

INDIAN NATIONAL EVOLUTION.

A SURVEY OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

BY AMVIKA CHARAN MAZUMDAR.

It is, as we have said, so crammed with information that we cannot pretend to have done more than scratch the surface. But if we have succeeded in sending any reader of these lines to the book itself we are content. Its perusal is an education.—*India.*

PRICE RS. TWO. To Subscribers of "The Indian Review," Re. 1-8.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., BOOKSELLERS, 4, SUNKURAMA CHETTY STREET, MADRAS.

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Women's Education in India.

THE following Circular letter, dated the 22nd February 1916, has been addressed by Sir E. McClagan, Secretary to the Government of India, to various Provincial Governments :—

I am desired to address you as follows on the subject of female education in this country :

The education of females in India is recognised, in spite of the attention hitherto paid to it, to be in a comparatively backward state. The Education Commission of 1882, while making a number of definite recommendations for the improvement of female education, represented that the difficulties in the way of progress could not be solved except by a growth of public opinion. Certain further suggestions for the encouragement of female education were made by the Government of India in paragraph 27 of their Resolution No. 199-211, dated the 11th March 1904, and the degree of advancement achieved is described in some detail in the Quinquennial Reviews of the progress of education in India for 1902-07 and 1907-12. But in their further Resolution No. 301-C. D., dated the 21st February 1913, the Government of India, while commending certain principles for general consideration, were compelled to acknowledge that the education of girls in this country still remained to be organised.

RECENT DEPARTMENTAL ENQUIRIES.

2. As noted by the Government of India in their Resolution of 1913, the local Governments had already been asked to submit schemes for the improvement of female education in each province. They had been requested in this Department Circular No. 914-922, dated the 1st July 1911, to submit schemes which should take the form of a 10 years' programme for (1) the expansion of girls' education by means of the allocation of funds ; (2) the improvement of facilities for the training of mistresses, and (3) the amelioration of the conditions of service in the case of mistresses and members of the inspecting staff. But before the replies to the above Circular had been received from more than a few of the local Governments, a further enquiry had been made in this Department Circular No. 838-849, dated the 9th May 1913, asking for the submission of a 3 years' programme of expenditure on educational requirements generally, and the previous enquiry of 1911 became absorbed in the subsequent investigation. The local Governments, in reply to the Circular of 1913, intimated that they were ready to undertake very considerable expenditure on female education during the year 1913-14 to 1915-16, but their proposals were not accompanied by any detailed report of the method in which the improvements aimed at would be attained ; and the Government of India are not in full possession of information regarding the progress actually made during the three years in question.

THE DEPUTATION TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

3. In the meantime a memorial was presented to the Secretary of State, on the 12th October 1915, by a deputation introduced by Mrs. Henry Fawcett, which asked that a committee might be appointed to enquire into the whole subject in India. In reply to the Deputation, the Secretary of State, while expressing sympathy with the objects aimed at, stated that he considered the present time inopportune for the appointment of a committee, and he has since forwarded the memorial to the Government of India without making any recommendation on it. A copy of the Secretary of State's despatch No. 191, dated the 5th November 1915, together with its enclosures is forwarded with this letter, and from the enclosures of the despatch it will be seen in what terms the deputation presented its memorial and in what terms the Secretary of State made his reply. A copy is also enclosed of a Memorial presented to His Excellency the Viceroy by a meeting of ladies in Bombay held on the 31st December 1915.

REASONS FOR EARLY RE-CONSIDERATION.

4. The Government of India agree in the view that, apart from other possible objections, the present conditions render it out of the question to appoint at any rate at this stage a committee such as has been proposed to the Secretary of State. But they consider that the present opportunity may well be taken for a reconsideration of the whole question of female education in India. The time would appear to have come for taking such forward actions as is possible in the matter.

GIRLS AS HEADS OF FAMILIES.

Apart from the general reasons for the increasing demand for female education, it may be observed where the joint-family system has hitherto prevailed in India, it is now breaking up. Families composed of only the father and the mother and their children are becoming more common. Girls and young women are, therefore, becoming the heads of families without being able to rely,

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as in former days, upon the advice and care of older relations, and the duty of bringing up the children devolves upon them. The health and physical efficiency of the latter is a National concern, and it cannot be secured without the education of mothers and their co-operation.

CARE OF WIDOWS.

For the same reason, namely, the breaking up of the joint-family system, widows have not now the care and protection which that system secured them, and their opportunities of social service confined, though these may have been to the circle of their own and related families, have to a large extent disappeared. It is also necessary that women should receive some appropriate education in this period of transition when the old system is passing away which, though it enforced their subordination, secured them a certain degree of protection and comfort.

SEPARATE CURRICULA FOR GIRLS.

There is, at the same time, a general feeling that the present curricula, whether suited or not for the needs of boys, are as a rule unfitted for girls, and it is necessary to re-consider the nature of the education which should be imparted to girls.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE SINCE APRIL, 1913 ?

5. The Government of India are, therefore, anxious to resume the consideration of the general question of female education and would be glad of the assistance of local Governments to enable them to take stock of the present position in the matter and to focus the opinions of competent persons on the main questions at issue.

They would be glad, in the first instance, if local Governments would submit a brief report to show what has been done for the improvement of female education since the 1st April 1913, the date from which the schemes prepared in compliance with the Government of India's Circular of the 9th May 1913, took their start. The Secretary of State, in his reply to the Deputation of October 1915, has pointed out that comparatively little can be learnt from the statistics at this moment, and in any case statistics on the subject are already at the disposal of the Government of India, but the Government of India are desirous that the statistical information available should be supplemented by brief reports showing what definite steps of importance have been inaugurated in each province since the 1st April 1913, in respect of (1) the increase of facilities for female education: changes in character of such education given, and the financing and control of such education in primary institutions; (2) the same points with regard to higher institutions; (3) the training of teachers, and (4) the inspection of schools.

NEEDED EXPERIENCED EVIDENCE.

The Government of India are also anxious to obtain the views of local Governments regarding the class of action now to be taken, and they would be glad if, after obtaining the opinion of competent persons on the questions involved, the local Governments would send them to the Government of India an expression of their own views. It is suggested that the opinions of inspectresses, of Indian lady graduates, and of selected local bodies, which are directly engaged in the management of schools for females, would be found of special value, especially if the remarks made by the persons or bodies consulted are confined to the localities, of which they have personal experience, and to the questions which they can answer from their own knowledge or from materials at their disposal. In the case of local bodies, it is thought that the value of the replies given will be enhanced if these bodies have before them a conspectus of the existing state of female education in the areas under their control, and an attempt has been made in enclosure III. of this Circular to indicate certain points, on some of all of which local bodies may suitably provide themselves with data before reporting on the subjects dealt with in this Circular. It is further suggested that, when there is a standing committee on female education, such as has been already constituted in several provinces, the opinion of this committee should also be obtained.

TABULATION OF OPINIONS.

7. It will be convenient if the local Government, in forwarding opinions, would tabulate briefly the results obtained, and will also supply their own views together with their suggestions for securing progress in the immediate future under the four following heads, viz:—(1) The primary education of females; (2) secondary and higher education of females; (3) teachers for females, and (4) inspection of female education. I am to add briefly a few remarks on some points to which the Government of India, as at present advised, would desire to invite the attention of local Governments in connection with each of the above subjects.

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PUBLIC CONTROL OF PRIMARY EDUCATION.

8. It may be urged that, whatever may be the correctness of the view put forward by the Decentralisation Commission, that the control of primary education generally should rest for the most part in the hands of local bodies; this view may be accepted as ordinarily suitable for application to female primary education, because such education must in a special sense be adapted to the needs of the people and cannot make progress without their active sympathy and support. The Government of India would be glad to know how far a policy of this kind commends itself, and to what extent the control of local bodies should be supplemented or replaced by that of special educational committees, and for what areas such special committees can suitably be framed.

CASTE AND MIXED SCHOOLS.

From the position that female education should rest mainly under the control of local bodies, it would follow that in schools which are confined to reading, writing, and arithmetic, the question of admitting boys to girls' schools and *vice versa* is one which might most suitably be left for local decision; it being remembered that if boys are admitted in the girls' schools it may be necessary to fix a maximum number of boys in view of the possibility of girls being gradually made at such schools to give place to boys. It might also in this connection be considered whether, with a a view to increasing the number of girl pupils in the lower grades, a larger use might be made of the practice which prevails in some provinces of offering enhanced capitation grants for girls who study in boys' schools. Similarly, if the control is left to local bodies, it would be for those bodies to decide how far there should be caste or class schools in the areas controlled by them.

It is possible that in some places the admission of a non-caste Hindu might empty the school, and it is not unlikely that the superior degree of education attained by women in certain Native States is, as some contend, due to the fact that in such States non-caste Hindus are not admitted into schools. There may, on the other hand, be other places where schools might be open to various classes, but in such a case it would be necessary to see that local bodies do not turn their attention to the caste schools only to the exclusion of schools for the other classes of Hindus or for non-Hindus. In the schools, which are opened solely for non-caste Hindus, there may be no objection to the admission of caste Hindus, but even in such cases conditions might have to be imposed to prevent the school from becoming exclusively one for caste Hindus.

LOCAL BODIES TO DECIDE CURRICULUM.

10. It may in the same way be argued that it is advisable to leave, as far as possible, the determination of the curriculum to local bodies. There is little doubt that public opinion requires that Indian girls should learn arithmetic and should learn to read and write their own vernacular; but the question, whether subjects other than the above should be taught, might on this principle be left for the decision of local bodies, whose sympathy and active co-operation is necessary to ensure substantial progress. It would in this case appear inadvisable for the Education Department to insist on any prescribed standard course, and the duty of the Department would be confined to putting forward groups of subjects for adoption by local bodies, leaving it to these bodies to select the form of curriculum which seems suitable, with or without modification of the suggestions of the Department; the main object of Government being to encourage any kind of education for girls, which is in itself useful, may be held inadvisable at the present stage to place restrictions on the adoption of any curriculum which will satisfy this requirement.

CONTROL OF SECONDARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM.

11. It will have to be considered whether the principles to be followed in respect of the control of elementary female education should be considered applicable also to that of the secondary education of females, and if difficulty is felt in respect of the control of such education by local bodies, a report should be made by local Government as to the manner in which they would distinguish schools suitable for such control from others. Attention should also be directed to the question whether such separate committees, as may be appointed for the supervision of primary education, should as a rule be entrusted with the supervision of secondary schools, or whether these should be entrusted to separate committees.

FORM OF CURRICULUM.

As regards the form of curriculum selected for such schools, attention may be invited to the considerations urged in favour of leaving the selection largely to local control, such selection being allowed to rest either with the local bodies concerned or with local committees especially appointed for the purpose. The varieties in

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suitable curricula for such forms of education are as great as in primary education. There is, for instance, in many places a general desire for religious education and for education in music. It is also generally felt that women should be educated in all that concerns enlightened mothering, a good standard of maternal physique, better care of infants, appropriate feeding, care and management of children, effective attention to children's diseases and generally their physical condition, good sanitary environment and other matters of domestic concern. Many again think that the girls should also receive English education. The nature of education to be imparted in the same subjects may also vary. Some girls will need an education preparatory to college life, others may only desire to be serviceable in their own homes; while others, again, may wish to make themselves useful to the community. So, too, it might be necessary to proced with great caution in dealing with certain classes or in some localities. A system to be adopted, for instance, among those who view education with disfavour as tending to female emancipation or disregard of *purda* might involve courses of study and require a teaching and inspecting staff, quite different from others. The same remarks will apply where caste or class feeling has to be respected. As in the case of primary female education no uniformity of standard seems possible, and the courses of study may suitably consist of various syllabuses so arranged as to suit the needs as the people understand them of the various classes or localities; unless the cirrculum is in consonance with the feelings of the people chiefly concerned, the girls will be withdrawn from the schools.

FAILURE DUE TO UNPOPULAR CURRICULA.

Some of the local Governments have already recognised that the lack of real progress within their areas is not due to any real deficiency in funds or in the number of schools or even to the want of teachers, but that the real obstacle is to be found in the attitude of the people, with the result that there is a waste of public funds and many of the existing schools serve no useful purpose. It is not improbable that the nature of the school curricula and the unsuitability of the teaching hitherto imparted migh account a good deal for the reluctance of the parents to secure for their girls even such facilities for education as are now available. The main function of the Department of Education would, in pursuance of the above considerations, be to stimulate the efforts of local bodies and to render assistance by proposing various courses for students rather to assume the direct control or to insist on any uniformity of subjects in the curricula.

HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

12. With respect to the higher education of women who have received their training under the system above described, it may be observed that women who have received religious education presumably in the classical languages may desire the collegiate instruction in the same subjects, while those who are trained in sanitary and allied subjects may desire to join medical colleges if they have received a general education. For the present the number who wish to receive any higher collegiate education must necessarily be confined to those who have received a secondary education under the existing system, and where these are unable to prosecute their studies but are not sufficient in number to justify the opening of a new high school or college, it may be possible to meet their requirements by awarding them scholarships for further studies in the existing institutions for women or in colleges for boys if they have no objection to join them. All that can be done, in the existing circumstances, is to provide more facilities for admission into the existing high schools and colleges, and if funds are available and the demand justifies such a step, to open more high schools for girls and college classes in girls' high schools.

TRAINING OF TEACHERS.

The Government of India will be glad to learn whether if the facilities at present open for training female teachers and the conditions of training are the same as in the case of males, the continuance of this state of things is considered advisable, and if not what change is recommended. In any case, it must be recognised that the supply of trained teachers is at the present moment exceedingly small, and that although early steps may be taken to increase the supply of trained teachers, it will be impossible to expect progress to be made, if nothing is done until the requisite number of trained teachers is supplied. It will be necessary to see how arrangements are to be made in order to get the best out of the untrained teachers at present available. While it would be difficult to get teachers—even untrained—in other subjects, it is possible that untrained teachers of the vernacular or classical languages

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or of music may be found in many parts of the country: and it has been urged that the present difficulties should be met by a system of itinerant instructors for such teachers, or by allowing such teachers to attend for limited periods or during holidays at the existing training schools.

WORK OF INSPECTION.

14. The inspection of female institutions is, of course, desirable in order to secure efficiency and to prevent waste of public money. In many cases also such inspection will be welcome by the schools as tending to raise their character, and many, who are engaged in female education and feel that they are fighting an uphill battle, will find it helpful to discuss their troubles with an inspector who understands them and will give them a sympathetic hearing. At the same time, there are special difficulties connected with the inspection of female schools, and in some cases social customs might stand in the way of proper inspection. It has been suggested that these difficulties might, in some cases, be met by dividing the duties ordinarily entrusted to Inspectors. The administrative duties connected with the healthiness and character of the buildings, the sufficiency of accommodation, furniture and necessary apparatus, the suitability of fees and the reputation of the school in the locality would, under this system, be entrusted to one class of inspectors, who would ordinarily be men. The inspection of the curricula and the actual teaching would, however, rest with the inspectresses, and as regards qualifications for the task it would ordinarily be expected that an inspectress should be able to take the classes herself, and to this extent to act the part of an itinerant training teacher.

15. The remarks made in paragraphs 8 to 14 above are merely intended to bring to the notice of local Governments certain considerations relating to a few isolated matters connected with female education, and it is not suggested that, in sending the opinions asked for in paragraph 7, local Governments should confine themselves to the points raised in the paragraphs in question.

16. In conclusion, I am to request that a reply to this Circular may be sent by the 1st September next.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY RAJDUARI.

IS IT THE BEGINNING OF THE END?

THE whole of the last four weeks seem to have centered round the impregnable fortress of Verdun. It has been surmised in many well-informed quarters, not without sufficient reason, that the Teuton having grown desperate was determined to play one or two of his last trump cards with the view to boasting of a seeming, if not real, victory. He thought that the most psychological hour for the purpose was just that time when both in the Balkans and in the Western theatre his opponents would not venture on an offensive on a large scale while the winter was receding and the snow melting. But as in many other respects since the declaration of the War, so in this particular affair, the enemy had miscalculated. Warned by the lessons of the last winter, the Allies, who owing to the deficiency of men and ammunition seriously missed hurling back on the frontier the forces of the enemy after the battle of the Marne, had determined this wintry season not only to conserve their strength in arms and ammunition but very carefully to take into calculation the right hour when the offensive should be hurled but not at the back of the deceiving enemy. The four weeks' tremendous tragedy at Verdun is indeed most deplorable, seeing that over two lakhs of men have been ruthlessly and recklessly sacrificed to achieve the object, namely, to forestall the enemy before he was ready to take the offensive and thus by a *coup de main* to make a rush to Paris. That was the military strategy. But so far as the events have gone to the date of writing this, it has been a signal failure. The Allies throughout the whole of their frontier were prepared to meet the resistance of the Hun at every important point and at every vantage ground. As a result, being forewarned and forearmed as completely as they could be, they have been able both on the banks of the Meuse and on the Verdun frontier to oppose with all their skill their bravery and their superior artillery. It has been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the artillery of the British and the French has not only hurled back the phalanxes after phalanxes of the Germans but created the greatest havoc among their forces. Whole battalions have been decimated and thousands injured beyond once more

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rejoining the army. It has also been well known that the troops engaged in the Verdun campaign were no seasoned ones. In fact, the flower of the army has long since been decimated, and the enemy has been putting to the front an exceedingly large number of raw recruits, many of them of 1916. Never was there such a criminal and extravagant sacrifice of men without a single redeeming feature which could go to compensate for such a terrible sacrifice. And yet such is the desperation that the tragedy, as we write, has not yet been concluded. From the Eastern theatre of the War, such troops as could be made available have been drafted to the Western field but to no purpose. Indeed, a pressing demand was made on Austria to send reinforcements to renew fresh attacks on the Verdun frontier. On the other hand, the great General of the French in the field of action has deliberately declared to the wide world that the Verdun strategy is a complete failure from the military point of view and so far a great load has been taken off his mind. He is completely confident now of the ultimate triumph of the Allies. He has gone even so far in his declaration that were Verdun to be captured, it would mean not an iota of loss to the French. As a matter of fact however, not a single advanced position of the famous fortress has yet been taken though so often attacked. So far then, the strength of the Anglo-French army is intact, while the near advent of spring promises to bring to the field fresh well-equipped and well-trained armies to fight the combat to the finish. What new forces the Germans can bring, now that they have entered the point of exhaustion, is a problem.

Meanwhile all accounts, official and non-official, agree in observing that the attrition stage has fairly begun on the side of the invader. Combined with the exhaustion of the military strength there has been going on the slow and steady exhaustion of all material resources, including food and money. The populace is sick of the war and is only suppressed in its sullen discontent by *force majeure*. The bitter truth of the defeat of the so-called invincible German army is beginning to dawn upon the population, and even the soldiers and the officers are tired and would welcome peace at any hour. But the new modern Alexander yet wants to throw his last dice which will no doubt be when the spring has fully set in.

At the same time events in the Near East and the Middle East, so far as they have transpired, go no way to help the desperate situation at Berlin. The Bulgar is kept in check mobilised on his own frontier lest Roumania should attack him. He is not free to move anywhere. Greece finds it to its advantage no longer to be the humble and obedient slave of his relative. She counts more on the great place of arms at Salonica with its strategical fortifications. The Turk is frantic. The Ottoman Empire is divided against itself. There exists bitterest discord between the peaceful royal faction and the unscrupulous war-like faction led by Enver Pasha at the behest of the Germans. In Constantinople, the Turk is on his last legs and would drive away, if he could help, the contingent of German military desperadoes, who dominate the disaffected army now so miserably scattered. Erzerum is now fully occupied by the Russian. Having consolidated his strength there, he is now marching with measured strength to Trebizond, the fall of which is only a question of so many short hours. On the other hand there is growing apace an enveloping movement from Kermanshah, which bids fare to reach Bagdad, say, within the next four weeks, while General Townshend's force is well distributed in Mesopotamia. Even on the east of Egypt, the back of the Turk has been completely broken. There has been an utter rout with the capture of all booty and ammunition. The British army has driven away the Turk fully 150 miles beyond the Egyptian frontier.

In the Balkans, the Roumanian is on the eve of casting his lot with the *Entente* Powers, while Austria is left alone to oppose the Italian on his own frontier on the Isonzo plateau. As soon as the snow melts the Italians are bound to push forward to attain their objective. This then is the whole situation, while Russia is slowly and steadily preparing herself for the coming decisive action in the neighbourhood of Riga with possibly a naval engagement in the Baltic itself. Under these conditions, may it not be inquired whether all this does not seem to indicate the beginning of the end?

It is observed that the coming spring must inevitably see the long-looked-for naval battle between the British and the Germans in the North Sea. Indeed, it is estimated on all sides that a final German effort will be simultaneously both on land and sea. Nothing could be better. Once for all, the supremacy of the sea must be fought and won. But they say that the Teuton is too astute to risk what may after all prove to be his final overthrow. In its own harbour at Kiel the German navy is safe. But what may be its fate, once it should take to the open sea to contest naval supremacy, is a foregone conclusion,

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Superior as is the sea power of the British every way, it stands to reason that while the naval contest may cause the British loss of many warships, they will still be able to recoup and recover in exceedingly brief time with all the material resources at their command. On the other hand, the German navy, if worsted in the contest, is bound to be a wreck and a wreck for ever. It will take the Teuton long, long indeed, to rival the great mistress of the sea. Meanwhile, Tirpitz, the invincible Admiral of the Grand Fleet (which he had brought into existence and nursed during the last nineteen years) has been compelled to resign and sulk at the displeasure of his sovereign. But the mad Emperor, bated not a jot, has declared *urbi et orbi*, that the wicked campaign of the submarine to murder wholesale innocent men, women and children will go on mercilessly. Who eventually will be overwhelmed by this murderous policy, the Nemesis of events will record.

DIARY OF THE MONTH.

February 23. Visit of the Czar to the Duma and M. Sazanoff's historic speech.

February 24. H. E. Lord Carmichael opened the Commercial Museum at Calcutta.

February 25. Evacuation of Albania; sinking of the P. & O. S. S. *Maloja* off Dover.

February 26. Cardinal Mercier has left for Belgium amidst great enthusiasm.

February 27. Draft of the Bombay Municipal Farewell Address to H. E. Lord Hardinge is published.

February 28. Great reception to Mr. M. K. Gandhi at Hyderabad (Sindh.)

February 29. Annual Meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the Hon. F. H. Stewart the President's Address.

March 1. Hon Sir William Meyer's financial statement and the new taxation.

March 2. Sinking of the British steamer *Morhaby*.

March 3. Death of the Hon. Sir Chinubhai Madhavlal, Bart., the first Hindu Baronet, at Ahmedabad.

March 4. Desperate struggle for Verdun.

March 5. Proposal for a Trade Conference of the Allies in Paris.

March 6. Lord Northcliffe visiting Verdun. Comments on the collossal German losses. His Holiness the Pope's appeal for Peace.

March 7. Budget discussions in the Viceregal Council.

March 8. German Note to America; Mr. Balfour's fighting speech.

March 9. Representative Meeting of Bahawalpur Mahomedans resolves that the Foundation Committee of the Moslem University be requested to settle the University question.

March 10. The Sixth Session of the Ayurvedic and Unani Conference was held at Khusrubagh with H. H. The Nawab of Rampur in the chair.

March 11. The Convocation of the Calcutta University was held this afternoon, H. E. Lord Carmichael presiding. Dr. Sarbhadicary delivered the address.

March 12. Declaration of war between Germany and Portugal.

March 13. Bombay Corporation's annual entertainment to H. E. the Governor.

March 14. The 32nd Annual Meeting of the European Association at Calcutta.

March 15. Discussion of the Bogus Medical Degrees Bill in the Viceregal Council, and Sir Pardey Lukis' demand for improvement of Eastern medicines.

March 16. The opening of the Hardinge Library, at Delhi, by Sir C. Sankaran Nair.

March 17. Bombay Co-operative Conference at Poona, with Mr. Keatings in the chair.

March 18. The *Times* announces that a Commission will be appointed to investigate the industrial possibilities of India.

March 19. The Portuguese residents of Bombay held a demonstration in favour of Portugal's entry into the war.

March 20. The Viceroy's important announcement accepting the Resolution for the abolition of indentured labour.

March 21. Meeting of the Viceregal Council, and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah's motion *re*: Indian industries.

March 22. At the Meeting of the Viceregal Council, the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee moved that the Calcutta University be placed on the same footing as the Universities of Bombay and Madras.

March 23. Press *communique* regarding the unrest among the Oraons.

March 24. Busts of Sir John Jenkins and Sir G F. Wilson unveiled by His Excellency.

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TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

KALIDASA: THE SPIRIT OF ASIA.

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A., writes a very spirited article in the current number of the *Modern Review*. In his view, as in the opinion of Mr. Vincent Smith and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the age of the Guptas marks a renaissance in India. It was a period of wonderful mental activity and material prosperity. The central figure in this remarkable period is Kalidasa, and Mr. Vincent Smith draws a happy parallel :—

The Gupta period, taken in a wide sense as extending from about A. D. 300 to 650 and meaning more particularly the fourth and fifth centuries, was a time of exceptional mental activity in many fields—a time not unworthy of comparison with the Elizabethan and Stuart periods in England. In India, all the lesser lights are outshone by the brilliancy of Kalidasa, as in England all the smaller authors are overshadowed by Shakespeare. But, as the Elizabethan literature would still be rich, even if Shakespeare had not written, so in India, if Kalidasa's works had not survived, enough of other men's writings would remain to distinguish his age as extraordinarily fertile in literary achievement.

Not only was this the most fruitful period in Indian history but it was the most typically Indian. The writer points out :

If it is at all necessary to single out one name as a synonym for India and Hindu culture, it is not that of Manu, Yajnavalkya, Sakyasimha, Asoka, Samudragupta, Sankaracharyya, Tulsidasa, Sivaji or Chaitanya, but of Kalidasa, the poet of the 4th-5th century A.D. If it is at all possible to regard any one work as the embodiment of Indianism, it is not the *Rig Veda*, the *Arthasastra*, the *Tripitaka*, the *Gita*, *Vedanta*, *Kural* (Tamil work—3rd century A.D.) *Sakuntala*, *Dasa-bodha* (Marathi work—17th century), or *Kavikankana Chandi* (Bengali work—17th century), but the *Raghu-vamsam* of Kalidasa.

Hindu culture thus found its best expression in the mind and art of Kalidasa. From the Kalidasan literature could be gleaned a complete idea of Indian life and thought. For Kalidasa is as representative of his country and age as Dante or Shakespeare or Milton or Goethe, and his works—notably the Raghuvamsa—display the supreme genius of the Orient in its highest and sublimest heights.

It is impossible to study it from cover to cover without noticing how profoundly the greatest poet of Hindusthan has sought to depict this Hindu ideal of synthesis and harmony between the positive and the transcendental, the *bhoga* (enjoyment) and *tyaga* (renunciation). *Raghu-vamsam* is the embodiment of Hindu India in the same sense that *Paradise Lost* is the embodiment of Puritan England.

Kalidasa is thus the spirit of the Orient and the organ-voiced interpreter of the East.

CHINA'S INDEPENDENCE.

In the course of a very sober article in a recent issue of the *Far Eastern Review*, a writer urges on the necessity of maintaining the independence of China. In fact, the independence of China is guaranteed by four important treaties, the signatory Powers of which are, Great Britain, France, Russia and Japan. It is interesting to note that Japan in particular is a party to each of the four great transactions. Moreover, the wording of the portion of these instruments relating to the preservation of the independence of China is almost identical, as will be seen from the following excerpts :—

"The two high contracting parties agree to recognise the independence and the territorial integrity of the Chinese Empire, and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in the said Empire, and they engage to uphold and defend the maintenance of the *status quo* and the respect of that principle by all the peaceful means possible to them."—Russo-Japanese Convention of July 1907.

"They (America and Japan) are also determined to preserve the common interests of the Powers in China by supporting by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China, and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in that Empire."—Root-Takahira Agreement of November 1908.

"The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by ensuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China.—Object B. Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Alliance of July 1911."

Thus the importance of maintaining the integrity of China is fully recognised, in fact, it forms the corner-stone, as the writer says, of the Far Eastern policy.

Now, are these treaties binding? "International agreements of a public nature are in a sense a portion of international law, and the right of the world to be notified of their variation or denunciation is generally recognised." But there is in fact no such mutual agreement to the detriment of China's integrity. Still,

it is obvious that a clear definition of internatianal Far Eastern policy is urgently necessary if China is to be enabled to push on with the programme of reform and development that has been decided upon. The restoration of the monarchical system is believed by the Chinese best qualified to form an opinion to be the necessary prelude to a vigorous policy of development, but clearly it will be impossible to carry it out unless China is relieved from the apprehension that her domestic policy, in spite of the general recognition of her independence, is subject to interference by other Powers.

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THE KAISER AND ARCHDUKE.

In a highly interesting and enlightening article in the February number of the *Nineteenth Century*, Mr. Henry Wickham Steed, a noted special correspondent of one of the leading English newspapers, makes a case which serves to explain much that has hitherto seemed inexplicable about the murdered Archduke. At Konopisht where the Kaiser and the Archduke met in June 1914, the former is said to have opened to the latter a magnificent horizon and a grandiose plan which promised to place his (the latter's) sons by a morganatic marriage at the head of two vast realms in Eastern and Central Europe. The Archduke's relations with the other members of the Imperial family were very strained; and his solemn renunciation of the succession to the throne for his children might have very well induced him to grasp at the Kaiser's plans. The Archduke was to get the ancient kingdom of Poland with Lithuania and the Ukraine—the Poland of the Jagellons stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea. This was to be the inheritance of his eldest son; and for his younger son was reserved under his direction a realm including Bohemia, Hungary, most of the southern Slav lands of Austria together with Serbia, the Slav coast of the eastern Adriatic and Salonika. The Kaiser for his part was to give back to the future Poland a part of the Duchy of Posen and to indemnify himself by bringing German Austria with Trieste under care of the Archduke into the German Empire. Between the enlarged German Empire, the reconstituted kingdom of Poland, and the new Bohemian-Hungarian-Southern Slav realm, a close and perpetual military and economic alliance was contemplated. This alliance would become the arbiter of Europe and would command the Balkans and the route to the East. And the House of Hohenzollern would make Austria another Bavaria and the proud Habsburgs would be reduced to the position of the Wittelsbachs and the Wettins. The scheme is plausible and would very likely have fomented the Archduke's resentment towards the Austrian Imperial family and have flattered his paternal ambition.

The scheme has enormous interest and significance; the evidence adduced in its support consists chiefly in the circumstances attending the Archduke's marriage with the Countess Sophie Chotek in 1900; the terms of the marriage declaration to which he was obliged to subscribe; his efforts to emancipate himself, his wife and his children from its restrictions; his close association with the Kaiser; and the feud that had grown up between himself and the other sections of the Austro-Hungarian family. The value of this circumstantial evidence can be only judged by those who are conversant with Austro-Hungarian affairs and in particular with the composition of the Imperial family. Moreover, no convincing explanation has been given of the attitude of the Imperial family towards the funeral of the murdered Archduke, and of the evident intention of the Court authorities to pay as little honour as possible to the dead. The whole becomes explicable if we assume that the Emperor Francis Joseph and the Imperial family obtained, before or after the assassination, knowledge of an agreement such as that alleged to have been made between the Archduke and the Kaiser at Konopisht. How far knowledge or suspicion of the existence of such an agreement may have influenced the authorities in Austria and Hungary in not affording the Archduke any adequate protection against a plot, of which the Austro-Hungarian authorities can scarcely have been unaware, is a question not easily to be answered. For the time being the supposed agreement is put forward only as a remarkable hypothesis, which serves to explain much that has hitherto seemed inexplicable.

A MISSIONARY SURVEY OF INDIA, 1915.

Mr. J. H. Oldham, writing in the the current number of the *International Review of Missions*, deals with the more outward aspects of the existing position of missionary effort in India. Mr. Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements in India* (1915) describes the living forces which have developed the spiritual life of the people, and which are at the present day the most vigorous expression of their spiritual aspirations. The proposal of Sir S. Subramania Iyer for a reformed Hinduism is curiously misregarded as a striking evidence of the extent to which the foundations of Hinduism have been shaken by the impact of Western ideas. The disaster which has overtaken the work of German missions, the internment of as many as 115 missionaries under military control at Ahmednagar, the withdrawal of Government grants to German missions for educational and philanthropic work, will tax to the utmost the resources of the Indian Church and of the missionary body.

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Other missions, besides those from Germany, have suffered through the war, and financial stringency has, in the great majority of cases, postponed all plans for extensions and stopped building operations which are not absolutely essential; and in some instances, itineration in the districts has had to be curtailed, and Indian workers have had to be discharged. Many missions have to do without expected reinforcements from home. Medical missionary work has been temporarily affected by the considerable number of British missionary doctors, who have felt it their duty to offer for medical service with the military forces.

The proposal to establish in the Anglican communion self-governing synods has encountered legal difficulties, and it has been found necessary to restrict the plan to the formation of councils, diocesan and provincial, without the coercive authority which the synods would have had. And among other Christian bodies, the movement for the federation of churches has been advanced by the preparation of a revised scheme. An event of far-reaching importance is the initiation of a thorough survey of the entire Indian mission-field with a view to form a duly co-ordinated policy for each part, and this would enable the Church in India as well as the home-base to realise, in outline at least, the nature and extent of the task committed to it.

The opening of the new Christian College for Women in Madras, in which 12 missionary societies are co-operating, is also noteworthy, and its aim is to make the largest possible contribution from the standpoint of Christian ideals to the education of the women of India. The translation of the whole Bible has been completed in Nepali and in Santali; and there has been a record circulation of Scriptures in India during the war. The first meeting of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, proposals of the National Missionary Society for developing the share of the women in the work of the Society, and the transformation of the Bishops' College, Calcutta, into a Central Theological College of the Anglican Church in India, under the Indian bishops as the governing body, are among other prominent features in the life of Indian missions.

WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Miss Margaret Wilson, a missionary among the Zulus, exhorts in the columns of the January number of *The East and the West* (a Quarterly Missionary Review), the white race domiciled in South Africa to prevent the growing demoralisation of the four million and odd natives—a people 'who under right guidance are capable of much, and who under firm, considerate, and wise rule are easily governed.' The first effects of the transformation of the social system and life of the natives, produced by European civilisation, are not altogether pleasing. Women especially are to be much more guarded against temptation and demoralising influences. If well trained African girls become good and capable servants, they are extremely fond of children and make patient and devoted nurses, and if only white people should be known to look carefully after their native servants, it would be possible for them to obtain trustworthy and respectable girls.

Town life does not generally increase native respect for Europeans, but rather the reverse, and as this respect decreases, it tends to the demoralisation of natives of both sexes. And coupled with town-life is another and more intense deteriorating cause—the illicit sale of liquor to native men and women alike. The Zulu women specially cannot be trusted to work for long without supervision, partly owing to their cheerful forgetfulness and partly owing to their lack of initiative. But they are generally more industrious than the men, and with a little understanding and sympathy they might be made to be much better.

While polygamy remains, it is impossible to hope for better morals, more industrious living, and for the development of individual self-respect. Now that the devastating effect of constant warfare has ceased, the numbers on the male and female side are more equally balanced and the practice of polygamy may become to a larger extent impossible. But it must be definitely abolished, since the richer natives will still continue to surround themselves with wives, leaving a proportion of unmarried men who may become a social menace. Opposition from the women themselves, who are more opposed to change, would also have to be overcome. It is the 'white man's burden' to think of all these problems and attempt to find a remedy for the situation.

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THE INTELLECTUALS AND THE WAR.

Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, M.P., writing to the *Socialist Review* (January-March, 1916) expresses his disgust at the attitude towards the war taken up by the intellectuals and men of letters, professors and authors as a body. There are degrees in their controversial style from the blank reactionary to the erstwhile liberal; and a crude and indignant outburst of narrow patriotism appears from time to time in their letters to the newspapers; and they never take a detached and broad view of the struggle, nor care to think that it is only a passing interruption in the normal relations which must exist between the peoples of Europe. Professor Ridgeway's statement, that 'in a world of perfect peace, humanity would perish from its own physical and moral corruption' is only equalled by Mr. Robert Bridges' words, "that it is manifestly a war declared between Christ and the Devil." And Mr. Kipling goes further and says: "There are only two divisions in the world to-day—human beings and Germans. And the German knows it. Human beings have long ago sickened of him and everything connected with him, of all he does, says, thinks, and believes." And many equally crude utterances could be quoted from less prominent men of culture who constantly write to the press, as if the furnace of hatred required fresh stocking, and the call for vengeance a louder chorus.

Again men like H. G. Wells and Arnold Bennett avoid anything in the nature of a Jingo reactionary appeal, but fear to confine themselves to the larger view and fall back on the elaboration of arguments calculated to please the superficial mind. While some defend what *is* and quite forget the ideals they once held of what *might be*.

The men of learning are more incensed at the attitude adopted by those who are looking to the future and preparing for a lasting settlement; they have failed as a body to see above the smoke of combat the lasting factors of human relationship, to try and preserve the nation's sanity and to check the outbursts of vile passions. Abroad it has also been just the same. In Belgium, the great writer Maeterlinck, and the poet Cammaerts, with more justice perhaps, have lost all sense of proportion; while the German professors defend the vilest practices of militarism. While in France the grim determination to continue war at whatever sacrifice has been so strong, that the word peace can hardly be uttered. But among the French, Romain Rolland stands forward as the apostle of humanity, determined in his zeal to reach the ultimate truth, fearless in his condemnation of the excesses of militarism and bent on the preservation of national sanity. He says: "A great people in war time has not only to defend its frontiers, but also its reason. It must be saved from the hallucinations, the injustices, the follies which the scourge lets loose. To each one his task; to the soldiers to defend the soil of the nation; to the men of thought to defend its mind." In England also, a small band of faithful men of this opinion—Lowes Dickinson, Hobson, Russell, etc.—have refused to sacrifice their talents to echoing in academic phrases the clamour of the mob.

INDIAN NATIONAL PROGRESS.

Mr. S. H. Swinny, the sturdy friend of India, in the February issue of the *Positivist Review*, points out that when Indian opinion is united in asking for reforms to satisfy the reasonable aspirations of the thinking and vocal sections of the people, it cannot very well be resisted by the officials. He writes: "For many years there have been two great gatherings in India towards the end of December, the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League. The second, as its name implies, was confined to Mahomedans; the first welcomed and even chose as president men of every religion—Moslem, Parsee, Hindu, Christian or Positivist, but was not usually attended by many followers of Islam. This was due to differences of policy, the Moslems in great part standing aloof from the programme of the reforms proposed by the Congress. The two bodies met at the same time, but in distant cities. This year all has been changed. Both met in Bombay. The Congress closed its sittings on December 29, and the League opened on December 30, under the presidency of my friend, Mr. Mazur-ul-Haque. The President of the Congress and many leading Congressmen occupied seats on the platform and were loudly cheered. In spite of some disturbance by casual visitors opposed to this new departure, a Resolution was carried unanimously authorising the appointment of a Joint Committee with the Indian National Congress to formulate a scheme of Self-Government and submit it to the Government of India. This union of all Indians in support of reform on constitutional lines is the best guarantee for the increase of ordered liberty and the best defence against both anarchy and misgovernment. It is a result for which I have long hoped and, so far as was legitimate to a stranger, worked. But I never can quite feel a stranger in anything that relates to India."

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THE LEVANT IN LAST DECEMBER.

Dr. M. Maguire, writing to a recent number of the *United Service Magazine*, explains the state of the British stand, offensive and defensive in the whole region of the Levant, at the end of last year. The Levant has long been the general name given to the localities from Greece and her numerous islands to the Black Sea and thence through Asia Minor to Syria and Egypt. The rôle of Italy in resisting the Austro-Bulgarian aliance in this region is very important. She must resist at all costs the control of Serbia by Austria and Germany, and she will do all in her power to bring help to Serbia to assist in the re-victualling and ammunition supply of the Serbian forces and facilitate their military reconstruction. The English have now established a definite control of all the coast of Syria, the islands of the Grecian archipelago, including Scyros and Lemnos, and Salonika, the best harbour of Macedonia. But the difficulties in the ultimate victory of the English and the Italians seem to be very great. Unless the Russians reverse the present situation, Serbia seems to be ruined, and neither French nor British could pretend to prevent the practical junction of its various invaders. The British were late and, were in any case, hampered by the Gallipoli incidents. But on the other hand, unless the Teutonic Powers intervene on the Lower Danube betimes, if Russia can control Roumania, Bulgaria can be put into a regular climax of military difficulties and the supply of central European stores and ammunition to the Turks can be finally cut off. Every possible strategic contingency in these zones of manouvres has been most carefully worked out by the British Naval Intelligence Department. The German designs to get such an influence in the Balkan Peninsula as would link the Danube with Constantinople through subservient principalities, to cross the Bosphorus, and to control the railways to Arabia and through Asia Minor to Baghdad, were brilliant German naval versions in modern forms of Napoleonic dreams. But notwithstanding any tactical operations during November, samples of treachery by Arab tribesmen, and political failures in Macedonia and Thrace, these great couceptions have been partially foiled by the vigilant action of our fleet. The English are now commanding, with the surly acquiescence of Greece, the north of the Aegean Sea, and all the coasts of the Levant proper from Asia Minor through Syria to the Sinai Isthmus and Egypt, as well as the Lower Mesopotamian valley.

THE WAR AND RAILWAYS.

Science has been pressed into the service of this war in a variety of ways. Invention after invention has contributed to the speedy marshalling disposition and the aggressive power of the belligerent forces engaged. What is the place of Railways in the getting-up of this scientific Armageddon? The *Indian and Eastern Engineer* writes:—

Railway power primarily it was which enabled the German confederacy to launch the thunderbolt of invasion on Northern France through Belgium. The Prussian Railways are of course a State system, which enabled them to take many transport measures before any formal declaration of war, and thus secure that priority of preparation which, in combination with the avalanche of armies would, it was fondly hoped, overwhelm France through the comparatively undefended gap in her defensive fortress chain at the first rush, whereby the campaign in the West was to be a matter of weeks.

The Railway power of Germany proved fully capable of dealing with these enormous demands, but, providentially for the Allies, the German plan of campaign failed just at the point where it almost seemed that crushing victory was in the grasp of the Huns. Again, the factor of Railway power was of supreme importance in the skilful dispositions of the Anglo-French Generalissimo--General Joffre—which led to the outflanking of von Kluck's armies and the German disaster on the Ourcq, which threw back their victorious advance to the line of the Aisne. What the Railways of France achieved during those crucial days, when the fate of the Republic hung in the balance, is only now coming to light but it was literally a miracle of transport work. The giant labour of concentration of the armies, following mobilization, had only just been completed with every hope of successful dispositions, when the flank was turned through Belgium and the horrors of the great retreat from Mons to the Marne had to be struggled with. Then came what was probably the greatest hour of trial, when to take advantage of the situation resulting from von Kluck's endeavour to cause another and greater Sedan, armies were rushed from the very east of France to the north and west of Paris; and it was for hours touch-and-go whether the French would succeed in outflanking the Germans or the Germans the French. The French Railway power however won the struggle aided by its hand-maid motor transport.

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ART INDUSTRIES OF JAPAN.

Writing in the pages of the *Mysore Economic Journal*, Mr. C. R. Reddy eulogises the art industries of Japan which are not obstinately conservative but have adopted the best features of Western art and preserve a fine instinct for harmony of form, colour, and setting. Tradition says that the most ancient sculptures and bronzes and wood carving in Japan were made by Indian hands, and in painting both the subjects and treatment were thoroughly Indian in character. As in India, in Japan too, the arts had a religious origin; but they soon outgrew the limitations of their birth and developed into independent representations of ideals or reality as conceived by the artist himself. The traditional restrictions of the arts repressed the tendency towards an anarchical and too individualistic romanticism. Of late years "the influence of the West has weakened the power of the older ideals, and art is becoming more lyrical and romantic, and taking colour and shape from European models. Classical treatment is still in the ascendant and is regarded as peculiarly the national mode of expression; but the Japanese are not obstinately conservative and thick-headed. They will adopt the best features of Western art and modify their work in accordance with the growing taste of the time."

On the other hand, India shows very little development, change or adaptation, to a changing environment which, in the case of the industrial arts, becomes fatal to the sale ability of their products and therefore to their existence. The processes and ideals need not perhaps be altered, but in applying them, thought must be given to what would be useful or attractive to people of the peresent day. What strikes the writer as the most remarkable feature in Japan is, that art-industries like lacquer-work, procelain, tortoiseshell work, embroideries, ivory-carving, Damascene-work, etc., combine a keen and searching eye for foreign markets with all the hereditary excellence that the nation is capable of. They have effected wise adjustment in their trade and industry, have always avoided slovenly and clumsy methods and send out men to study the class of goods in demand in the West and learn the method of producing the desired effects. "If we adopt the familiar distinction between matter and form in art, it might be said that the Japanese show great elasticity of choice as regards matter and a lesser amount as regards form."

ART AND THE WAR.

In the course of an article on the above subject in a recent issue of the *Review of Reviews*, Mr. Bernard Sleigh points out that there has been no body of workers so deeply affected by the labour conditions brought about by the war as the artists of those countries directly engaged in this terrible struggle for existence. And it is these artists, from the very nature of their calling, that are most influenced by the ruthless frenzy of destruction alike of human life and the treasures of antique art so dear to them.

"To us," the writer says, "in our workshops and studies it has been a hideous nightmare to read of the blind onslaught of German fury, crushing Belgium cathedral cities, mediæval towns, and villages of Northern France and Poland, of Austrian aeroplane attacks on the quiet hill-towns of Italy, on Venice and Verona, as though for a moment's space we had returned to the indignation and horror of our childhood's days when reading of some senseless, wooden-headed ogre tramping on fragile fairy-temples and helpless elfin peopie."

This is but too true. But there is yet a hope in all aspiring souls that at the end of all this huge welter of destruction, of this monstrous upheaval of social barriers and cherished traditions, when the world settles down to the mighty task of reconstruction on the basis of mutual amity and goodwill, there will follow a great Renaissance of Art, grander than any that has yet been witnessed in the world. Now if this be so, we cannot, as the writer says, too soon consider how this re-birth may be best prepared for.

To illustrate this new renaissance, the writer considers one form of commemorating the great struggle—the ancient and time-honored use of stained glass as a means of erecting stable memorials to those whose lives have been so willingly given in the service of their native country.

"When this time comes," says the writer, "it will be for us to approach a splendid means of art expression in a new spirit to cast aside once for all those effete, pseudo-Gothic, empty absurdities with which the Churches of our land are so abundantly dishonoured and which have brought discredit upon an honourable craft capable of unlimited development."

Mr. Sleigh then pays a deserved tribute to William Morris and Burne Jones, Christopher Whall, Louis Davis and Henry Payne, and notes with special favour Mr. Davis' magnificent East window in the Cathedral of Dunblane. He then

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calls upon those responsible for future war memorials not to repeat the folly of giving commissions to purely commercial firms to the detriment of the English native artists and craftsmen.

There is certainly no excuse whatever now for inartistic and meaningless windows, of the kind which has given just cause for the sneers of the man in the street, or to call forth the contempt of the literary man or art lover. Even from the lowest and purely mercenary point of view we should surely obtain the best value for our money by insisting on a trained and proved artist designing and executing these records of unselfishness, and allowing him the least possible hindrance to his freedom of thought and conception; instead of applying to the trade upholsterer to supply our windows at so much per foot and usually at the lowest price possible.

THE GERMANS IN PERSIA.

In an article in the February number of the *Fortnightly Review*, Mr. Robert Machray explains the growth of the German policy epitomised in the phrase *drang nach osten*, and how behind the ostentatious friendliness, which the German Kaiser showed to the Turks, and the construction and control of the Baghdad Railway by the Germans, lay the German objective in the Persian Gulf. Admiral Mahan long ago warned the English that any foreign interference in the area of the Gulf and of Southern Persia would 'imperil Great Britain's naval situation in the Farther East, her political position in India, her commercial interests in both, and the Imperial tie between herself and Australasia.' More than twenty years back, the Germans under cover of the Turks had twice endeavoured to seize Koweit, and since 1896 the German firm of Wonckhaus & Co., with their head office at Bahrein, have under the cloak of their pearl-shell and other trade been engaged in intrigues with the object of facilitating the Turkish invasion of Persia and of raising the Arab tribes against Great Britain. These aims went beyond the Gulf on which every German attempt to acquire territory in a surreptitious manner was frustrated by British action. Then came the Russo-German compact of 1911, by which both these Powers covenanted to give facilities for international traffic on the Baghdad-Khanikin and the Khanikin-Teheran lines when constructed, and Russia bound herself not to hinder the completion of the Baghdad Railway. Not merely was Russia befooled, but two agreements were on the point of being concluded, one between England and Turkey, and the other between England and Germany, when hostilities began and incontinently quashed them.

In addition to the working upon the not altogether unnatural dislike of the Persians to the condominium established over their country by the Anglo-Russian Convention, German gold was instrumental in the Persian officials themselves conniving at the Turkish invasion of Tabriz and Azerbaijan. The India Office had also uncovered an elaborate plot, of which Afghanistan, the Frontier, and the Indian Army were the objective; and soon there was a violent agitation against the Russians and the British in Bushire and Kermanshah; and Persian tribesmen made a raid into British Baluchistan. It was only the energetic action of the Russians at Kazvin intervening in their own name and in that of Great Britain that brought about the discomfiture of the proposed rising of the Persians. Meanwhile, conditions in Southern Persia are as chaotic as ever, except at Ahwaz, where British troops defend it for some distance up-country. The recent British set-back in Mesopotamia is another disturbing factor; and in Persia, much will depend in the near future on what takes place for or against the British on the Tigris. The Turko-Persian front of the Russians is something like 2,000 miles in length and is in itself very arduous to defend; and the whole situation in the Middle East demands the most serious attention, specially since the German mastery of the Railway from Constantinople into Asia is the pivotal new fact in the War for 1916.

INDIA IN INDIAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

INDIAN TRADE DURING THE WAR. By Mr. A. Chatterton, C.I.E. ["The Mysore Economic Journal," February 1916.]

IDEALS OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT. By Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri. ["The Local Self-Government Gazettee," February 1916.]

A STUDY IN THE GITA. By Mr. Sydney Cave, B.A., B.D ["The Christian College Magazine," February 1916.]

INTER-MARRIAGE BETWEEN HINDU CASTES AND SUB-CASTES. By Chimanlal M. Doctor, M.A. ["The Modern Review," March 1916]

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS AND EDUCATION. By C. R. Narayana Rao, M.A., L.T. ["The Educational Review," February 1916.]

INDIAN FACTORY LEGISLATION. By S. H. Fremantle, I.C.S. ["The Indian Journal of Economics," January 1916.]

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HINDU CULTURE AS WORLD POWER.

Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, writing in the March number of the *Modern Review*, explains that the Hindus of the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries A.D. were not living in 'splendid isolation' but kept up cultivating the 'world sense.' Even the mere development of the Indian sense in those days must be regarded as an expression of internationalism of a high order. The internationalism of the Hindus was extra-Indian too; the world of Kalidas's poetry included the whole of India and also the Indian borderland and Persia. In the 5th century the stream of traffic between India and China was augmented—an indication of the 'Asia sense,' that they had been developing. The Mauryans had cultivated relations mainly with Western Asia, the Kushanas had opened up the Central Asian regions, and the Guptas developed intercourse with the Far East. And Chandra Gupta II. and Vikramaditya (375-413 A.D.) were in direct touch with the sea-borne commerce with Europe through Egypt.

Intercourse with Further India and the colonisation of Java form parts of an adventure which was nearing completion in Gupta times; and the 4th century A.D. really commenced the foundation of a 'Greater India' of commerce and culture, extending ultimately to Japan on the East and Madagascar on the West. The travels of Kumara Jiva (405 A.D.), and of Fahien the Celestial Apostle, were things to which the Indians had been long used. The Patriarch Bodhidharma, originally a South Indian prince, reached Canton by sea and was thence invited to Nanking (520 A.D.) Kucha and Khotan, the half-way house between India and China, remained all the time the great emporium of Hindu culture and of Græco-Buddhistic art. And manuscripts unearthed by Sir Aurel Stein and others, both in Karoshthi and Chinese scripts, prove that Central Asian Indianism flourished during the period from the 3rd to the 8th or 9th century; and the great Chinese travellers, Fahien and Hiouen Thsang, traversed the Central Asian route. Thus the people of Hindustan enjoyed in those days the real place in the sun; and the Indianism of Kalidasa's age was the the Hindu culture, which was propagated all over Asia and transmitted to China and even Japan.

BRAHMINS IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

A writer in the *Indiaman* describes the racial characteristics of the classes of Brahmins who are recruited for the army. He deplores the fact that the Government do not recruit from the Drairra or Southern Brahmins and "thus perhaps let some excellent material run to waste in this direction, for the Brahmins of Maharasthra know how to die."

The field of recruitment is limited to the Gaur Brahmins, and here again further limitations apply, for of the five Gaur tribes, viz., the Kanoujiya, the Saraswat, the Gaur proper, the Maithila, and the Utkala, we do not recruit from the last two The above form the tribes of secular Brahmins, from whom we enlist men into the Indian Army. It is curious that, with the exception of a strip of country near Jabalpur and another jutting out from Lalitpur between Tonk and Saugor, all the Brahmins we enlist are to be found in the United Provinces. "The home of the black buck is where the true Hindu is found," so says the proverb, and here we go for our Brahmin recruits. Besides the tribes noted above, there are several spurious and doubtful tribes who are not enlisted. Such are the Tagas, who are half Mohammedans, the Ojhas, or sorcerer Brahmins, and the Achraj, or Maha-Brahmins, who perform funeral ceremonies. The Achraj rides on a donkey and is considered impure, so that in many villages he is not allowed to enter the gates.

BOTHA'S COLOURS.

Writing on this subject in a recent issue of the *English Review*, W. P. Taylor deals with the South African problems, and concludes:—

It is the business of a colony possessing responsible Government to put its own house in order, and General Botha is the man to do it. It may become necessary to introduce a qualification vote that will destroy much of the indigents' power. If such a measure were passed, it would create confidence throughout the world in our ability to solve and master our problems. Politics would thus become a State business and enterprise and work the order of the day. Then the vast wealth of agriculture, cattle, sheep, and mineral industries would all be developed, and South Africa take its place beside Canada and Australia. And in time its vast resources would employ the millions that are being kept away through the stupidity of an ignorant minority. To realise this our confidence to-day must remain with the green and orange of General Botha.

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS.

[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

THE STORY OF LORD ROBERTS. By Harold F. B. Wheeler, F.R.H.S. George G. Harrap & Co., London. Price 3/6 net.

The victor of Kandahar, over whose death the whole Empire mourned last year, has given touches of autobiographical reminiscences in his fascinating study entitled *Forty-one Years in India*. But his is a life of varied activities. He was the last of the trinity of genius who contributed to the making of British India, Clive and Wellington having preceded Roberts. The most distinguishing quality in this soldier-statesman was sincerity, and it was that that marked the late Field-Marshal as a hero and a man of constructive genius. Very clearly has Mr. Harold F. B. Wheeler brought out in the book under review this and the other virtues that characterised the great commander. We have no doubt that the book will be widely read by many all over the Empire.

INDIAN FAMINES. By Dr. H. A. Shah. Rajkote. Price Rs. 5.

This book is now in its second edition, a proof of its worth and a promise of its going through many more. The author has spared no pains to collect information bearing on the subject of Indian famines, and the remedies he suggests therefore have undergone in many cases the test of actual experience. As such the suggestions contained in the book are worthy of attention at the hands of all who have to do with men and animals in famine-stricken areas.

THE HINDU GOD UNIVERSAL. By K. Narayanasami Iyer. Published by the Author, Theosophical Society, Adyar.

This small work contains the substance of several lectures delivered by the author who is a well known theosophical lecturer and translator of some Hindu books. His object is to establish "that Hinduism is very broad and universal in its concept as well as in its worship of God." With this view, he examines the different kinds of divine worship and the symbolisms of Temple worship and private worship. Worship of God in the heart, worship of a Personal God, and *Maya* and other subjects are treated herein. The book will be of interest to Hindu readers generally.

"THE INFLUENCE OF THE ZODIAC UPON HUMAN LIFE." By Eleanor Kirk: J. N. Fowler & Co., London.

This is a readable exposition of the art of astrology as understood in the West, and ought to be an interesting volume to those among us who believe that astrology is a useful science. The character-readings given in the book are suggestive, but whether they are helpful or useful is another matter, which is best left to those who have faith in matters of this sort.

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF DURBHANGA. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

Here is a short sketch of the life and activities of this Indian Prince, whose self-sacrificing zeal in the cause of the Hindu University at Benares has justly entitled him to the respect of all lovers of India. The sketch gives a detailed account of His Highness the Maharaja's various philanthropic activities and his remarkable munificence in charitable enterprises.

EASTERN FABLES AND FOLK TALES. By J. C. Nesfield, M.A. Macmillan & Co., Madras.

This is a new series of story books for Indian children. From the four booklets on our table—Indian fables from Hitopadesha, Persian Fables from Anwar-i-Sunhaili, the King and the Rubies and fifteen fables from Baital Paschisi—we believe that the series will strongly appeal to children. What with illustrations and clear types and delightful get-up, the booklets will form an attractive series for young ones.

CARMINA BELLI. By J. W. Poe. Thakur Das & Sons, Delhi.

The war has naturally inspired many a minor poet. The profits of the sale of Mr. Poe's eminently readable booklet of war-verses will be given to the Imperial Indian Relief Fund. The book comprises forty short poems—all dealing with various aspects of the great war.

RAJAH SIR DINKAR RAO, K.C.S.I. By M. W. Burway, B.A., Judge, Indore. Price Rs. 2-8.

We thank the author for his sketch of Raja Sir Dinkar Rao, one of India's great statesmen and administrators. The book is replete with accurate information about the life and activities of the departed patriot and contains many valuable suggestions for Indian administrators.

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Books Relating to India.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: A New Chapter. By Prithwis Chandra Ray, Calcutta.

THE GREAT WAR IN EUROPE (in Tamil). By O. S. Gangatharam Pillai. C. A. Natesa Mudaliar & Co., Madras.

THE GLIDES: A study in Dravidian Philology. By C. P. Venkatarama Iyer, M.A. Srinivasa Varada Chari & Co., Madras.

LIGHT OF TRUTH (Satyarth Prakash of Swami Dayanand Saraswati). By Dr. Chiranjiva Bharadwaja. The Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, U.P.

CHANDRASEKHAR IN PICTURES. K. V. Seyne and Bros., Calcutta.

THE CARE OF CHILDREN: TALKS TO MOTHERS. By An Indian Lady. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

DHONDO KESHAO KARVE: A SKETCH. By R. P. Paranjpye, M.A., B.SC. Arya Bhushan Press, Poona.

INDIA AND MISSIONS. The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.

TAMIL EXAMINATION PAPERS of the S. I. M. A. Edited by A. C. Clayton. The C. L. S. I. Madras.

PRINCIPLES OF THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN INDIA. By Rev. Dr. W. Miller. The C. L. S. I. Madras.

CHINTAMANI: A DRAMA IN TAMIL. By S. S. Rajagopala Ayengar, B.A., B.L. Pleader, Kumbakonam. Price As. 12.

GENERAL REPORT OF THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY AND CONVENTION OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

GOKHALE AND ECONOMIC REFORMS. By V. G. Kale. Aryabhushan Press, Poona.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

ALGEBRAICAL EXERCISES WITH SOLUTIONS. By Sarat Chandra Mukerjee, M.A., B.L. Nawapura, Benares.

PLANTS, USEFUL AND WONDERFUL. PARTS I & II. The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.

MUHAMMAD IN ISLAM. By Rev. William Goldsack. The C. L. S. I., Madras.

ASPECTS OF THE REDEMPTIVE ACT OF CHRIST. By Rev. W. H. T. Gairdner, B.A. The C. L. S. I., Madras.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND. By C. W. Leadbeater. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

CHRISTIAN MIND-HEALING. By Harriet Hale Rix. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

PROSPERITY. By Annie Rix Militz. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

Questions of Importance.

THE KING AMD THE INDIAN TROOPS.

At a parade of the Indian Army Corps before their departure from France, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales delivered the following message from His Majesty the King-Emperor :—

Officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the Indian Army Corps :—

More than a year ago I summoned you from India to fight for the safety of My Empire and the honour of My pledged word on the battlefields of Belgium and France. The confidence which I then expressed in your sense of duty, your courage, and your chivalry, you have since then nobly justified.

I now require your services in another field of action; but before you leave France I send my dear and gallant son, the Prince of Wales, who has shared with My Armies the dangers and hardships of the campaign, to thank you in My name for your services, and to express to you My satisfaction.

British and Indian comrades-in-arms, yours has been a fellowship in toils and hardships, in courage and endurance often against great odds, in deeds nobly done in days of ever-memorable conflict. In a warfare waged under new conditions, and in peculiarly trying circumstances, you have worthily upheld the honour of the Empire and the great traditions of My Army in India.

I have followed your fortunes with the deepest interest and watched your gallant actions with pride and satisfaction. I mourn with you the loss of many gallant officers and men. Let it be your consolation, as it was their pride, that they freely gave their lives in a just cause for the honour of their Sovereign and the safety of My Empire. They died as gallant soldiers, and I shall ever hold their sacrifice in grateful remembrance.

You leave France with a just pride in honourable deeds already achieved and with My assured confidence that your proved valour and experience will contribute to further victories in the new fields of action to which you go.

I pray God to bless and guard you and to bring you back safely, when the final victory is won, each to his own home—there to be welcomed with honour among his own people.

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Utterances of the Day.

SCIENCE IN ANCIENT INDIA.

The following speech was delivered by Dr. P. C. Ray in connection with the laying of the foundation-stone of the Benares Hindu University:—

* * * *

To the student of Science, Benares is linked with the origin and foundation of the surgical branch of medicine. Tradition has it that Dhanwantari, the revealer of "Salya-tantra" or Surgery, descended on earth in the person of Divodasa, King of Kasi, the teacher of Susruta. It is not necessary to take this what may be after all a mythical origin in its literal sense. There is, however, an underlying substratum of fact, which assigns to Benares the singular honour of being the birthplace of Susruta Tantra. In my history of Hindu chemistry I have been led to reproduce from it in its entirety the chapter on "Ksharapakavidhi" or preparation of caustic alkali. After describing in detail the processes I have concluded by observing that the method is so accurate and scientific that it may be bodily reproduced in any treatise in modern chemistry.

* * * *

Coming to recent times I find again this ancient and sacred city the seat of mathematical and astronomical sciences. The Mana-Mandir or Observatory erected by Raja Jay Sing, who may well be called the Tycho-Brahe of India, is still an object of admiration to visitors from distant parts of the world. It was under his auspices that Pandit Jagannath translated Euclid and Napier's Logarithm into Sanskrit. It is needless to add that Pandits Bapudeva Sastri and Sudhakara Divedi of this city have in our times maintained the traditions of Raja Jay Sing.

* * * *

History repeats itself. Twelve centuries later our astronomer-prince, Sevai Jay Sing, in order to check his own calculations based upon seven years' observation, sent a deputation to the Court of King Emanuel of Portugal, invoking the help of an European expert.

It will thus be seen that in ancient as in modern times the representative Hindus, who were given to scientific pursuits, were anxious to profit by what their European *confreres* had to communicate.

It is now well known that there was frequent interchange of idea between the East and the West at Alexandria, where the neo-Platonists were not slow to absorb the principles of Vedantism; and this intellectual intercourse was kept up during the days of the Kaliphs of Bagdad. "In Science, too," as Professor Macdonell so aptly puts it, "the debt of Europe to India had been considerable. During the eighth and ninth centuries the Indians became the teachers in arithmetic and algebra of the Arabs, and through them of the nations of the West. Thus, though we call the latter science by an Arabic name, it is a gift we owe to India." In my history of Hindu chemistry, referring to the indebtedness of the Arabs and through their intermediary of the Europeans as regards chemical science to the Hindus, I have said, "Mussalman students in their eager thirst for knowledge used to flock to the centres of learning in India (including of course Benares), and there drank deep at the very fountain-head. Indeed, it had come to be regarded as an essential part of completing one's liberal education to travel to India and to learn the sciences first-hand."

It is now the turn of Europe to pay us back her debt, perhaps, with compound interest. Paradoxical as it may seem, the period of Renaissance in Europe is almost synchronous with the commencement of the decline of our intellectual activities. I have spoken above of Jay Sing as the Tyche-Brahe of India; his labours, or of any of his predecessors, did not however result in the making of a Kepler, and there being no Kepler no foundations were laid upon which a future Newton could build his Law of Gravitation. That glory was reserved for Europe. Bhaskara, who probably flourished in the 12th century, is the last star of Indian Astronomy and Arithmetic, as Weber puts it. After his day no further progress was made and the astronomical science of the Hindus became once more wholly centred in astrology, out of which it had originally sprung. What Herbert Spencer calls the "bias of patriotism" has often been the means of leading people astray into dark paths and false moves. We must look about. The whole of Asia is astir and instinct with new aspirations and pulsating with new life. It will not do for us tenaciously to hug the past and live like the proverbial frog in the well. We should invoke the liberal and catholic spirit of Varahamihira and learn at the feet of Western teachers.

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ENGLAND'S DEBT TO INDIA.

Dr. H. A. L. Fisher, Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, in the course of a lecture on "The Problem of India" observed :—

Where they (Native States) were well-governed, there was found an air of happiness and ease, and he ventured to think that the population was on the whole happier and more comfortable than in British India. If ever India was to obtain a larger measure of self-government than at present was conceded, she would have to exist in the form of a federation of which the various States were component parts. In proposals for the representation of India on an Imperial Conference, it was not sufficient to confine representation to British India; it must be extended to the Native States. The greatest problem was presented by the great variety of types presented by the races over which Britain held sway. The force or power of Western ideas was already a considerable and growing force, and propagated its influence through the Press which in India was gaining greater power every year. These ideas were percolating through the illiterate population, and for that reason it had been of enormous importance in this great crisis that the educated classes had come forward loyally in our defence. When the time came to consider the constitutional demands of the educated classes, it would not be right or becoming to forget the great debt we owed them during the present crisis.

Having discussed the reform programme with the leaders of Indian opinion, he thought that they would demand commissions in the Army a larger share in the higher branches of the public service, an unofficial majority in the Viceroy's and in Provincial Councils, and a national army. He did not say there would not be other demands—he thought it likely—but those were the demands which would sooner or later be pressed on the British Government, and it would be ungracious and impolitic to pronounce an adverse opinion on the programme in view of what India had done. Englishmen ought so to frame their minds as to be prepared to listen with great attention and sympathy and with every desire to make such concessions as could wisely be made when India expressed her wish. * * * But England owed much to India and should show that she trusted her people and desired their progress on the path of self-government and to give them every opportunity of getting posts of responsibility, so that they might feel they had a real part and lot in the management of the Indian Empire.

HON. MR. CARDEW ON EDUCATION.

The Hon. Mr. A. G. Cardew, C.S.I., I.C.S., Member of the Executive Council, Madras, delivered recently an address in opening the Kallidakurichi Secondary School. He said :—

The advancement of education in India must remain, after allowances and exceptions are made, pre-eminently the chief work to be done by the Government and the people. Education is the essential preliminary for future progress, whatever line of enterprise one takes. The first point one is struck by is the need for wider education, whether the branch of study is agriculture, which is the great industry of South India, whether it is veterinary science or industrial development, and it is impossible to exaggerate the extent to which education is needed for the development of the material prosperity of India and its material advancement. Apart from the view of material advantage it is also needed to build up a higher standard of character. To promote the future of India what is wanted is character, and education must be directed to the formation of character. One of the points to which a wider education will lead is the recognition of the importance of Indian national life and of individual life. Education must teach that in order to promote the national life each individual must realise his own responsibilities, and the mind and the spirit must develop in each individual. This question of the importance of the individual spirit is the thing for which the whole of the British Empire is fighting in Europe. It is because we do not want our development to follow the cast-iron methods of the German Government and because we want free play for the human mind and spirit that we are fighting the German attempt to crush our freedom and individuality from the world.

SIR JAMES MESTON ON "RACIAL FEUD."

At the Durbar held recently at Bareilly, Sir James Meston in the course of his speech spoke very plainly on the subject of the relation between the Hindus and Muhammadans which, he said, were far from satisfactory. In the course of his remarks, he said :—

It is sometimes hinted that the Government encourage differences between the Hindus and Muhammadans in order that, by dividing them, it may rule more equally. Whoever says that is a fool. We look upon racial feuds as a stain upon good administraton. They hinder our real work and the progress of the country, and we want to put an end to them. In the sphere of your own influence, each of you can work for this object, and my happy memories of Rohilkhand would be complete, if I saw the spirit of conciliation abroad in this division, and the Hindus and Muhammadans uniting, as they used to do in my earlier years, in everything that makes for public weal.

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Indians Outside India.

INDENTURED LABOUR.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, writing to the Allahabad *Leader*, offers some personal observations and reflections on this question of indentured labour. For facts and figures the reader and the public workers are referred to the late Mr. Gokhale's speeches in the Supreme Legislative Council and Messrs. Andrew and Pearson's report, while Mr. Gandhi makes the following remarks :—

Indentured labour is admittedly a remnant of slavery. The late Sir William Wilson Hunter, when his attention was drawn to it in 1895, was the first to call it a state 'perilously near to slavery'. The hideousness of the system was forcefully demonstrated when the curse descended upon South Africa in the shape of indentured labourers from China for working the gold mines. It was no mere election cry that the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had taken up when he made the British Isles from end to end ring with denunciation of the system.

Indian indentured labour is not less demoralizing. It has persisted because its bitterness like that of a sugared pill has been cleverly though unconsciously concealed. The one great distinction between the two classes was that the Chinese were brought in without a single woman with them, whereas every hundred Indian labourers must include forty women among them. Had the Chinese remained, they would have sapped the very foundations of society. The Indian labourers confine the evil to themselves. This may be unimportant to non-Indians. But for us, the wonder is that we have allowed the sin to continue so long. This business about the women is the weakest and the irremediable part of the evil. It therefore needs a somewhat closer inspection. These women are not necessarily wives. Men and women are huddled together during the voyage. The marriage is a farce. A mere declaration by man and woman made upon landing before the Protector of Immigrants that they are husband and wife constitutes a valid marriage. Naturally enough divorce is common. The rest must be left to the imagination of the reader. This is certain—that the system does not add to the moral well-being of India. And it is suggested that no amount of figures adduced to show that the labourer is far richer at the end of his contract of labour than when he entered upon it can be allowed to be any set-off against the moral degradation it involves.

There is another most powerful consideration to be urged against the continuance of this system. The relations between Englishmen and Indians in India are not of the happiest. The average Englishman considers himself to be superior to the average Indian and the latter is generally content to be so considered. Such a state of things is demoralizing to both and a menace to the stability of the British Empire.

Since these passages were in the press we have read with great pleasure the announcement of H. E. the Viceroy in the Imperial Legislative Council, that in consultation with the Secretary of State, the Government of India have proposed to abolish the system altogether. This is not the least of Lord Hardinge's title to the gratitude of India.

INDIANS IN RHODESIA.

Although the war in Europe has evoked the highest patriotism of British subjects all over the world and has touched the chord of human sympathy everywhere, yet, says the *African Chronicle*, the Europeans in Rhodesia, despite their professions of imperialism, seem not to have grasped the ties that exist between them and the Indians. It appears that the Rhodesia Indians labour under certain grievances, and owing to the war conditions they refrain from ventilating it at present. But the Europeans taking advantage of the opportunity endeavour to elbow the Indian out of his legitimate sphere of activity, especially in the matter of trade, etc. In support of this statement the *Chronicle* quotes the *Bulawayo Chronicle* representing how deep-rooted the feeling of Europeans is towards Indian traders.

INDIANS IN THE COLONIES.

The *Rand Daily Mail* gives an incident worthy of being recorded while ladies and gentlemen were distributing a liberal supply of refreshments to some soldiers. So generous was the supply that some officers stepped forward to thank the ladies. Imagine their surprise when the ladies said : "You must not thank us. The whole of these refreshments are generously given by an Indian who is employed as *chef* at the Volksrust Hotel." The Indian, when asked what led him to give so liberally, replied : "My brother is fighting in Flanders for our King. I cannot go, but I can help in this way."

INDIAN IMMIGRATION IN NATAL.

From the statistical summary of the Principal Immigration Officer for the Province of Natal, we learn that 108 Asiatic women and children newly arrived in 1915 as against 53 in 1914. The number of Indians repatriated under the Relief Act of 1914 was 993 in 1915 as against 219 in 1914. In 1914, there were 47 appeals noted for the Board, 22 of which were decided in favour of the Department. In 1915, 35 appeals were noted and 17 were in favour of the Department. Six out of seven special cases reserved for and sent to the Supreme Court in 1915, observes the *Indian Opinion*, were decided in favour of the Department. In 1914, twelve out of 18 cases were in favour of the Department. Two cases were decided in favour of the appellant in 1914.

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Feudatory India.

THE THAKORE SAHEB OF GONDAL.

The Thakore Saheb of Gondal, who has given a munificent donation of Rs. 5,000 towards the relief of the distressed in Bankura, is one of the most progressive rulers in India. He "has proved a pioneer of educational progress and of general advancement in the country." The Thakore Saheb himself studied at Edinburgh and obtained the degrees of M.D., and LL.D. He is also an F.R.C.P., and F.R.S., A D.C.L, (Oxon.) and a Fellow of the Bombay University. Himself a scholar, says the *Modern Review*, he takes a great interest in education and has built a large college on the hostel system for the education of the sons of landholders. He established the only Girls' School in Kathiawar, and was the first to start a Travelling Dispensary and an Asylum for the maintenance of the poor, who are unable to earn their own living. The prosperity of the State can be judged from the singular fact that it is the only State free from taxation, customs and octroi duties, some 40 taxes having been abolished during the regime of the present Chief.

PROGRESSIVE TRAVANCORE.

The recent Address of the Dewan of Travancore to the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly gives us very welcome information regarding the progress of that State in various directions. Take education, for example :—

Including unrecognised schools, the total number of educational institutions in the State during 1090 was 3,243 and their strength 396,753. The percentage of pupils in all denominations of schools to the total population was 8·9 and to the number of children of school-going age 50·6. There was on an average one recognised school for every 3·5 square miles of the area and for every 1,684 persons of the population of the State. 73·2 per cent. of the boys and 29 per cent. of the girls of school-going age were under instruction in recognised schools. Devicolam is the only taluk with less than 30 per cent. of its children of school-going age attending school, while Tiruvalla, which takes the second rank among the taluks of the State in point of population, shows the greatest progress, with 99·8 per cent. of its children of school-going age attending recognised schools. In this connection, it will be of interest to you to know that the last Administration Report of Baroda states that "Travancore deservedly represents the highest watermark yet obtained in India by the voluntary principle in education."

The record of social improvement, as evidenced from the decrease of toddy shops, is even more praiseworthy.

In connection with reduction of country-liquor shops, the following figures will be interesting :—

Year.			*Number of Shops.*
1082	...	...	7,050
1084	...	...	5,103
1086	...	...	4,634
1088	...	...	2,462
1090	...	...	2,273

It will be seen that, in the course of seven years, the number of these shops in the State has been reduced by 68 per cent.

THE VICEROY ON RULING PRINCES.

In the course of his speech made on the occasion of the investiture ceremony of the Maharaja of Jodhpur, H. E. the Viceroy made the following observations on the policy of the Government of India towards the Ruling Princes and of the part played by the latter in the Imperial Scheme :

Our policy towards them at least during the recent years has been one of sympathy and trust, of sympathy with their aims and sentiments and their noble traditions, of trust in their fervent loyalty to the person of H. M. the King-Emperor and to the Power whose protection they enjoy. We have recognised that, if a State is to be ruled justly and well and to be a source of real help to the British Empire, it is only through the Ruler himself, supported by his Sardars and people, that these results can be obtained.

Irksome restrictions on the exercise of sovereign powers are apt to chafe and irritate a proud and sensitive spirit, with the result disastrous not only to the Ruler and his people, but also to the Empire at large. We have, therefore, made it our aim to cultivate close and friendly relations with the Ruling Princes, to show by every means that we trust them and look on them as helpers and colleagues in the great task of Imperial Rule, and so to foster in them a spirit of responsibility and pride in their work which no external supervision can produce.

Trust begets trust, and I rejoice to say that in my dealings with the Ruling Princes in India I have never found my confidence misplaced. I have called them to my aid on many occasions both individually and collectively, and have appointed a special Secretary to the Government of India to assist me in dealing with their affairs. The advice and help, which they have given me on many occasions, have been most useful to me and to my Government while they too, I venture to hope, have, by closer association with my officers and with their brother-princes, acquired a wider outlook on the life and a true conception of the high part which they have been called on to play in the world in the critical time, through which we have passed since this terrible War began.

The moral and material support given by the Princes and Chiefs of India have been of incalculable value. They took the lead in asserting their enthusiastic loyalty to the King-Emperor, both by word and deed. . . .

The services rendered by the Ruling Princes of India have received the warm appreciation of the King-Emperor, and their devotion and loyalty to the Crown and the person of His Majesty, are landmarks in the history of India that can never be effaced.

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Industrial and Commercial.

WAR AND INDIAN TRADE.

In the course of his Budget speech in the Imperial Legislative Council, the Hon. Sir William Meyer referred to the effects of the war on Indian trade in the following terms :—

The depressing effects of the war on the foreign trade of India of course continue, and scarcity and dearness of freight add to the effects produced by the closure of ordinary trade channels and by special restrictions which have been necessary for military and public purposes. As an instance of the way in which freight has risen in the course of the war, and of the diversion of marchant shipping to military and naval purposes, I may mention that recent information shows that jute freights from Calcutta to Dundee are eight times what they were before the war began, while in the case of light seeds from Bombay to Marseilles the increase is ninefold. The general policy throughout has been (*a*) to restrict the trade in foodstuffs and articles capable of being turned to warlike uses in the case of countries whence they can pass to the enemy ; (*b*) to stimulate the export of a few articles to the United Kingdom and allied countries, or countries which are making munitions for the Allies ; and (*c*) to restrict the export of a very few articles owing to their being needed in India. The combined operation of these causes, together with the stoppage of trade from and to enemy countries, has naturally resulted in the contraction of the volume of our seaborne trade. In the year 1914-15, two-thirds of which was under war conditions, the total trade of India amounted to 354 crores (£236 millions) against 491 crores (£327 millions) in in 1913-14, there having been a decrease in respect of private merchandise of 25 per cent. under imports and 27 per cent. under exports.

DUTY ON FOREIGN SPIRIT.

With effect from the first of March, the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma has fixed duty to be paid on foreign spirit manufactured in the distilleries in Burma, licensed under Section 5 of the Act, at Rs. 11-4 per gallon, and His Honour directs that spirits manufactured in British India and imported into Burma, on which the excise duty has been paid at a lower rate than 11-4 per gallon, shall be charged in Burma with a differential duty equal to the difference between the excise duty, which has been paid at Rs. 11-4 per gallon.

INDIGO IN BRITISH INDIA.

A final forecast of the area under indigo in British India gives a total for 1915-16 of 314,000 acres, or 112 per cent. in excess of the finally revised area of 148,400 acres of last year. The total yield of dye is 39,909 cwt. against 25,000 cwt., the revised estimate for 1914-15.

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION IN INDIA.

Mr. K. Subramania Aiyar, the well-known Principal of Aiyar's College of Commerce, Bombay, read an instructive paper on "The Organisation of a Faculty of Commerce at the Benares Hindu University" at a meeting held recently under the chairmanship of the Maharaja of Durbhanga. In the course of his paper, Mr. Aiyar said :—

The scope, extent, and quality of the work to be turned out by a Faculty of Commerce is as great as that now assigned to the Faculty of Arts. The courses to be prescribed for study in the Faculty of Commerce will consist of a certain number of necessary or compulsory subjects and some one voluntary or optional subject for special study. The compulsory portion of the curriculum will include :—

1. Some of the subjects of cultural value taught in Arts Colleges, but equally necessary for students of Commerce, *viz.*, *(a)* English. *(b)* Elementary Mathematics, and *(c)* History.
2. General Economics which forms the basis for the scientific study of Commerce in its various aspects, *viz.*, *(a)* The Elements of Economics. *(b)* The Elements of Statistics. *(c)* The Elements of Banking and Currency, and *(d)* Administration.
3. General Commercial knowledge required in all kinds of business, *viz.*, *(a)* The Elements of Accountancy. *(b)* The Elements of Mercantile Law. *(c)* Business Organisation, and *(d)* Economic Geography.

Among the optional subjects for specialisation in which the Benares Hindu University may with advantage, and in the first instance, provide facilities I would mention :—

1. Railway Economics and Organisation.
2. Economic History.
3. Statistics.
4. Actuarial Science.
5. Advanced Accountancy.
6. Banking.

Mr. Iyer insists on expert Indian advice and on sending a few graduates to Europe for special studies, who should be bound to work for the Hindu University for a specific period in consideration of their having obtained scholarships.

Students of every industry taught in the faculty of technology ought to receive a special short course of lectures on the business aspect of that industry, viz :—

1. The sources of supply of the raw materials required for that industry.
2. The means and cost of transport of such raw materials to the factory.
3. The direct and indirect charges at the factory.
4. The markets for such commodities.
5. The cost of transport to such markets and the facilities for tapping new markets.

The special course of lectures in Commerce ought to enable him to estimate (*a*) the cost of the plant and machinery required for the industry ; (*b*) the fixed and standing expenses of the factory; (*c*) the minimum quantity to be manufactured in order that the profit thereon may at least be fixed charges, and (*d*) the direct and indirect administrative charges. If he is able to do this, he will find capitalists eager and anxious to help him with enough capital, as they will then have a reasonable assurance of the industry proving profitable.

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Agricultural Section.

JUTE-GROWING.

A Blue-book containing the proceedings of the inter-provincial jute Conference held in August last in Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. Coventry, Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, has been published:

The Conference is unanimously of opinion that there appears to exist room for improvement in the existing system of cultivation and production of the jute crop, more especially by better care of the crop in the matter of weeding, thinning, and of drainage in the earlier stages of its growth by the use of more efficient implements, such as the drill, the spring-toother, cultivator, and European hoes, the conservation and use of manures and of green-manuring. It also considers it desirable to keep in view any possible improvement of the present system of retiring and the question of devising new processes for the extraction of the fibre.

BEES AND FERTILISATION OF COFFEE.

This is the subject of a bulletin recently issued by the Government. Mr. T. Bainbridge Fletcher, the Imperial Entomologist, records the results of several experiments and observations made by him.

It is possible to collect the wax without injury to the bees after the latter have deserted their combs, which they do at regular times of the year. Mr. Fletcher recommends that it would be advisable for the Forest Department to refuse to issue permits to collect honey and wax except under special restrictions, as regards the number of nests to be taken or the time of the year at which they may be taken.

PRESERVED MANGOES.

A new industry, the preservation of mangoes, has recently been started in Manila. Although the enterprise is at present on a small scale, says the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, it promises to develop to very considerable proportions. The Philippines is the home of the mango, and for years efforts have been made to prolong the use of the fruit and its excellent flavour, the season for the mango being comparatively short, and the delicate nature of the fruit preventing its retention for any length of time, or its export from the islands. It is stated that a satisfactory process of preserving the fruit in glass jars has been discovered. The preserved fruit is to be known as mango honey.

DETERIORATION OF CATTLE IN BENGAL.

As India is an agricultural country, with the improvement of agricultural grounds, agricultural implements, agricultural methods and agricultural seeds, improvement of agricultural cattle is equally important. But our cattle cannot be improved unless our pasturage is extended and improved. Unfortunately for Bengal, with the rise of population, the price of food-grains and the cost of living, the cultivators have been obliged to bring under plough the village wasteland, which bringing more money into the pockets of the owners, was rather encouraged than discouraged; and hence owing to the want of proper pasturage our cattle have been underfed and consequently have deteriorated. From Mr. Blackwood's "Survey and Census of the Cattle of Bengal," we learn that in the 24 Parganas we have grazed as many as 30 cattle in an acre of pasturage; in Howrah 45; in Pabna 40; in Noakhali 55; and in Faridpore so many as 69! But the case is otherwise in some of the backward districts, where 1 to 3 cattle only are grazed per acre. If the Hindus create Bakri Id riots to prevent the butchery of their cattle, with what face can we allow this slow extinction of these dumb food-givers? —*A. B. Patrika.*

STORAGE OF MANURE.

A new system of storage of manure by Dr. Giuseppe Beccari, of Florence, Italy, is described in a recent publication from the Imperial Institute of Agriculture, and consists in the storing of the manure in turret-covered courts. The court is a rectangular structure of masonry, divided internally into two compartments about 7 feet high. The floor is paved and provided with drains covered with perforated bricks, through which air passes upwards into the manure, while the liquid manure drips through into a tank. In the top of each compartment there is a trap-opening through which the manure is thrown. Between the two trap-openings a turret is situated with the object of collecting and fixing the ammonia compounds evolved from the fermenting manure, which enter by the apertures. In the turret, shelves placed above each other and fixed alternately to either side are charged with solid or liquid alkaline or acid absorbents; these are collected from time to time through a door or other aperture in the turret, which has also openings at the top and bottom for the admission and escape of air. The manure is abundantly sprinkled every four or five days with liquid manure from the tank, and in forty-five to fifty days it is ready for use,

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Literary.

MR. HENRY JAMES.

The death of Mr. Henry James, the great American novelist, will be deeply regretted by all who have learnt to love his subtle psychological art. Born in 1843, he studied in France, Switzerland and America, and brought out his first book in 1871. Then followed other volumes in quick succession, but they are now almost forgotten in the blaze and brilliancy of his later works, in which he showed himself the consummate artist he was. His refinements and subtle psychological studies won for him a secure place in the affections of a school of readers, to whom he will always be precious. Mr. James can however never be popular in the sense in which even less gifted novelists can be said to be popular. But "The Golden Bowl" will always have a circle of admiring readers. With none of the epical qualities of a Balzac or a Hardy, Mr. James was almost Meridithian in his "meticulous scrutiny of the finer shades of temperament." There is a beautiful touch of the enthusiast in him when we remember that the great American novelist became a British citizen, as a token of his sympathy with the British cause in the great European War.

GOKHALE SOCIETY IN CALCUTTA.

The "Gokhale Society" was inaugurated at Calcutta on the 19th ultimo on the occasion of the first anniversary of his death. We are glad that Sir S. P. Sinha has become the President of the Society, and several distinguished Bengalees have been taking an active part in the formation of the Society. Its objects are described to be as follows: (1) To establish in Calcutta a well-equipped Library for the study of political, economic, historical, social and administrative questions. (2) To institute prizes and scholarships for the encouragement of a careful study of public questions. (3) To spread elementary education amongst all classes of people. (4) To publish from time to time informing and well-considered books, pamphlets and journals dealing with current public questions and to arrange public lectures and discussions thereon. (5) To train young men for work directed to the improvement of the social, economic, or political condition of the people. (6) To maintain on suitable allowance a body of qualified workers for carrying on work calculated to promote the social, economic, and political welfare of the people.

INDIA IN THE FOREIGN PRESS.

We understand that greater publicity is to be given in the United Kingdom, France and the United States to India's work for the Empire. The display of portrait slides of Indian princes and leaders at cinemas and theatres is an effective method, says a contemporary, as far as it goes, but encouragement should also be given to newspapers and magazines to deal more often with what may be called the human interest of India. People will read matter of that sort who would shy at the average newspaper article on Indian affairs. "We hope that, as the result of what our Indian fellow-subjects have done during this time of trial, their leading men will become far more widely known and appreciated. We are not referring merely to Indian politicians, but also to writers and artists and men of science. But, of course, when one comes to the British masses, it is the more popularly interesting aspects of India that must be dealt with."

MR. SIDNEY LOW ON INDIA.

Mr. Sidney Low, who discusses the claim of India in the Empire in the columns of a local contemporary, "The Madras Mail," is Lecturer on "Imperial and Colonial History" at King's College, University of London, and the author of the standard work on "The Governance of England." As a journalist, he devoted much attention to imperial constitutional problems during his editorship of the *St. James Gazette*, 1888-97, and subsequently as leader writer of the *Standard*. He had the further advantage of having visited India with H. M. King George V. then Prince of Wales, and his impressions, published as "A Vision of India", has a wide reputation for insight and sympathy.

A RUDYARD KIPLING STORY.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling has been writing a series of brilliant articles in the *Daily Telegraph*. There are many stories showing Mr. Kipling's great popularity. At one time Mr. Kipling was in the habit of paying bills, no matter how small, by means of cheques. He was puzzled to find that, however many of these he issued, they did not seem to have any effect on his balance at the bank. At last he discovered the key to the mystery. During a visit to an office, the principal of which was an enthusiastic autograph-collector, he saw hanging on the wall in front of him, in a gilt frame, one of his own cheques. The local shopkeepers, it appeared, were making more by selling them to autograph-collectors than they could by cashing them at the bank.

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Educational.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

Sir W. Wedderburn writes to *India* :—

Believing that the education of women lies at the root of Indian progress, friends of India in England are anxious to show their sympathy, and in this direction to support the action of educational reformers in India. Accordingly, on the 12th of October last, they approached the Secretary of State in a deputation, which presented a Memorial signed by leading educationists, Indian and British, entitled to speak on the subject. The deputation was introduced by Mrs. Henry Fawcett; and the memorial prayed for the appointment of a representative Committee to enquire into the conditions of female education in India and place before the Government the views of those whose interests are specially affected.

In his reply to the deputation, Mr. Chamberlain indicated the course that, according to his view, should be followed by the friends of the movement. While assuring the deputation that no difference of opinion existed as to the desirability of promoting female education in India, he stated that in his opinion the initiative in the present proceeding should come from within India rather than from London. This declaration clearly constitutes an urgent call to lovers of progress in India to be up and doing; and they should lose no time in following the lead of their G. O M., who from his retreat at Versova has emphasised the call for vigorous action: "Let India," he said, "support this movement whole-heartedly. It is we, the people of India, who must do all we can for this all-important matter."

Further, Mr. Chamberlain made reference to the happy fact that "an Indian gentleman was about to take up the duties of Education Minister in the Viceroy's Council," and before launching an enquiry he desired to await the recommendations of Sir Sankaran Nair out of his special experience and special means of information.

Since these passages were in the Press, Sir Sankaran Nair has taken his duties as Education Minister and his minute on the Education of Women will also be found on another page.

THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY.

The Punjab University is inviting applications for a Professorship of Post-Vedic Sanskrit in the Oriental College, Lahore. The University requires a graduate in Sanskrit, who possesses a knowledge of language not inferior to a Shastri and who has in addition received a sound training in European methods. The Professor will be expected to instruct advanced classes and to do research work and assist the research students. If a suitable candidate can be found, the appointment will be for five years in the first instance, and salary Rs. 500 a month. If no such fully qualified candidates apply, a temporary appointment may be made, the salary being graduated according to the qualifications of the candidate

INCREASED GRANTS FOR EDUCATION.

The Hon. Sir C. Sankaran Nair in introducing the Education Budget pointed out that "the Bubget estimate for expenditure in 1916-17, is about Rs. 13½ lakhs in excess of the revised estimate for 1915-16, and I think it will be admitted that this increase, though small, is not unsatisfactory at a time when a policy of rigid economy is imposed."

The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, the Education Commissioner, following the Hon'ble Sir C. Sankaran Nair, laid on the table the annual sketch of progress which showed that, despite the war, institutions had increased by about 4,300 ; pupils by 260,000 ; and expenditure by about Rs. 120 lakhs. The figures of certain Native States were for the first time excluded, and allowance was made for this change in calculating the increase of those employed in educational work by both officials and private teachers. About 79 had gone to military service in different capacities, and the voluntary contributions by schools to war funds formed an interesting record. Improvements were recorded in hostels, schools, hygeine, manual training, and salaries of teachers. Descriptions were given of educational surveys and architectural instruction in Bombay and progress among Mahomedans.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN ENGLAND.

Speaking of the isolation of the lives of Indian students in England, who returned embittered and often seditious, Dr. Fisher observed in the course of a recent lecture on "The Indian Problem," that it was the duty of citizens of the Empire to show hospitality to them and endeavour to create an atmosphere of public opinion in this country which was warm and hospitable to them. The future connexion between Great Britain and India depended upon the kind of influence which these leaders of Indian thought would exercise on their return. It must not be supposed that because a man had a dark skin, he was alien to t' em or below them. He said in all sincerity that he had met in India men of the purest character, the finest intellect, the most courteous manner—men the latchet of whose shoes he had felt himself unworthy to unloose. All over India there were men capable of inspiring even in the best-educated and most intelligent Europeans feelings of profound admiration and whose love of English literature and the tenets of English thought was almost magical. There was a complete unanimity in the determination of the Indian people to stand by the *Raj* in present struggle.

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Legal.

TRIAL BY JURY.

In the House of Commons on January 26, Sir John Jardine asked the Secretary of State for India if he could give the date of the introduction of trial by jury into the procedure of court of session of the district of Belgaum, in the presidency of Bombay; whether the right of trial by jury had lately been taken away from that district; if so, what were the reasons for such action; whether it was preceded by any public inquiry; and whether the learned judges of the High Court approved of the action taken by the Government of Bombay.

Mr. Chamberlain said in reply: Trial by jury for certain offences was introduced into the Belgaum district in 1884. In October 1915, it was withdrawn in respect of certain grave crimes, such as murder and forgery, but at the same time extended to many other classes of offences which had hitherto been triable without a jury. In a *communique* to the Press the Bombay Government stated that their action had been taken after inquiry and after reference to and with the concurrence of the High Court, and was based on the inadequate local supply of competent jurors, the increase of violent crime, and the existence of intimidation and organised factions. It does not appear that there was a public inquiry.

NEW PATNA HIGH COURT.

The Patna High Court opened on the 1st instant. The Judges having taken the usual oath, proceeded to the Chief Justice's Court, where the members of the Bar and the public had assembled. The Chief Justice in a very impressive manner announced that the Court had assumed jurisdiction. Mr. Haque on behalf of the members of the Bar, and Raj Sahab Narayan Prasad on behalf of the Vakils, offered to their Lordships a cordial and respectful welcome. The Chief Justice, in his reply, made a few remarks on matters in which the Bar were interested. He said that between 2,500 and 3,000 appeals were transferred to them. Justice delayed was too often justice denied, and he trusted that the Government at no distant date would give them additional Judges to cope with the work in more manageable dimensions. He announced the appointment of a stamp reporter on the Civil side and that powers were given to the Registrar to admit civil appeals, but not to dismiss any.

COMPARATIVE LEGISLATION.

Never before have international problems been studied more assiduously than now. That is one important after-effect of the war in the right direction. The latest issue of the Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation will therefore be of especial interest as it throws considerable light on the new legal enactments necessitated by the extraordinary circumstances created by the war. The object of the Society as of the journal is to keep all persons interested in legal, economic and social questions fully informed of legislation in the different parts of the Empire and as far as possible in foreign countries.

A specially interesting feature of the present number is the account of war emergency legislation included in a comprehensive review of legislation of the Empire.

The executive committee comprises such well-known names as those of the Earl of Rosebery and Sir Courtney Ilbert. The subscription for membership of the society is one guinea.

A NEW LEGAL MAGAZINE.

We have received the first three numbers of "The Lawyer" edited by Harsidhbhai V. Divatia, M.A., LL.B., and Jinabhai B. Mehta, B.A., LL.B., vakils of the Bombay High Court. The journal publishes not only Digests of Civil and Criminal Cases in Indian and English Courts but has special sections devoted to the Acts of the Provincial, Supreme and Privy Councils. As such, legal practitioners will find it useful for constant reference. The old "Lawyer" is a journal of seventeen years' standing and the present proprietors have improved it in contents and form alike.

LEGAL CHANGES.

As long ago as 1901, the Secretary of State approved a scheme for the amalgamation of the offices of Administrator-General and Official Trustee, Bengal. Subsequent to that time practical difficulties were experienced in effecting the change which was accordingly postponed, but the Government of India have now decided that it should no longer be delayed, and it will be introduced from the 1st April 1916.

THE CEYLON LAW STUDENTS' MAGAZINE.

The current issue of the above magazine is a double number and will be a welcome addition to legal journals and particularly useful to students of Law. There are some interesting character sketches and other contributions which will be read with pleasure.

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Medical.

MEDICAL EDUCATION IN VERNACULARS.

Dr. M. N. Bannerjee during the Budget discussions in the Viceregal Council on the 9th instant moved the following Resolution :—

That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that Local Government be asked to consider the advisability of establishing institutions for the purpose of giving medical students a special course of training conducted in the vernaculars so as to qualify them for ordinary medical practice in rural areas and of encouraging and assisting deserving private enterprise to provide such medical education.

In moving the Resolution, he said :—That the question of supplying sufficient men trained in Western methods of treatment had been engaging the attention of the Government even from as far back as 1839, when Hindustani classes were opened in connection with the Calcutta Medical College for the purposes of military services. And now there were vernacular medical schools for Hospital Assistants all over India intended for providing a lower preliminary education with a shorter course and lower standard of examination than was arrived at in Medical Colleges. But that object was being ignored very largely, and the students of these classes were subjected to the whole course of medicine and to attaining knowledge which would be of no use to them in their after life. As the Committee appointed in 1878 by the Bengal Government said, there seemed to be some confusion of ideas between the standard aimed at and that actually realised. The former was complete medical education, and the latter was probably the lowest standard achieved by any medical school; and that evil had been lately aggravated by the local Medical Registration Acts, Rules since framed of having lectures and examinations in English had already affected private institutions. The remedy lay, he said, in going back if possible to the old standard, or, if that was not possible, in starting new institutions with the humble aim of training humble village practitioners. Their aim should be to give a thorough training which would make them efficient practitioners capable of dealing, not indeed with complicated disease, but such as prevailed in the country requiring quiet treatment.

The Hon'ble Sir Pardey Lukis in reply said that he had been informed that there was a steady and increasing demand for the kind of medical practitioners contemplated in the Resolution, and that the difficulty of having vernacular schools before had now disappeared owing to the availability of vernacular text-books, at any rate, in Bengal. Hence Dr. Banerji had his most cordial support, but he would give it only under three conditions : First, these vernacular institutions should be run entirely as separate institutions; secondly, these practitioners should not be entitled to practise outside the rural areas, as their advent into towns would lead to competition with the already practising men and women there; and lastly, in the interests of the public, these institutions should submit to some form of outside control and inspection so as to insure strict adherence to whatever standard was finally agreed upon. On these conditions he would support the Resolution, which he trusted, the Government of India would be able to accept.

THE WAR AND DOCTORS.

The annual meeting of the Bombay Medical Union was held recently with Dr. B. S. Shroff in the chair. The report for the year 1915 read by Dr. R. D. Mody was adopted as well as the accounts. In the course of a review of the report, the President pointed that during the year under review three subjects have engrossed the attention of the Union more than others :

1. The enlistment of the members of the independent medical profession by Government at the local war hospitals, at base hospitals, and at several spheres of the war.

2. The next point of importance is the proposed legislation which aims at minimising what is called the annoyance caused to the profession by unqualified and pretentious medical practice in various garbs.

3. The third is the foundation of another medical college in Bombay with the donation of Rs. 12 lakhs offered by the late Seth Gordhandas Sunderdas Charities.

THE MADRAS MEDICAL COUNCIL.

Our readers are aware of the stir created some time ago by the ill-advised action of the Madras Medical Council in removing the name of Dr. M. Krishnaswami Aiyar from its rolls for managing an Ayurvedic Institution. We are glad that better counsels have at last prevailed in the Council, as is evident from the following communication from the Doctor :—

I repeated once more (at the meeting of the Medical Council on March 6) what I have been stating since the very beginning of these proceedings that I had had nothing to do professionally with the Free Ayurvedic Dispensary at Triplicane and that I never intended to do any professional work there. The Council unanimously accepted the statement and agreed to drop the case.

The definition of "covering" promulgated by the General Medical Council in Great Britain was adopted by the Madras Council with the addition of the words "subject to the laws in force in India."

I am also glad to be able to state that, in answer to an application by a registered practitioner for permission to teach Physiology in the Ayurvedic College of Pandit D. Gopalacharlu, the Council have taken the view that there can be no objection to such a thing.

I need hardly add that I shall continue my connection with the general management of the Ayurvedic Dispensary as before.

MR. K. HARIHARA BHAT, I. M. S.

Mr. K. Harihara Bhat, who was for some time a Sub-Assistant Surgeon in the Cochin State and who has just passed out of the Royal College of Physicians and of Surgeons, has been given a Commission in the Indian Medical Service and posted to India.

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Science.

SANITARY PROGRESS.

During the recent Budget discussion the Hon. Sir C. Sankaran Nair sketched the course of improvement in Sanitation. He said :—

The estimates for 1915-16 included the reserve of Rs. 7·70 lakhs for the improvement of sanitation. Out of this sum non-recurring grants, amounting to Rs. 3·70 lakhs, have been made during the year, namely, Rs 1 lakh for the improvement of the pilgrim route to Kedernath and Badrinath ; Rs. 2 lakhs towards the scheme of drainage and of water supply for the Peshawar Municipality, and Rs. 70,000 to Delhi for sanitary improvements. The balance, namely, Rs. 4 lakhs has been surrendered in view of the financial situation. The Indian Research Fund Association received, as usual in 1915-16, an annual grant of Rs. 5 lakhs. Out of the total sum at its disposal the Association made various grants, the chief of which were (*a*) anti-malarial schemes in Delhi and the United Provinces, Rs. 2,52,216; (*b*) Bombay School of Tropical Medicine, Rs. 1,00,000; (*c*) a scheme of experimental research in Lucknow, Rs. 80,000. The Association also conducted various enquiries at its expense on cholera, water analysis, plague, diabetes and tuberculosis. For 1916-17 will be seen that no fresh grants for sanitation will be received. Indeed, in view of the financial situation Rs. 2 lakhs of the sanitary reserve, and Rs. 2 lakhs out of the annual grant of Rs. 5 lakhs placed at the disposal of the Indian Research Fund Association, will be temporarily resumed. The sanitary reserve for 1916-17 amounts to Rs. 3·70 lakhs, of which Rs. 1 lakh has been earmarked for the Kedarnath-Barinath pilgrim route.

ITALIAN SHELLS.

The Italians repeatedly mention the difficulties which they have encountered in overcoming the Austrian heavy artillery, and an account of these guns, which is given by a Russian medical officer, enables us to form some idea of the splendid fighting qualities to which the continued successful advance of the Italians testifies. The effect of the Skoda 17in. howitzers, known as the "Pilseners," is worse, states this Russian officer, than the effect of the Krupp "Fat Berthas." The Skoda shells weigh 2,800lb. (1 ton 5 cwt.), their usual curve is nearly 4½ miles high, and in soft ground they penetrate 20 feet before exploding. The explosion occurs two seconds after impact. The "Pilseners," except in diameter, do not resemble the Krupp 17in. guns. A "Pilsener" shell kills everyone within 150 yards, and kills many who are farther off. The mere pressure of gas breaks in the partitions and roofs of bomb proof shelters. Scores of men who escape metal fragments, stones, and showers of earth are killed, lacerated or blinded by the pressure of the gas. Men who are only a short distance away are torn asunder.—*The Times of India.*

THE NEGLECT OF SCIENCE.

Sir E. Ray Lankester writes to the *Times* :—

What is needed is not a better knowledge of the facts of science by a few, but a widely spread knowledge and understanding of chemistry, physics, and biology in all classes, so that the manufacturer and workman, as well as the Civil Servants of the Government and the members of the Legislature, shall perceive the value of science and insist on the cultivation of it and on the use of it, and the capacity to use it, in all those who are entrusted with the direction of public affairs. It is no less essential that in the management of business enterprises the knowledge and due respect for and utilization of science, and the scientific habit of mind, should dominate and guide our action.

It is sometimes asserted that the classical education at present favoured in our public schools and universities is a general one, and that training in science is 'specialization' and should come later. The truth is the precise contrary of this. An education, in which every branch of natural science is ignored, is not a general one, but foolishly specialised. The great obstacle to the introduction of the natural science, as essential parts in the country of school and university education, has been the deliberate assignment by the Civil Service Commissioners of an overwhelming excess of marks to Greek and Latin and allied subjects, and a negligible quantity to the branches of natural science in the competitions conducted by them for the selection of candidates for posts in the Public Service. Thus the knowledge of science is neglected and is even treated with contempt.

My object in writing this letter is to point out that the one and only way of saving the country from utter inefficiency and consequent ruin is for the Legislature to entirely remodel the competitions for the valuable posts of the Home and Indian Civil Services. These elements of chemistry, physics, and biology should be made a compulsory subject for all candidates, and as much as half total marks in the competiton should be assigned to the great branches of these subjects ; one quarter to mathematics and one quarter to the whole group described as classics, history and proficiency in the use of the English language. It is only when this—or something equivalent to it—has been done that we can hope to see our people enter upon that new phase of efficiency and power, which is surely the first necessary step to the maintenance of our prosperity and independence.

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Personal.

CHARACTERISTICS OF G. K. GOKHALE.

In unveiling the portrait of Mr. Gokhale at the Tinnevelly Home in Triplicane, Madras, the Hon. Sir Harold Stuart made the following shrewd observations on Mr. Gokhale's characteristics :

I would first of all lay stress on his self-sacrifice. With his high intellectual attainments and his charming manner, wealth and honours would have come to him in abundance, but he put them all aside and deliberately devoted himself to work for his country, seeking neither riches nor honour. He was singularly devoid of personal ambition, but he was filled with ambition to do public good. His early life was characterised by self-sacrifice that is both rare and highly commendable. The next quality I should lay stress upon is his great industry. He recognised that no man could be properly equipped for a public life unless he was prepared to undergo much toil and labour in acquiring the necessary knowledge. His fine speeches, which my friend Mr. Natesan has recently published, will show how much labour he had given for the purpose of preparation. There was nothing superficial about him, and those of us who heard his debates saw how carefully he must have prepared himself for his immediate task. I commend that characteristic very much to the young men who seek a public career. A mere superficial knowledge can never advance a cause; a few eloquent words will not bring success. Behind the eloquent words there must be complete and detailed acquaintance with the subject. The next great characteristic of Mr. Gokhale is his transparent sincerity, a quality which always struck me very forcibly. He never followed that school which suggests that the end justifies the means. He was no opportunist in the unfavourable sense of that word. He was always studiously careful to avoid exaggeration of statement and of language, with the result that when Mr. Gokhale made a statement it received marked attention. One felt that he advanced no proposition which he was not fully able and prepared to defend. That absence of violence of language which may win applause for the time being, and that studied avoidance of exaggeration, secured success to any cause which is worthy of your attention. The last quality which I wish to mention is his marked fairness. It is a quality which is very often lacking in public men in all countries, and it is a quality which claims for public man the respect of his opponents. If a man is going to devote himself to public life, he must cultivate fairness to his opponents and so secure their respect and gain for himself the influence which is of such great value.

I think I have given a sufficiently hard task for the young men of this Association in mentioning these four qualities. If they will follow Mr. Gokhale in his self-sacrifice, his industry, his sincerity and his fairness, they will have gone a great way towards attaining the goal that he himself reached. Many a young man who earnestly and deliberately sets himself to do so will meet with much disappointment, but I hope that with this great example before him he will strive after failure and strive and strive again, having his ideal to encourage him and so be a lamp unto his feet and a light unto his path.

THE LATE AUDINARAYANIAH.

The death of Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayaniah Garu removes from the public life of Madras one of its most respected citizens. After thirty years' honourable service in the Mysore State and in the Madras Government, Mr. Audinarayaniah spent his last days in public service in various capacities. There is scarcely an institution in Madras with which he is not in one way or another intimately associated. The Mahajana Sabha, the Industrial Association, the Temperance League, the Indian Bank, the Social Reform Association, each one of these institutions will be the poorer for his death. With a turn for the practical he was the moving spirit of general Swadeshi enterprises. An ardent Social Reformer he presided over the Ninth Provincial Social Conference at Tinnevelly in 1906, when he made a capital speech. To the versatility of his accomplishments must be added the gift of a sort of old-world eloquence, which for his age and experience carried a peculiar weight and authority in all public deliberations.

LORD CHELMSFORD.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain recently entertained Lord Chelmsford to dinner at Claridge's. There were present: Mr. Asquith; the Cabinet Minister; the Vice-President and members of the Council of India; the High Commissioners of the Dominions; H. H. the Raja of Rutlam; H. H. the Aga Khan; Lord Inchcape; Lord Stamfordham; Sir Hugh Barnes; Sir John Nixon; Sir Ameer Ali; Sir Krishna Gupta; Sir Ali Imam; the Raj Kumar Sirdar Singh of Shapura, and Mr. Charles Roberts, M. P. In this connection, the London correspondent of the *Times of India* writes :—Lord Chelmsford is quietly making his preparations, personal and official, for going to India, and is understood to have neither time nor inclination for attracting public attention. He is quite ready to hear privately the views of those who can speak with experience and knowledge of the present-day conditions in India. His personal study of them under the favourable circumstances of the last fourteen months for detached observation has not been merely superficial. While serving with his regiment, he is understood to have cherished the secret ambition that one day he might be called not to the Viceroyalty but to a Governorship of one of the Provinces. His friends report that on the basis of his observations in India, he is entering upon his heavy responsibilities in a spirit of confidence and hope.

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Political.

THE WAR AND THE INDIAN BUDGET.

In the closing passage of his speech on the Budget Estimates in the Imperial Council, Sir William Meyer said :—It has been a source of great concern to the Government of India that the last Budget to be presented under Your Excellency's auspices should be marked by the necessity of a large increase in taxation. But we should be flinching from our duty and unmindful of the example which has been set to us in other parts of the Empire, were we to shrink from this, while the increased burdens which we have proposed are small in comparison with those which have to be borne by other countries participating in the war. We may also, I think, derive some satisfaction from the fact that whereas on the last occasion on which additional taxation had to be imposed (in 1910) that necessity arose from the domestic circumstances of India, our present measures arise only through the participation of India in the greatest war which any of us are likely to see and in which the whole future of the Empire is in issue. And when I recall the Resolution unanimously passed in this Council on February 24th, 1915, which affirms 'the unswerving resolution of Indians to support the honour, dignity, and prestige of the Empire regardless of the sacrifice it may entail on them,' I am confident that the measures we propose will receive full acquiescence in the Council and in the country.

THE EMPIRE AND THE WAR.

Mr. Sidney Low, speaking on "The War and the Problems of Empire," at King's College on the 2nd Instant, said that no one would be likely to undervalue the part which India has taken in this war, for the Indian troops had fought with a gallantry, a courage and an endurance not inferior to those of their colleagues from all parts of the Empire. It was a difficult question how far the resources of India might be further utilised. He would make no attempt to go into that question, but he thought it worth pointing out that in the view of some of the most influential and most capable leaders of the Indian community, there was the very strongest desire to increase the capacity of India to take that part.

BURMA ADMINISTRATION.

The administration report of Burma for the past year shows that the total receipts were Rs. 907 lakhs, of which Rs. 357 lakhs were credited to the Imperial Fund. The total expenditure was Rs. 673 lakhs, of which Rs. 77 lakhs were on Imperial account. The province received only Rs. 46 lakhs from Imperial Exchequer, against a contribution of Rs. 357 lakhs in the preceding year.

LAWYERS IN POLITICS.

"A Financial Expert," writing in *The World*, is very severe on lawyers as politicians. The article is entitled "Why Lawyers cannot govern a Country," and begins with a quotation from Shakspeare's *Henry VI.* which says: "The first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers." Whatever be their reasons for so doing, lawyers have a love for the letters, M. P. after their name :

The present House of Commons is *choc-a-bloc* with lawyers, and that is why the actual governing of the country is a disastrous failure. The Cabinet is choked with lawyers (which is bad enough in times of peace, but sadly deplorable when we are in the midst of a terrible war) whilst hundreds of the rank-and-file of the great army of M. P's are lawyers of various types. They cannot see anything excepting from a legal point of view. Business, finance-organisation, and broad-minded principles and thoughts are not within their ken. As orators and time-wasters they may justly claim the gold medal, but as practical men of business they are absolutely at sea without a lifebelt, and the bitter experiences we are now suffering are simply because the country is not being governed on sound business and financial lines.

He then quotes the eight "good points of law" —the last and not least of which is "Good Luck.',

In strenuous times such as these we do not want the support or interference of gentlemen who are accustomed to trust to luck, who do not appear to grasp or even appreciate the seriousness of a national dilemma—let alone tackle it. In the best of times a country can only be ruled and governed on sound business and financial lines. A country is after all nothing but a huge Store, catering for its customers both at home and abroad. There are many departments requiring expert organisation and management, and at the head of each department there should be a specialist in his particular branch—a specialist brimful of knowledge of the necessary requirements, and with the capacity and intelligence for working out the salvation of his own department and not interfering or meddling with the business of others.

The writer then proceeds to show that as *men of business*, lawyers do not shine. The article is very interesting if we may regard it as a piece of humerous writing.

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General.

WHY ARE THE HINDUS DYING?

A very interesting lecture was delivered in the Hall of the Ram Mohan Library by Lt.-Col. U. N. Mukherji, on Saturday the 26th February. Dr. J. C. Bose, M.A. D.Sc., C.I.E., was in the chair :

Lt.-Col. Mukerji insisted on the efforts of elevating the condition of the lower classes whom we hate as the untouchable, but who form a lakh and a seventy thousand the total being two lakhs. In this way we have deprived our countrymen the just privileges of mankind. We have caused them to forget their self-respect, we have made them beasts in the guise of mankind, in fact, we have been guilty of a great sin. He was apprehensive of the future of our race and cited, for example, the history of Egypt which became Greek, Roman, Christian and Mussalman by turns and thus completely lost its national identity. He proved from the history of Japan that the way to keep our nation free from death's grasp is to teach the lower classes and to regard them as our brothers, to reinstate them into their just birth-rights as human beings, thus making co-operation and sympathy possible amongst every member of the nation. Dr. Mukherji vividly described the real picture of our society from different standpoints. Looking to education, he said that ninety per cent. of our countrymen are illiterate. Agriculture is regarded as the hereditary patrimony of the peasants. We try to infuse certain chimerical ideas into the scheme of industry and make it a failure. Trade, Dr. Mukherji said, brings in our mind a thought of going to foreign countries, and we at once give it up for losing our caste. In this way, Dr. Mukherji said, during the last hundred years we have convened no less than fifty lakhs of public meetings to discuss our national welfare, but unfortunately our nation has not been able to gain a step towards the actual realisation of those ideals. Thus the nation fettered in religion, agriculture, trade, commerce, industry, education, and independent thought has no other alternative but to die a natural death.

SIKH HEROISM IN FLANDERS.

In a lecture to the Calcutta Light Horse, Captain C. F. Smith, commanding the Governor's Body Guard, referred to a number of his experiences while in Flanders with the 9th (Hodson's) Horse. These men, (of the Sikh Infantry) he said, had lost all their officers but one. They were in a trench up to the waist in icy water. It was December, and they had been there three days and three nights almost without food. As he waded up the trench, he spoke to some of the men, every one of whom was grey with cold and almost frozen from the waist downwards. They all said the same thing : " Sahib, we cannot move, but we can still shoot. Take your men away. We will stay here until we die." They had to be carried out bodily and in thirty-six hours they were back again.

ROUMANIAN NAVY.

Of the Balkan States, Greece and Roumania now stand aloof. " If Roumania joined the war" —is an interesting speculation. If she did on the side of the Allies, her navy, though small, will be available as an axiliary to the Russian fleet to weaken the resistance of Bulgaria by directly attacking her sea-board Roumania possesses four 600-ton monitors of 14-knot speed, carrying three 4·7 guns each, also a couple of 4·7 howitzers. These monitors, the *Joan Bratiano*, *Michael Cogulnicheanu*, *Alexander Lahovari*, and *Laskar Catargi* are superior to any Austrian craft, being swifter and better armed ; they have also thicker armours. Roumania has also three torpedo-boats suitable for Danubian operations as well as sixteen river torpedo craft.

BOMBAY SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE.

We are in receipt of a copy of the fourth Annual Report of the Bombay Social Service League, showing the work done during the period beginning with June 1914 and ending with 31st May 1915. The institution might well be proud of its educational and sanitary work. The promoters of this philanthropic organization deserve to be congratulated on their successful and many-sided activities on behalf of the poorer classes.

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT.

Among the Resolutions of the Educational Conference was a strong recommendation that the 'Boy Scouts' movement should be introduced into our schools as early as possible in view of the experience of Great Britain and other countries of the value of scouting as a powerful means of moral and physical instruction.

The *Leader* of Allahabad points out that the Conference, in our opinion might have made another recommendation in addition. It might have reasonably urged that our students should be given a certain amount of military training. In the Thomason College at Roorkee European—yes, any European and not only British —and Anglo-Indian students have to join the cadet corps. No option is given to them not to, nor is option given to the Indian students to join it, if they choose to do so. The distinction is racial and invidious, and it is deplorable that their status of inferiority, because they are Indians, should be brought home to them while yet they are students and in the most sensitive and impressionable period of their life in an institution owned and controlled by the Government, whose policy is religious neutrality. It is too late in the day for the splendid advantages of military training to body and mind alike to be seriously disputed by any one. That it is beneficial is tacitly proclaimed by the rule made in respect of the European and Anglo-Indian students. Why then in the name of reason and fairness should Indian young men go without it ?

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

EDITED BY G. A. NATESAN.

Vol. XVIII. MARCH, 1917. No. 3.

POST-WAR REFORMS : A SYMPOSIUM.

[We are publishing in this issue the fourth instalment of the Symposium on Post-War Reforms commenced in the December number of *The Indian Review*.—Ed. *I.R.*]

Rajah Sir Harnam Singh, K.C.I.E.

The Post-War R[illegible] Memorandum submitted to the Gov[illegible] [illegible] the 19 elected Members [illegible] Legislative Council[illegible] their labd[illegible] the warm support [illegible] cted, it [illegible] been carefully [illegible] have effectively [illegible] by the views [illegible] proceedi[illegible] that those de[illegible] both nat[illegible] ment is [illegible] and teac[illegible] were st[illegible] the go[illegible] be ne[illegible] Gove[illegible] tion[illegible] freed[illegible]

Opi[illegible] count[illegible] not t[illegible] form[illegible] are [illegible] unles[illegible] Domi[illegible] many [illegible] attaine[illegible] have [illegible] and [illegible] opportuni[illegible] being put on [illegible] Dominions.

It has been said that India reformed numerous illustrative upon as a nation because of her variety to the fact and tongues, but the spirit of nationality has been awakened in us, and true love of country knows no barriers of caste and creed or language, as was shown recently when the leaders of the Congress Committee and the Muslim League united on a common platform.

I have carefully gone through the pamphlet that has been presented to the public by Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, and I think he has made out an excellent case for Self-Government.

A start has got to be made, and I think after the war will be a most opportune time. India's loyalty to the British Throne has been put to the test, and she has come out with flying colours. It will be a shortsighted policy if she is not treated in a most liberal spirit by those to whom Providence has entrusted her destinies—for a contented India will be a far greater asset to Great Britain than a disappointed and discontented nation.

Mr. N. Subbarau Pantulu.

(*Joint-General Secretary, Indian National Congress, & formerly Member, Imperial Legislative Council.*)

"He flies in the face of history who ignores the fact that no people ever stop or ever hesitate in the middle of the road once they begin to struggle for their liberty. Every advance made is an encouragement to take further and faster steps."

Several have been the misconceptions that have gathered round the scheme of Post-War Reforms, which have been embodied in the Congress resolution "as a definite step towards Self-Government." No less a person than Lord Chelmsford and Lordship think that the reforms adumbrated in the "Nineteen Members' Memorandum" *originated* with them and "since received endorsement, by resolutions passed at the National Congress held at Lucknow." It is hardly necessary to point out that under the guidance of Sir S. P. Sinha, the Congress which met in Bombay in 1915, enunciated the principles on which further political evolution should proceed, and appointed

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the All-India Congress Committee to frame a scheme of reforms in consultation with the Committee of the Moslem League, and place it before the ensuing Congress. Accordingly, the All-India Congress Committee called for proposals from the various Provincial Congress Committees and, after considering the same, prepared a scheme at its meetings held at Allahabad on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th April last. Again, on the 17th and 18th November, a joint-Conference of the All-India Congress Committee and the Reform Committee of the Moslem League met at Calcutta, and discussed the scheme and settled it at Lucknow on the 25th, 26th and 27th December. It was further placed before the Subjects Committee of the Congress and finally passed by the Congress and the Moslem League. It will thus be seen that when it was known that the Government of India would address a Despatch to the Secretary of State on the question of the reforms that should be undertaken with reference to the Constitution of the Government, the "Nineteen Members" considered it their duty to give expression to the views of the public without waiting for the assembling of the Congress and submitted the memorandum in October last, following the lines laid down in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee earlier in April.

Again, it is pointed out by some of our critics that the Congress abandoned its policy of progressive development and put forward a revolutionary claim for Self-Government. It is said that the Congress, despairing of getting individual reforms and convinced of the futility of effecting *steady* reform in the administration, has deliberately changed its policy and has boldy come forward to claim Home Rule at once as the one and sole panacea for all the ills under which India has been suffering. A reference to the history of the Reform Scheme and the Congress propagan[illegible] will show how baseless these criticisms are, [illegible] that the proposals formulated by the Con[illegible]s) form but the natural and next step, in the [illegible]said, tionary progress of the country to meet the [illegible] in a grave situation, and do not in any way [illegible]ecem- a demand for Home Rule. [illegible]d three

To understand the present situat[illegible]ded up necessary to recall the events of 1908 [illegible]every one—hen the Minto-Morley Reform Scheme was [illegible] frozen[illegible]ounced. The Government of India claimed [illegible] the same the scheme that it would "really and effectively associate the people of India in the work, not only of occasional legislation but of actual every-day administration." And Lord Morley, while endorsing this verdict, hoped that by the introduction of these reforms the moral strength of the Government would grow and that the goodwill of the people, "which must after all be the real foundation of our prosperity and strength in India," would be attracted to the Government and "fortify the foundations" of British rule in India. Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, on the second reading of the Bill said:—"It is most desirable to give to the people of India the feeling that the Legislative Councils are not mere automatoms, the wires of which are pulled by the official hierarchy. It is of great importance from that point of view that the non-official element should be in the ascendant subject to proper safeguads." Naturally the scheme was acclaimed with joy throughout the country as an honest endeavour to meet the demand [illegible]SERV[illegible]the people and as an earnest of the r[illegible]receipt of a copy [illegible]ongress held in Madra[illegible]port of the Bombay Social[illegible]e general feeling [illegible]ng with June 1914 and ending with

1915. The institution might well be [illegible]ome and this educational and sanitary work. Th[illegible] English st[illegible]ers of this philanthropic organization [illegible]t at this [illegible]t. . . . [illegible] be congratulated on their successful and [illegible]it which ided activities on behalf of the poorer classe[illegible] on the [illegible]ter has [illegible]etween [illegible]tional [illegible]ntries [illegible]e of [illegible]hourly [illegible]duced into our schools as early as possible [illegible]rward view of the experience of Great Britain [illegible]ntative other countries of the value of scouting a[illegible] powerful means of moral and physical instructi[illegible]

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT.

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The constitution of the Provincial Councils

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has been so manipulated, even where an *elected* majority is given as in Bengal and Behar, that the official continues to dominate over the Council, and the non-official majority has, in practice, become a minority. Though the object of the Reform Scheme is to associate the people in every-day administration, yet Sir Regnald Craddock on behalf of the Government of India said, on the motion of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malavaya for a larger number of meetings of the Indian Legislative Council, that the main business of the Council was legislative and that no recommendation could be made by the Council to the Governer-General to exercise his discretion in favour of having more frequent meetings! As the scheme is at present worked, nothing can be carried in our Provincial Councils against the will of the officials who, in combination with the elected European members and nominated non-official Indians, [illegible] to keep up the power and [illegible] Government, lord over them [illegible] the elected represen[illegible] their labo[illegible] The elected [illegible] have effectiv[illegible] save their [illegible] proceedi[illegible] or amendm[illegible] that those [illegible] to vote [illegible] defeat, [illegible] to the [illegible] Gover[illegible] numb[illegible] head [illegible] men[illegible] schen[illegible] on th[illegible] ponde[illegible] regar[illegible] tions [illegible] the P[illegible] has n[illegible] a Bil[illegible] Gover[illegible] Counci[illegible] thoug[illegible] to dis[illegible] they are placed [illegible] Government. While [illegible] tion of the benefits of the reforms [illegible] Councils, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that a feeling of disappointment and resentment has settled on our Councils, and the warning of Lord Morley against the evils of official majorities has been in vain. His Lordship pointed out how the system of official majority "tends to throw the non-official member into an attitude of peevish, sulky, permanent opposition and has an injurious effect on the minds and characters of members of the Legislative Councils." That the practical majority secured by the officials has thrown the non-official Indians into a permanent opposition is borne testimony to even by Anglo-Indian Journals. The *Statesman*, speaking of the United Provinces Legislative Council, says that "the permanent opposition in the United Provinces Legislature is more coherent and more highly organised than it is in most councils, that is to say, the Indian non-official element attacks in masses, and appears to have developed a considerable amount of fire control." The *Madras Mail*, speaking of the Madras Legislative Council, deplored that "hitherto there has been an excessive and artificial unity. To put it crudely, the non-official Indian members have usually resolved to sink differences in order to press more effectively demands, the satisfaction of which, they were agreed more or less, would conduce to progress," and hoped that this state of things would not continue indefinitely. This attitude of permanent opposition, apparent not only in the Legislative Councils but also in the Indian Press, is due entirely to the way in which the bureaucracy has been trying to keep up their artificial prestige. As a matter of fact, that prestige has seriously suffered during these years, and the Government is being discredited in the eyes of the public by the policy adopted in converting a non-official majority into a minority, and by the various devices introduced to thwart the will of the elected representatives of the people. We have come to such an unhealthy state of things that even ardent supporters of the Government do not care to say a good word openly in favour of the Government, even when their action is manifestly right. The *Madras Mail* says that, "to our knowledge there are Indians [illegible] sanability and by no means of ill purpose who [illegible] countenanced public agitations of which [illegible] they did not approve, because a breach to envi[illegible] all might some day be useful." His Lordship the Bishop of Madras points out with his usual insight :—

"The danger of the present situation consists largely in the fact that, with notable exceptions, Englishmen in India are not only opposed to the feelings and sentiments of educated Indians, but also to the inevitable tendency of their work and policy." "We need to realise that we cannot now base the Government of India upon

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any other foundation than that of the will of the Indian peoples, that we are here as servants of the Indian people and not as their masters, that a foreign bureaucracy can only be regarded as a temporary form of Government, and that our ultimate aim and object must be to enable India to become a self-governing part of the British Empire, and to develop her own civilization upon her own lines."

In the interests of good government, the present state of things ought not to be permitted to continue, and the time is come when it is no longer desirable or safe to leave it to the rules, but the statute itself should provide for a real and effective majority of the people's representatives to control the administration and legislation of the country.

This is not the first time when the rules framed under the statute failed to carry out the intentions of its framers. At the second reading of Lord Cross's Bill of 1892, Mr. Gladstone said:

After the assurances we have had from persons of the highest capacity and the greatest responsibility, I believe we shall be justified in looking forward not merely to a nominal but to a *living representation of the people of India*. What I wish is, that their first steps shall be of a genuine nature and that whatever scope they give to elective principle, it shall be real.

Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister of the day, said that the machinery provided shall effect the purpose of giving representation not to accidentally constituted bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the *living strength and vital forces* of the whole community of India. Yet the regulations under the statute were so framed, worked and continued for a period of *sixteen* years in spite of protests from the public that the result was deep discontent throughout the land and a situation of grave anxiety with which Lord Minto had to grapple.

Besides, a striking feature in the public life of the country, during recent years, is its enormou political development to which Lord Harding bore witness shortly before he left these shores. The war has contributed its share in this direction and revealed that, notwithstanding the fulsome praise bestowed on Indian loyalty, ge a sity and bravery in the different theatres ecem- Indian manhood has not been encouraged three part in the war, as has been done in the ded up the Colonies. Further, the *Round Table* propa- y of anda demanding for the Colonies a share in the froze vernance of this country along with Great the sa Britain has revealed how helpless India is and how keenly her people resent the subordinate and dependent position she occupies in the Empire. The situation therefore demands, both in the interests of Great Britain and in the interests of India, that the next step should forthwith be taken in the political advancement of the country, and it is no wonder that in view of the present grave situation all parties, the so-called Moderates and Extremists, Hindus and Mohammedans, sinking all their differences, should have joined hands at Lucknow in unprecedented numbers in making the demand.

For this purpose it is necessary, as urged by Sir S. P. Sinha, President of the Bombay Congress, "that there should be a frank and full statement of the policy of the Government as regards the future of India, so that hope may come where despair holds sway, and faith where doubt spreads its darkening shadow," and that England should make an unequivocal declaration that her policy in the government of this country is to confer Self-Government on India. Sir S. P. Sinha appeals "to the British nation to declare their inflexible re[illegible] in India for her journey to th[illegible] receipt of a copy [illegible] the reforms introduced [illegible]ort of the Bombay Socia[illegible]akeshifts, halting [illegible]owing the work done during th[illegible] pressing neces[illegible]ng with June 1914 and ending wit[illegible]been no step[illegible] 1915. The institution might well be[illegible]ng the re[illegible]s educational and sanitary work. Th[illegible]eges of S[illegible]ters of this philanthropic organization had been [illegible] be congratulated on their successful and [illegible]Services ided activities on behalf of the poorer class[illegible] by the [illegible]tically

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Further, it is essential that the present system of ruling the Legislative Councils by official majorities, whether secured under statute or otherwise, should be abandoned. The constitution of the Legislative Councils should be so modified as to give them an effective control over the acts

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of the Executive Government, and the voice of the elected representatives of the people should be made supreme, both in the Provincial and Indian Legislative Councils, subject to proper safeguards. With regard to the objection that, if there were no official majority, Legislative Councils might pass any number of wild cat bills, Lord Morley himself pointed out that the power of veto vested in the Head of the Government was ample to check such vagaries. It must be remembered that the power of veto would be a real power in this country unlike that in the Colonies, where Parliamentary Government prevails. Further, the scheme provides that the Indian Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the direction of military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, and that no resolution of the Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of the [illegible] for the defence of the country [illegible] essary to point out that [illegible] and only indicate their lab[illegible] the reform should [illegible] ns, the main p[illegible] that the Leg[illegible] as to give [illegible] of the Exe[illegible]

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sign that now there are other Anglo-Indians, beside myself, who think that, to have kept aloof from Indians in their political campaign for self-government, was a grievous mistake. The telegraph and military medical departments cannot much longer be kept as a kind of close preserves for Anglo-Indians. If an Indian I.M.S. officer is good enough for military service, so is an Indian assistant surgeon, and the position of Government in the telegraph department cannot be maintained much longer. As for volunteering, the opening of the volunteer arm to Indians cuts the last plank away from the Anglo-Indian. What then remains? Anglo-Indians are the gainers by the concessions obtained from Government by Indians, but it is not just that they should hang back and expect their compatriots to pluck the chestnuts from the fire. They must join them. The united voice of Anglo-India must swell the appeal of Indians for self-government. Whether complete autonomy will be given on Colonial lines is another question. Anglo-Indians must seek representation in the Councils of the Empire, they must seek the friendship and earn the goodwill of Indians—to whom they are bound by blood and birth and domicile—and whom they have up to the present time repudiated. As a small, separate, but by no means negligible, community, it is necessary for Anglo-Indians to participate in any scheme of reconstruction of the Indian administration after the War. They must cultivate closer relations with Indian public men, learn to love this great country, cultivate sympathetic relations with the Indian people, and work and strive to make India one of the greatest, if not the greatest, possession in the Empire. The possibilities in this direction are incalculable. No country can be really happy unless she is self-governed. India under self-government may make mistakes, may be involved in troubles, but she will emerge purified, stronger and more able to stand on her own feet. Held up by the Nurse and never allowed the freedom to walk alone, the Indian people will ever remain weaklings. The careful mother is anxious that her toddling child should not walk over a pre[illegible] SERVA[illegible] she does not attempt to hinder[illegible]receipt of a copy [illegible]gain strength and confid[illegible]port of the Bombay Soci[illegible]Under the ægis of [illegible]howing the work done during th[illegible]ill, after some [illegible]ng with June 1914 and ending wit[illegible] I am free 1915. The institution might well be[illegible]nt and hap[illegible]s educational and sanitary work. T[illegible]ward for al[illegible]ters of this philanthropic organization [illegible] be congratulated on their successful and [illegible]ided activities on behalf of the poorer class[illegible]

THE RUSSIAN

BY PROF. S. J. CRA[illegible]

IT is premature to write an article on the Russian Revolution, and whatever is said must, in the nature of the case, be hypothetical and full of reservations until lapse of time brings us fuller details of one of the most amazing political transformations of either ancient or modern times. Not even the most experienced of political augurs, though cognizant of certain symptoms indicating that all was not well in the body politic of Russia, can have expected that the disturbing features were destined to lead to so remarkable an upheaval within such a brief period. But the attainment of wisdom after the even[illegible]-not altogether unknown in diplomatic circl[illegible]ee and doubtless within the next few months there will be many an 'I told you so' from those of[illegible]customed to form the political thought of the froze[illegible]age man and woman.

But instead of indulging in more or less philosophic speculations on the events, it will, perhaps, be most useful to try to set forth, so far as we know, what has really happened. To do this it will be well to sketch the Russian constitution as it

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[illegible] chief towns of governments (as the Russian provinces are called) and of the greatest cities, composed of delegates chosen by the district or town elective assemblies. In towns all lodgers occupying for twelve months lodgings let to them may vote, also salaried clerks of state and public administration: in the country, all owners of a fixed area of land, or of non-industrial,

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more than 50,000 roubles (a rouble is worth 2s. 1½d.) in value, are electors: the *volosts*, or peasant communities, and manufactories with more than fifty workpeople, are represented in the electoral assemblies by delegates, two for each *volost*, and one for each thousand workmen. Students, soldiers, governors of provinces (in provinces governed by them) and police-officers (in the localities for which they act) may not vote."* Such, then, is the constitution of the Duma which has occupied a prominent place in the Revolution.

But in addition to the Duma, there is another assembly with equal legislative powers—the Council of the Empire, consisting of members partly nominated by the Tsar, partly elected by the Zemstvos or provincial assemblies, and important bodies like the universities, the Synod of the Orthodox Church, etc. The Council of the Empire is, therefore, a k[illegible] Lords, but more popular in it[illegible]. All laws must rece[illegible] their labd [illegible]

The [illegible]cted, it [illegible] in the hands o[illegible] have effect[illegible] for f[illegible] *Senate*, which, [illegible] proceedi[illegible] by [illegible] Court on[illegible] that thos[illegible] both [illegible] which s[illegible] Empire. [illegible] were [illegible] imports[illegible] repugn[illegible] this [illegible] were exempt less liberal all thi[illegible] been granted in England[illegible] generall[illegible] a credit of one anna income such [illegible] income exceeding [illegible] rate of 4 annas per rupee excess. [illegible] doubled [illegible] to 7½ per [Kut-el-[illegible] has Frederi[illegible]de, on Khalil [illegible]re in fu[illegible] British [illegible]ops, and [illegible] Imperial Council [illegible] the Turkish [illegible] [illegible]ach Bagd[illegible] In has a[illegible] their [illegible] munici[illegible] anythi[illegible] sense [illegible] 171,05[illegible] [illegible]ters of the place, classed [illegible]men [illegible] and, secondly, Oxthod[illegible]nery, climate product[illegible] blished [illegible]d. The [illegible]men; th[illegible]ved [illegible] faiths [illegible] older lady Jyeshtha. Is[illegible] [illegible] and reaped the fruit[illegible] [illegible]reof. *Pogrom*[illegible]—Ah, what a [illegible] notori[illegible] Lord, I touch[illegible] on the su[illegible] Ber[illegible] almost equal[illegible] e[illegible] ati on-th[illegible] st acts of the new regime [illegible] been th[illegible] same religious disabilities. It may interest Indian readers to know that in Russia the Mahomedans (13,906,972) come next to the Orthodox in number, and next in number are the Roman Catholics, chiefly Poles.

In the whole Empire, there are less than 7,000,000 pupils in the schools and about fifty per cent. of the population is illiterate. The backward condition of education will be one of the greatest problems for the new Government to solve, and also, we think, one of its greatest dangers.

Some acute person has tried to win fame by the maxim, 'History never repeats itself.' In general this may be true, but the following quotation from M. Ramband, the best known of great historians of Russia, may make us wonder if the old adage had not a good deal of truth in it. Speaking of the reforms of Alexander II in 1861, M. Ramband says, "He felt that the disasters of the Danube and the Crimea were mainly due to the administration, which was protected in its abuses by the silence of opinion, the servitude of the press, and the rigours of the police and the censorship. An important moral was learnt from the events of 1855—a population, of which the majority of the peasants are subjected to serfdom, cannot rival European nations in intellectual, scientific and industrial progress: *Success in modern war is the resultant of all the moral and material forces of the state.*"*

Alexander's maxim was never truer than it is to-day. Success in modern war is still "the resultant of all the moral and material forces of the state"; and it is because the Allies believe that the present Revolution is an attempt to realise the unfulfilled ideal of Alexander II's words, that both for ourselves and for Russia's own sake the Revolution has been so universally welcomed, and we believe that Russia united within, morally and materially, is unconquerable, and that Germany is being defeated, because she has forgotten that the moral is as necessary as the material to success even in war.

Let us try to outline some of what to us seem to be the chief causes of the Revolution.

Whatever opinions we may hold regarding the value of war, no one now can have any manner of doubt of its value as a test of national strength. In our own case the result has been to unite the Empire more firmly than ever and to bring about an interaction of national effort unimaginable in pre-war days; but this result is due to the inherent soundness of our national life. Even as it is, many false gods have fallen never to be replaced in their pedestals. But the storm which sent a tremour through the heart of our [illegible] Empire, causing it to strike its roots deeper and strengthen its hold on its foundation principles, has had a more serious effect on our great ally, for her internal dangers are greater. It is

* The *Statesman's Year Book*, 1914, p. 1224.

* A Ramband; *Histoire de la Russia*, p. 675.

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true that England was threatened by an abortive revolution in Ireland, but the Irish problem was envisaged in quite a different way from that adopted towards national aspirations in Finland and Poland by the Russian bureaucracy which, in spite of pledges to the contrary, has again and again infringed the national rights of its Polish and Finnish subjects. The powers that were in Russia were out of sympathy with the democratic aspirations of these peoples, while the British democracy is anxious to satisfy every legitimate aspiration of the Irish people. Nor was the bureaucracy any more sympathetically disposed towards the ideals of the thinking sections of the Russian people themselves. It is true that the Duma has assembled year by year since 1905, but its members felt that they had no real power, and when their protests became too outspoken, the Duma was dissolved and too many of the most moderate Russian reformers exiled to Siberia. Many of these were men who had no sympathy with Nihilism or the extreme revolutionary party, and were sincerely anxious to see a really constitutional government established in Russia. The outbreak of the war soon proved that large numbers of those in power were not alone antagonistic to reform, but also grossly incompetent to guide the state through the crisis, and, what was worse, corrupt and unscrupulous, or, as recent events have shown, sometimes actually in the pay of Germany.

It soon became apparent that many of those responsible for the conduct of the war against Russia's deadliest enemy, were men who had no desire to see Germany defeated but were anxious to do all they could to promote the interests of the Fatherland in Russia. Not a few were of German descent, though doubtless it would be unfair to say that all the German inhabitants of the Baltic provinces were traitors to Holy Russia; but bitter experience has taught us to suspect Germans in any shape or form. Others, again, had been educated in Germany, and while Russians in name were Germans by training and ideals.

The Russian Revolution appears therefore to be, from one point of view, a reaction of Russian nationalism, and an effort to purge the national life of people corrupt or at least inimical to the growth of a truly national life, and an uprising of outraged patriotism against those willing to betray their country's cause—hence the unanimity which prevails both in the Duma and the army for the cause of the revolution. The repressionists are rightly identified both by the 'Liberals' and the army with the common enemy.

The revolt against the policy of persecution followed by the state church under the restless regime of successive Procurators of the Holy Synod is another feature of new Russia. Unfortunately for themselves, the royal family had identified themselves with this, and fortunately, perhaps, for Russia some of the court ecclesiastics like the notorious monk Rasputin, who was in high favour with the Empress, got mixed up in the pro-German intrigues which were going on in Petrograd. The death of Rasputin has, it would seem, to some extent descredited the established church which was already, to put it mildly, not loved by the 'Liberals'.

The War has also emphasised the economic weakness of Russia and the need for a thorough reorganisation of all its resources. As a recent writer, in the *Asiatic Review*, has cleary shown, Russian trade was largely in the hands of German capitali[illegible]ers, and almost entirely neglected. [illegible]eceipt of a copy [illegible]ers. As he points out [illegible]ort of the Bombay Soci[illegible]ealthiest country [illegible]owing the work done during th[illegible]ces are still [illegible]g with June 1914 and ending wi[illegible]ganized on [illegible]s educational and sanitary work. Th[illegible] during th[illegible]ers of this philanthropic organization [illegible]reatly to d[illegible]e congratulated on their successful and [illegible]ation of ded activities on behalf of the poorer class[illegible]or war

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT.

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RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY.*

BY MR. SHAMBU CHANDRA DEY, B.L.

RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY was born at Radhanagar in A.D. 1774, a year memorable in the annals of British India, as in it were established both the Supreme Council and the Supreme Court—the highest Executive and the highest Judiciary. Ram Mohan was happy in his parents. His father Ramkanta was a small zamindar and was held in esteem by people of the surrounding villages as well as of his own. His mother "Phool Thakurani" was a woman of great piety and remarkable firmness of character.

Young Ram Mohan learned the elements of the Bengali la[illegible] village Patshala. But mere [illegible] was not of much us[illegible] their labd[illegible] was still the langua[illegible] ected, it [illegible] wanted to make [illegible] have effecy[illegible] in life never [illegible] by [illegible] well as Persian [illegible] that those de[illegible] both nac[illegible] aced under [illegible] re; and w[illegible] were var[illegible] d a fair [illegible] repugn[illegible] s ninth[illegible] were exempt less liberal [illegible] been granted in England [illegible] one anna income [illegible] income exceeding [illegible] rate of 4 annas per rupee [illegible] excess. [illegible] f [illegible] doubt[illegible] d to 7½ per [illegible] has [illegible] Kut-el-[illegible] Frederi[illegible] de, on [illegible] Khalii[illegible] re in fu[illegible] British t[illegible] ps, and [illegible] Imperial Council[illegible] the Turkish [illegible] ach Bagd[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

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and the wedded couple commenced to pass their days in peace and comfort. But domestic happiness was not all to Ram Mohan Roy whose mind constantly turned to study, which was the most exhilarating recreation of his life. About this time this indefatigable student was also initiated into some other foreign languages, namely, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. For, Ram Mohan was not satisfied merely with the study of Hindu Shastras; in fact, this study was only the means to an end which was to hold controversies with the Brahmins, and to convince them of their errors. He carried on controversies with the priestly classes upon idol worship and Sati. One very painful circumstance had turned the young man's attention to the latter subject. Ram Mohan had an elder brother named Jaga Mohan. When this man died, his wife, who was devotedly attached to him, burned herself on his funeral pyre. This incident made a very deep impression on his mind, and it was one of the immediate causes which made him declare open hostility to orthodoxy.

The young reformer took up the cudgels against idolatry and several other practices, and renewed the fight with redoubled zeal and energy. Upon this, the leaders of Hindu society tried several means to put down the proud rebel, which resulted in his expulsion from home. This melancholy event took place in the last year of the eighteenth century.

In the very year in which he was cast out of his paternal abode, he had a son born to him. This was his first-born, who was named Radha Prasad after Krishna's favourite wife Radha. Fortunately for the discarded young man, it was not long before he got a clerkship in the Rangpore Collectorate. He afterwards served for some years in the ministerial department of Ramgurh and Bhagulpur until the exigencies of service brought him again to Rangpore. As Ram Mohan was a man of parts and diligence, his rise in the service was almost assured, and he at last rose to the very top by being made Dewan, as the ministerial head was then called. Ram Mohan Roy spent about a decade of his life as Dewan.

While at Rangpore, he did not altogether forget his favourite study of the Hindu Shastras. In the odds and ends of time, he held controversies with the Brahmins on several religious subjects, more especially idolatry and widow-burning.

When Ram Mohan Roy found that he had amassed money more than sufficient for the fulfilment of the great object he had in view, he resigned his appointment and came down to Calcutta with the purpose, as he said, of "engaging in religious culture and in the investigation of truth." This turn in his life took place in the year 1814, when he had attained his fortieth year. Having made enough money he settled down in Calcutta with his mother, Tarini Devi, who had all along managed the family property in pursuance of the arrangement which had been made by her husband, Ramkanta.

With his knowledge of languages, coupled with competence and leisure, Ram Mohan Roy was now free to translate the Vedas and the Upanishads into Bengali and English. In the very year in which he came to Calcutta, he, in concert with a few friends, established the Atmi[illegible]ers; *Brahmo Samaj*) for the worship of [illegible]eipt of a copy [illegible]ers inculcated in the Vedas of the Bombay Soci[illegible]ves the year following the work done during th[illegible]ce Vedanta in Ben[illegible]gaxt year with June 1914 and ending wi[illegible] by a[illegible]15. The institution might well be [illegible]de translati[illegible]ducational and sanitary work. Th[illegible]re the Isha U[illegible]s of this philanthropic organization [illegible]ul9, transl[illegible]e congratulated on their successful and [illegible]ati Upani[illegible]d activities on behalf of the poorer class[illegible]or e same

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT.

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Evangelists, so that there could be no doubt about their meaning. But Ram Mohan Roy gave only Christ's precepts, separating them from the other portions which are open to comment.

This separation between the essentials and non-essentials of the religion of Jesus was not palatable to the missionaries in general and to the Serampore Baptists in particular, who protested against what was alleged as the heathen interpretation of, and meddling with, the Christian religion. Then ensued a controversy in which the victory of Ram Mohan Roy was complete, though bigoted Christians denied him the credit. [For a detailed account of the controversy with the Serampore missionaries, the reader is directed to my sketch of Raja Ram Mohan Roy published by Messrs. Natesan & Co., of Madras.]

The Raja's work for the social amelioration of his countrymen was even more successful than his controversies with the Christian missionaries.

(*a*) *The Sati P*[illegible]

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Fortunately for him, the helm of the State was then in the hands of a very good and great ruler. When, after suitable inquires, Lord William Bentinck found to his great satisfaction that Sati was, so far from being supported by law and good custom, directly opposed to them, and that it did not at all form part of the Hindu religion, he, in consultation with his hon'ble colleagues, passed in 1829 a Regulation declaring the practice of Sati illegal, and the persons taking part in it punishable in the Criminal Courts. This victory proved an infinite source of joy to Ram Mohan Roy, and he hastened to offer thanks to Heaven whose:

> "protecting arm," as he says, "has rescued our weaker sex from cruel murder under the cloak of religion, and our character, as a people, from the contempt and pity with which it had been regarded on account of this custom by all civilised nations on the face of the globe."

(*b*) *Kulinism.*

Polygamy, was badly rampant in the time of Ram Mohan Roy. He plainly saw that it was an evil practice and ought to be put a stop to. In his excellent Essay on the *Ancient Rights of Females*, he observes:—

> "This horrible polygamy among Brahmins is directly contrary to the law given by ancient authors; for Yagnavalkya authorises second marriage while the first wife is alive, only under eight circumstances: 1st, The vice of drinking spirituous liquors. 2ndly, Incurable sickness. 3rdly, Deception. 4thly, Barrenness. 5thly, Extravagance. 6thly, The frequent use of offensive language. 7thly, Producing only female offspring. Or, 8thly, Manifestation of hatred towards her husband."

He also cites some other authorities to show that a Hindu is not legally free to take any number of wives, but that, as a matter of fact, during his wife's life-time, he cannot marry again except under certain specified circumstances. Although Kulinism was damnably prevalent among Brahmins and was doing immense mischief in Hindu society, still Ram Mohan Roy did not deem it prudent to distrub it except by making a few sensible remarks against it. In fact, the custom had got so firmly rooted in Hindu minds and had had such long continued use in its favour that, perhaps, he thought that the time had not come for its removal from the social system, and, accordingly, did not busy himself much about it. That well-known statesman and lawyer, Thomas Babington Macaulay, also seemed to have thought in the same way; and when it was suggested to him, very probably by Ram Mohan Roy himself and a few others like him, that polygamy might be put a stop to by a legislative enactment, he did not follow up the suggestion but left the matter to the solvent influence of time and education.

(*c*) *Widow Marriage.*

Widow marriage, which under certain circumstances is very desirable, also attracted the far-seeing eye of Ram Mohan Roy. But it seems that he did not in all seriousness take the matter

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in hand, evidently on some such consideration as had dissuaded him from earnestly interfering with the objectionable practice of polygamy. The time had not then come for active interference; nor had it come even when the venerable Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar fought tooth and nail for it. True it is that an Act of the Legislature had been passed, legalising such marriages; but except among a handful of men who are a drop in the ocean, it has remained almost a dead letter.

We now turn to his educational activities. Being a highly educated man himself, it was only natural that Ram Mohan Roy should have had more than ordinary regard for education. Though a well-known Sanskrit scholar, Ram Mohan Roy had very little regard for the niceties of Sanskrit grammar, or the subtleties of Hindu philosophy. Accordingly, when, in 1823, it was proposed to establish a Sanskrit school under Hindu Pandits for the purpose of imparting such knowledge as might be derived from a study of Sanskrit grammar and the Darshanas, as Hindu philosophy is collectively called—knowledge which was already pretty prevalent in India, at least among a certain section of the Hindus—he entered a powerful protest against it, and in order to acquaint Government with his views, he addressed a letter to the then Governor-General, Lord Amherst. In that letter he very forcibly urged that if the improvement of the native population was the object of the Government, instead of affording them facilities for learning Sanskrit grammar and Hindu philosophy, it would far better fulfil its object by promoting a liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, with other useful sciences, which might be well accomplished with the money sanctioned, by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning educated in Europe and by providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments and other apparatus. He, however, did not altogether condemn the study of Sanskrit, which, he admitted, has a value of its own, as it enables one to get a deep insight into the rich and rare stores of Sanskrit literature —a literature which, as Heeran says, "incontestably belongs to a highly cultivated people, whom we may with reason consider to have been the most informed of the East." Such a study might, he thought, be well left to the keepers of *Tols* in the different parts of the country, who were engaged in teaching the Sanskrit language together with other branches of learning, which were intended to be taught in the proposed seminary; and if their more diligent cultivation were desirable, it would be effectually promoted by holding out premiums and granting certain allowances to the most eminent Pandits, who had already undertaken on their own account to teach them, and who would, by such rewards, be stimulated to still greater exertions. The Government, it seems, was impressed with the arguments adduced by Ram Mohan Roy, and it was, perhaps, in consequence of the agitation made by him that the Hindu College was founded in 1817. But though Ram Mohan Roy laboured very hard towards its establishment, still with remarkable disinterestedness he kept himself aloof from its management, fearing that the orthodox leaders of the Hindu community might not like to act in concert with a man whom they looked upon as no better than an outcast. Not satisfied with merely [illegible] David Hare and men of that sort [illegible], English education in this [illegible] of a copy [illegible] established an English [illegible] of the Bombay Soci[illegible]ver tar 1822.

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THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT.

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Ram Mohan Roy was equally in favour of female education. He took his stand on the ancient literatures of India. When the two

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grand Epics—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata—were written, Hindu women were not kept in seclusion. The Zenana system was quite unknown, and women were allowed to appear in public and attend meetings on great occasions. Learning, too, was not a forbidden fruit to them, and the literature of the times furnishes us with the names of more than one lady who vied with the most learned men of that period in culture and religious knowledge. Gargi, Maitreyi and Lilavati were well able to hold their own against any sage or savant of their times. In fact, female education was quite common in days of old, and it was only in later times that it fell into disuse. Ram Mohan Roy's advocacy of female education helped not a little towards drawing the attention of the public to it; but no tangible measure was taken in that direction until the arrival of Mr. Drinkwater Bethune. He came out as the Law Member of the Supreme Council in succession to [illegible] Macaulay. But though a law[illegible] not slow to turn his a[illegible] their labo[illegible] which the one whi[illegible] ected, it [illegible] was the educatio[illegible] have effec[illegible] found some ea[illegible] proceedi[illegible] by also expected [illegible] that those de[illegible] or both [illegible] ed into [illegible] succeede[illegible] were var[illegible] Calcutt[illegible] repugn[illegible] can [illegible] ing inc[illegible] this [illegible] were exc[illegible] no less liber[illegible] This w[illegible] been granted in England [illegible] annals[illegible] a credit of one anna income [illegible] nearly[illegible] income exceeding [illegible] Moha[illegible] rate of 4 annas per rupee [illegible] raised [illegible] excess. [illegible] condit[illegible] doubled to 7½ per [illegible] desired [illegible]

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Althe[illegible] Mohan R[illegible]y letters of [illegible] which [illegible] and, secondly, [illegible] administ[illegible]enery, climate product[illegible] its deri[illegible]. The [illegible]men; th[illegible] the question [illegible]lder lady Iyeshtha. Ish[illegible] the Honour[illegible] and reaped the fruit[illegible]reof. [illegible] the *tapis*, and [illegible]—Ah, what a [illegible] India were exa[illegible]lord, I touch[illegible] on the subject, the authorities in [illegible] wished Ram Mohan Roy to give evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons. His evidence, which possesses high value and importance, shows what a thorough statesman he was, and it places beyond doubt the very wide and extensive range of his mind. This evidence has since been published in pamphlet form under the title of "Exposition of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India." As to the merit of this performance, it is sufficient to say that it embraces some of the most important questions relating to the administration of India, such as the reform of courts, the jurisdiction of the country's courts over Europeans, the jury system, the separation of the executive and judicial offices, the codification of laws, the advisability of consulting the people in matters of legislation, the establishment of a native militia, the larger employment of natives, the age and education of civil servants, the amelioration of the condition of the tenantry and the framing of laws for their protection, and the last, though not least, the permanent settlement. His arguments in favour of the separation of the judicial and executive offices need to be particularly attended to, now that the question is before the Government of India. As to the manner in which a Code of Criminal Law should be framed suitable to the wants of the people, he thus expressed himself:—

> "A Code of Criminal Law for India should be founded as far as possible on those principles which are common to and acknowledged by the different sects and tribes inhabiting the country. It ought to be simple in its principles, clear in its arrangement and precise in its definition, so that it may be established as a standard of criminal justice in itself and not stand in need of explanation by a reference to any other books of authority, either Mahomedan or Christian."

In his excellent Paper on the Revenue System of India, dated the 19th August 1831, Ram Mohan Roy has clearly shewn that the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, concluded according to the Regulations of 1793, during the rule of Lord Cornwallis, was "advantageous to both the contracting parties, though not perhaps in equal proportion." Indeed, the matter is so very plain and clear that one only wonders how there could have been any difference of opinion about it.

One great feature of Ram Mohan Roy's character, which strikes one on reading his works and letters, is his ardent love of freedom. Liberty of thought and liberty of action he considered the only sure paths leading to the progress and happiness of a people. In 1823, an occasion arose for the exercise of this laudable passion on his part. Lord Hastings left India in that year, and Lord Amherst was appointed to fill his place. But as the latter had not arrived in India when his predecessor left it, Mr. Adam, senior member of the Supreme Council, acted as Governor-General till the arrival of the permanent incumbent. But short as Mr. Adam's tenure of

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office was, he made himself very unpopular by decreeing the removal of the liberty of the Press. This is how this unpleasant affair came to pass. Mr. Silk Buckingham, the Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, in an evil hour made some severe comments on official acts and officials in his Paper. This appeared to the Government as very unseemly, and the Provisional Governor-General ordered his removal, and he was actually deported from the country. But the matter did not end here. The Government took it into its serious consideration and, on the 14th March, the acting Governor-General passed a Rule and Ordinance—as it was called in the official language of the time, curbing the freedom of the Press. According to the Act of Parliament, 13 Geo. 111, Cap. 63, every Regulation made by the Governor-General had, as the law then stood, to be sanctioned and registered by the Supreme Court before it passed into law. Leave was obtained by Mr. Ferguson, Barrister-at-Law, on behalf of Mr. Buckingham, for protesting against sanction being given to the Rule and Ordinance by the Supreme Court. A Memorial signed by six well-known Natives was also presented to the Court. This Memorial was from the pen of Ram Mohan Roy, who was also one of the signatories, and it was a well-written and well-reasoned document. The matter was heard by the Hon'ble Sir Francis Macnaghten, the sole acting judge of the court; but unforunately for the people his Lordship allowed the Rule and Ordinance to be registered. When the Memorialists found that their prayer, though fair and reasonable, was not heard, they got up a petition to His Majesty King George IV, and sent it to England. This petition, too, was written by Ram Mohan Roy. In fact, he was the guiding spirit in the matter and bore the brunt of the whole work. The petition is a remarkable piece of document and is certainly a masterpiece of its kind. It is a very lengthy document, which concludes:—

"Your Majesty's faithful subjects, from the distance of almost half the globe, appeal to your Majesty's heart by the sympathy which forms a paternal tie between you and the lowest of your subjects, not to overlook their condition; they appeal to you by the honour of that great nation which, under your Royal auspices, has obtained the glorious title of Liberator of Europe, not to permit the possibility of millions of your subjects being wantonly trampled on and oppressed; they, lastly, frozl appeal to you by the glory of your Crown, on which the the say[illegible] of the world are fixed, not to consign the natives of [illegible]ndia to perpetual oppression and degradation."

The petition, however, did not prove successful at the time, but it certainly lent some force to the cause; and when proper time came, the consummation, which was so devoutly wished for, was made. This was done when on the retirement of Lord Bentinck, Sir Charles Metcalfe acted as Provisional Governor-General before the arrival of the next permanent ruler, Lord Auckland. Thus, it happened that what had been taken away by one Temporary Governor-General in 1823 was fully restored by another of the same fraternity in 1836. As a token of gratitude for the entire liberty of the press which Sir Charles allowed, the inhabitants of Calcutta named the public library of their city the Metcalfe Hall, which is now known as the Imperial Library.

We have said that Ram Mohan continually fought against idolatry and polytheism. Many earnest and pious men gathered round him, and the ranks of his 'Salvation Army' went on increasing. He had founded the *Atmiya Sabha* for divine worship and had also established the *Ved Mandir* [illegible]udy of Vedic lore, as well as s[illegible]pt of a copy [illegible]r debate and discussion [illegible] of the Bombay Soci[illegible]jects. But the m[illegible]ing the work done during th[illegible] remained to b[illegible] with June 1914 and ending wi[illegible] earnest in p[illegible]. The institution might well be [illegible] to *believe* in [illegible]ducational and sanitary work. Th[illegible] *worship* H[illegible] of this philanthropic organization [illegible]arch was [illegible]congratulated on their successful and [illegible] Brahmo [illegible] activities on behalf of the poorer class[illegible]hip and [illegible]mmuta-[illegible]eserver [illegible]ry [illegible] help-[illegible]rial of [illegible] through [illegible] work, [illegible], Kali [illegible] Dwarka [illegible] Chakra-[illegible] special [illegible]ok the [illegible]st. He [illegible] its very [illegible] Roy's [illegible] alone [illegible] Nath Tagore [illegible] and took over the charge from his hands. He found a very able and worthy co-adjutant in Keshab Chandra Sen, who latterly abandoned the Adi Brahmo Samaj and established a Samaj of his own, which is flourshing side by side with the parent tree.

Now that he had accomplished the dear object

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT.

Among the Resolutions of the Educati[illegible] nference was a strong recommendation [illegible] e 'Boy Scouts' movement should be i[illegible] iced into our schools as early as possibl[illegible] iew of the experience of Great Britain [illegible] ther countries of the value of scouting [illegible] powerful means of moral and physical instru[illegible]

The *Leader* of Allahabad points out that the Conf[illegible] n our opinion might have made another recomm[illegible] in addition. It might have reasonably urged [illegible] udents should be given a certain amo[illegible] gre[illegible]n—yes, any European and not only [illegible] was nglo-Indian students have to join th[illegible] begin option is given to them not to, [illegible] demise, to the[illegible] students to join it, [illegible] kept it alive, till the great[illegible] racial and [illegible] of infer[illegible]

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of his life and established the Brahmo Samaj on a firm and permanent basis, Ram Mohan was on the look-out for an opportunity to go to England. The Emperor of Delhi,—now reduced to a mere shadow of a sovereign,—having taken umbrage at some acts of the powerful East India Company prejudicial to his interests, wanted to send an ambassador to His Majesty the King of England, for the purpose of having his grievances removed, and as Ram Mohan Roy was, by his ability and experience, eminently fitted to go on such an important mission, he was selected by His Majesty, who, to add dignity and importance to the person of his representative, conferred upon him the title of Raja. Besides representing the Imperial grievances, Ram Mohan Roy had two other objects in view namely, first, to be present at the approaching discussion in the House of Commons for the [illegible] the East India Company's C[illegible] the future Governmen[illegible] their labd[illegible] or for evil, large[illegible] ected, it [illegible] present memorial[illegible] have effec[illegible] Sati and to [illegible] by powerful [illegible] that those de[illegible] both

Ram M[illegible] 15th Nov[illegible] son, Raj[illegible] Ratan M[illegible] in the [illegible] the tim[illegible] Europ[illegible] was, th[illegible] reach i[illegible] nearly [illegible] anythin[illegible] steering [illegible] overtake[illegible] placed in[illegible] crew and[illegible] life. Bu[illegible] sky res[illegible] "Kalapa[illegible]—Ah, what a [illegible] of which [illegible] placed an almos[illegible] in safety. Surely, this was no ordinary feat for a Hindu of rank and position like Ram Mohan Roy, and we cannot but admire his moral courage in having performed it in the face of such serious opposition. By this time Ram Mohan Roy had established his reputation as a scholar, philosopher, and reformer. He had written Bengali works on the *Vedanta*, translated into English some of the *Upanishads*, defeated some very noted Christian Missionaries in religious controversies, and established the Brahmo Samaj. He had, also, given his strong support to the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck, of laudable memory, for the abolition of *Sati* or the burning of Hindu widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands. He had also won the warmest regard of that Prince of Indian Missionaries, Dr. Alexander Duff, and, as a matter of fact, won a very high repute. When such a remarkable man, "the great Apostle of the East," whose name and fame had long preceded him to Europe, reached the shores of England on the 8th April, it is not surprising that he should have received a cordial welcome from the great men of that land. His arrival in England excited considerable interest. No sooner was his advent known in Liverpool than almost every man of distinction in the place hastened to call on him. One of the first visits he received was from the three sons of Roscoe, the celebrated historian of the Medici. They came, not merely on their own account, but to convey to him the "affectionate greetings" of their distinguished father, whom paralytic affection had for years confined to his apartments. Ram Mohan Roy hastened to see the great scientist. The interview was deeply affecting, as it was their first and last meeting on this side of Eternity. Ram Mohan Roy heard of Roscoe's death while residing in London.

The first public place he attended at Liverpool was Mr. Grundy's Unitarian Chapel. The sermon was proper to the occasion, in exposition of the duty of unlimited charity in our judgments of the creeds of other men, and of their principles of belief. He listened to it with the utmost attention and afterwards expressed himself very much pleased with it. After the sermon was over, the congregation, instead of dispersing, thronged up every avenue to get a near view of him; and it was not till they had heard him address them in their own language and shaken hands with him that they would be prevailed upon to allow him to return.

After staying a few days at Liverpool, Ram Mohan Roy started for London. On his way thither, he halted at Manchester to see the great factories.

On the very night he reached London, Mr. Bentham, the great philosopher, came to see h[illegible] Thus, a very warm friendship sprang up between these two great minds, which lasted until death. The Englishman was proud of his Indian friend and gladly addressed him as an intensely admired and dearly beloved fellow servant in the service of humanity. In fact, many of the distinguished

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Londoners honoured him and sought his friendship. Among these were Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham, Sir William Horton, Sir Henry Strachey and Sir Charles Forbes. With Brougham, then only known as the great advocate of popular education and of the abolition of slavery, Raja Ram Mohan Roy lived on terms of the closest intimacy.

The Raja was also presented to the King, who gave him a cordial reception, and at the grand ceremony of the Coronation, he was given a seat by the side of the Ambassadors of the Crowned Heads of Europe. On the opening of the London Bridge, he was invited by His Majesty to the Royal Dinner. The Court of Directors, though they refused to recognise his embassy and his title, treated him with honour. They entertained him at a public dinner on the 6th July, in the name of the Honourable East India Company at the London Tavern.

The Raja gave evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Revenue and Judicial systems of India, presented petitions to the House of Commons for the abolition of Sati and had the satisfaction of being present there, when the appeal against such abolition was rejected on the 11th July, 1832.

While in England, Raja Ram Mohan Roy was taken care of by some English families, not only as a distinguished guest but also as a friend. Of these families, the most notable was the family of his most intimate friend, David Hare, who has done more for the mental and moral improvement of the natives of India than any other foreigner. There he became acquainted among others with Dr. Lant Carpenter, who afterward wrote an excellent memoir of him. This Dr. Carpenter was the father of Miss Mary Carpenter, whose name has almost become a household word in this distant land. She was then quite in her prime, and as she was well able to appreciate real sterling merit wherever it was found, began to cherish deep regard for Raja Ram Mohan Roy, so much so that she there and then conceived a very strong desire to see the wonderland which had given birth to such a great personality. But this desire, though often given vent to, she could not fulfil until the year 1866; and though her stay in Bengal was not long, she had roused the people from their long lethargy and succeeded in directing their energy and attention to matters which most concerned them.

After a short sojourn in France, where he was the recipient of Royal favours, the Raja's health began to fail. He had been invited to visit Bristol and to take up his residence at the house of Miss Castle—a ward of Dr. Carpenter—in the neighbourhood of that city. In broken health he started for Bristol accompanied by Miss Hare, the daughter of his esteemed friend David Hare, who had resided with her uncle in Bedford Square, in the early part of September to spend a few weeks at Stapleton Grove, intending to proceed thence to Devonshire to pass the winter there. Nine days after his arrival, he was attacked with fever. Drs. Pritchard and Garrick attended upon him. Medicine afforded him, however, only temporary relief. His fever returned with redoubled vigour, and grew into what the native physicians would call *Bikar*. The delirium was followed by a stupor from which he never recovered, and he breathed his last a little after 2 a. m., on the 27th September, in the presence of his foster-son Rajaram, and his Hindu servants. Since he had all along been enabled [illegible] of a copy [illegible] in the form in which it was [illegible] the Bombay Society [illegible] him. Ram Mohan [illegible] the work done during the [illegible] while lying cold [illegible] June 1914 and ending with [illegible] beautiful maj[illegible] The institution might well be [illegible] to m Mohan Rational and sanitary work. Th[illegible] according to this philanthropic organization [illegible] fact, the ngratulated on their successful and [illegible] observed ctivities on behalf of the poorer class[illegible] hitto ashes,

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT.

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The spot, where stands the memorial of the Raja, is to be regarded, as one of his countrymen has beautifully said, "a sacred place for Hindu pilgrimage," and as a matter of fact, it is almost invariably visited by every Hindu sojourner in England.

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WOMEN IN WAR: IN EAST AND WEST

BY MR. J. CLIVE ROOME.

FOR women in Europe, the war has opened new worlds. It has enabled them to achieve silently and without any strenuous effort within two brief years what they had regarded for nearly fifty years as the ideal consummation of their desires for participation in the world's activity. There is now a wide gulf between the Lady of the Lamp and the woman worker of the days of the Somme. Women are now no longer the passive and helpless spectators of the ravages of war which they were in the Crimean War. They have entered what was, not so long ago, regarded as exclusively man's province of labour. In the banks, in shops, in factories and on the fields, women are now doing work of vital importance to the nation which otherwise would have been left undone. The opening of new fie[illegible] to women has brought new p[illegible] of the sexes.

Nowhere [illegible] their labo[illegible] ar[illegible] have women sh[illegible] cted, it [illegible] y [illegible] as in Engla[illegible] have effecty[illegible] for f[illegible] these novel co[illegible] proceedi[illegible] by [illegible] the end of [illegible] that those de[illegible] or both nac[illegible] can even [illegible] peace in th[illegible] were var[illegible] puzzling [illegible] repugn[illegible] ing soci[illegible] this [illegible] were exempt no less liberally been granted in England designa[illegible] a credit of one anna income [illegible] income exceeding rate of 4 annas per rupee excess.

"St[illegible] was not [illegible] but was [illegible] in India, [illegible] the first [illegible] valley of [illegible] when th[illegible] ters of the place, Dravidian men and, secondly, [illegible] Southern scenery, climate, product[illegible] inch by inch. The Aryan men; th[illegible] they wielded lady Jyeshtha. Isl[illegible] their gaping re and reaped the fruit[illegible] proof.

[illegible] omen were con[illegible]—Ah, what a [illegible] rcumstances to take over one prov[illegible] lord, I tou[illegible] another of national activity. The Aryans themselves had no lack of recruits, with the result that they were able not only to maintain the pressure on the Dravidians undiminished in strength but also to consolidate their territorial gains.

[Kut-el-[illegible] to 7½ per [illegible] has Frederi[illegible] ds traffic, on Khalil L[illegible] e are in fu[illegible] British t[illegible] ops, and F[illegible] Imperial Council [illegible] the Turkish [illegible] ch Bagd[illegible]

With the Dravidians, it was a tragic epic. Continually harassed by an untiring enemy, they were fast coming to the end of their resources in men and were unable to divert their attention from military pursuits to the arts of peace. Agriculture was neglected; civil administration grew lax, and their social organisation, in a word, was shaken to its very foundations. In Southern India, they found themselves nearing the limit of their endurance. With no possibility of further retreat and the Aryans as determined as ever, the Dravidians realised that on the issues of the battles in Southern India hung their destiny as a people. They became so engrossed with military cares that they had no time to spare even for the administration of their lands. When, at last, they emerged from the struggle completely crushed and broken-hearted, they found that their social organisation had also undergone a complete revolution. Women owned all the property that was still left to them, amd women had acquired civil rights which reduced men to a very subordinate position in the social system.

That the change in the social order was not superficial is evident from the fact that traces of "Sthri-raj" still persist in Dravidian society in India. The *marumakathayam* law, under which claims to property are decided by descent in the line of a nephew or sister's son, is still valid in Malabar, Canara and Travancore, although it is gradually falling into disrepute and efforts are being made to abandon it altogether.

India is by no means singular in its experience of "Sthri-raj," although the phenomenon of woman-rule seems to have had a fuller scope for its operations in India than in any other country. The concentration of national effort on military efficiency produced in Sparta conditions of "Sthri-raj" more or less similar to those it produced in India. The rigorous system of military discipline, under which the Spartans lived, compelled them to delegate rights to women which, women of no other State in Greece possessed. In Sparta alone, women were placed on a footing of equality with men. With the rise in power of Sparta, the rights of Spartan women also increased in number, and within a short time two-fifth of Laconia belonged to women.

As in Sparta, *Sthri-raj* in India was the ultimate result of a series of events linked together by long years of war. England and the other countries in Europe, now at war, are not likely to see the conditions of "Sthri-raj," as observed in India or Sparta, reproduced line by line but the entry of women into spheres of labour, regarded before the war as exclusively masculine, will bring its own problems in its train.

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THE HOME LIFE OF A KANNADA POET

BY MR. M. VENKATESA IYENGAR, M.A.

WE very rarely meet with instances in the literature of our country of an author taking his reader into his confidence, and writing of his life. Beyond the somewhat usual mention of the author's name in the poem, and in some cases of his descent and such other matter-of-fact detail, there is little that is personal in our literary works. This is only one aspect of a larger want, that poverty of historical material is so often mentioned against India by the learned and unlearned of the West. Whether because our writers were entirely devoid of the historical sense, or less appalling cause, writers in our country in the past failed to think the writing of history or biography a proper field of literary activity. To one class of persons this poverty is the direct consequence of an absolute want of the historic instinct; they follow the logic that would say of the Buddha, that because in the prime of life he left wife and child to go to the forest for the grand purpose of thinking, therefore he had not the instinct for home. To others it might seem not improbable that the instinct was there, but was refused free play from considerations of graver import. He who says constantly, "I am Thy servant's servant's servant's servant" is not likely to sit down to write an autobiography. And he who believes that uttering a single syllable of the sacred book would annihilate the deadly sins, and considers poesy as a gift intended for glorifying the Highest, is likely to consider writing biographies a perversion of a noble gift to unworthy ends. So it has come to pass that we have innumerable versions of the Ramayana, and of biography and history very little.

Any passage of literature which brings us into intimate contact with an author is, therefore, of special value and a source of rare pleasure. One such passage occurs in a masterpiece of Kannada literature, Sri-Ramashwamedham,* a poem in prose by Muddana. The story purports to have been told by the poet to his wife, and in the conversations between himself and his wife which the poet has incorporated in his work, we get a glimpse of their happy home-life.

Muddana was poet at a prince's court. We do not know of what land the prince was ruler. Our poet was a young man yet, for he calls his wife Manorama, a romantic, highly affectionate, and very intelligent young woman, all sorts of pretty names; and the young lady, of course, takes them all very coolly, occasionally calling him a pretty name in return. They must have been newly married, for they had in all likelihood no children yet; Muddana's powers of eating are still unimpaired, no doubt from absence of younger mouths to fill; and Manorama feels tired of being alone all through the day, thus showing absence of the all-absorbing interest of a woman's life.

Such were husband and wife. And then came the season of long days and wearisome hours, when the god of [illegible] his wonted vigour and the peacock [illegible] of a copy [illegible] a chataka opened its mouth [illegible] the Bombay Soci[illegible]ieu cuckoo and parrot[illegible] the work done during th[illegible]rer of spring, whe[illegible]h June 1914 and ending wi[illegible]louds, dark an[illegible] The institution might well be [illegible]to[illegible]e southern [illegible]cational and sanitary work. Th[illegible]s of rain. [illegible] this philanthropic organization [illegible] ngratulated on their successful and [illegible] ctivities on behalf of the poorer class[illegible]

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT.

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poet came [illegible] hir for wash- [illegible] plank to [illegible]se and when [illegible]ow long [illegible]he some [illegible]ori hours." [illegible]hr there to [illegible]ll tell you [illegible], what rasa [illegible]ou Dirasa, soka [illegible]hh has all [illegible]pr[illegible]s: "Very [illegible]ola or——" [illegible]st wife, with [illegible]ition among [illegible]rama nor [illegible]e Rama- [illegible]cial and [illegible]a's marriage?" "Nay, you have told me that already." "Well then, I shall tell you of Rama's Asvamedhayagam. Shall I tell it you in verse or prose?" "Verse or prose?" said Manorama without any hesitation, "prose of course. Verse is coarse, prose like the rose is pleasing, tell it in prose." "Just as you like," said Muddana, "I shall tell you the story in beautiful, limpid prose, glowing with Sanskrit words." "No

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Sanskrit, I pray you; what have I, a poor unlearned woman, got to do with Sanskrit? Kannada is enough for me. Is not Kannada fragrant as the musk?" "Not so," said Muddana, "there should be Sanskrit words. My prose will be beautiful and limpid, Kannada intermingled with Sanskrit, a necklace of pearls interspersed with precious stones." Manorama agreed. But Muddana would not tell a story for nothing: His stories were valued at court, and he got rewards for them. So he said, "Yes, and what will you give me as reward when I have told you the story? The people at the palace would give me some present for my pains." "I shall give you myself," said Manorama. "Why, what a woman!" said Muddana ——— he was obviously as good a business man as he was poet —— "Do you not know that erstwhile your father and mother gave you to me, that you are mine already, and not yours to give?" "[illegible] I give then?" said Manorama [illegible] story and I shall give you [illegible] people at the palace [illegible] press their press [illegible] have effect [illegible] very well," said [illegible] by [illegible] proceed [illegible] that those [illegible] Asvamedha [illegible] our eyes, [illegible] brother to [illegible] repugn can [illegible] there; he [illegible] were exempt no less liberally [illegible] at this a[illegible] been granted in England [illegible] from La[illegible] credit cone anna income [illegible] Lakshm[illegible] income exceeding [illegible] rate of 4 annas per rupee [illegible] excess. [illegible] "Child, [illegible] double [illegible] for it will [illegible] [Kut-el-[illegible] to 7½ per [illegible] her in th[illegible] Frederi[illegible]ds traffic, on [illegible] "Here in[illegible] Khalil [illegible]e are in full [illegible] Manorama [illegible] British troops, and [illegible] the sacrifi[illegible] Imperial Council [illegible] left alone [illegible] the Turkish [illegible] ——." Md.—[illegible] each Bagd [illegible] nery, climate, product[illegible] up to Valu[illegible]der lady Jyeshtha. Is[illegible] then proce[illegible] and reaped the fruit[illegible] reof.

"Here it[illegible]—Ah, what a[illegible]a—."

Mano.—My lord, I tou[illegible]ord, what talk is this? How is he Sitarama, having thrown away Sita? Was that hard-hearted man Rama or Bhima?

Mudd.—My beautiful woman, this is not right. Was he hard-hearted? Do you know how much he grieved at parting with Sita?

Mano.—What, was he executioner and mourner also?

Mudd.—My dear, what mean you? Who was executioner? The man of good name did not want that name to be sullied. You do not mean that he hated her, surely?

Mano.—Hate or no hate, a poor unfortunate was consigned to the forest.

Mudd.—And Rama grieved much.

Mano.—At having no wife, belike.

"Tut, tut," said Muddana, "that will do," and proceeded with the story.

In the course of the story, not unwilling perhaps to draw her into conversation, and to have some respite from the exercise of narration, he said "Devi," addressing her.

"Devi," says Manorama, "Sridevi, or Bhudevi?"

"It was you that I called Devi.

"Are you beside yourself with this long narration that you call me Devi as though I were your mistress?"

"I do not know. Am I beside myself?"

"What Devi do you mean I am?"

"What Devi else? Rathi Devi, of course."

"Then you must be Madanadeva."

"Even so, if such be the goddess's pleasure."

"O! thou Madana, enchanting Manmatha, pray sing of your Rathidevi."

"It is rather large orders," said Muddana. "Can I sing of her?"

Mano.—What sort of a Madana are you if you cannot sing of your Rathidevi?"

Mudd.—I can, indeed, if it comes to that. Am I Madana and can I not sing? Detractors be aside———Here goes: "Thin-bodied, flower-eyed nymph, moon-faced, slender-waisted queen, berry-breasted, elephant-gaited, loose-haired."

Mano.—(Looking at him from the corners of her eyes.) Ah, you are a poet of poets; what can I say to this description of yours, these new-fangled phrases which no one knows? Is your Rathidevi thin-bodied? Perchance she is consumptive? What is the moon in the face, and the flower in the eye? And is she possessed with the devil, that her hair is loose? Go to, you are no Kama, only Bhima.

Mudd.—(Smiling.) Goddess of my ancient house, why all this anger? All this temper comes of my levity. Bear with me a little, I beg of you, and I shall pray to the Goddess of Learning to get control over the treasures of language, and then ———and then, by this sacred thread of mine I swear, I shall sing thee, my Rathidevi, a hundred times greater than that paragon of symmetrical features, the real Rathi.

Hymn to Saraswati.

O Lady of Learning,

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Who completely scorning
The birth-mode of all, in the flame of the Four-faced,
With Book and with Pencil,
And singing utensil,
Didst rise in thine armour of Beauty so well-drest,
Give me, great Lady,
The power, I pray thee,
To sing the sweet beauties of this my fair wife;
Send down an army
Of good phrases for my
Necessity, and make me thy debtor for life.

The original is burlesque prose, and I have attempted to convey the sense as far as I can. If "singing utensil" is rather grotesque, it is not much worse than the context needs

"Is the Goddess of Learning, the great Saraswati, propitiated?" asked Manorama.

Mudd.—Yes, by praise and prayer have I learned the favour of the goddess. Now for the description. "Black as the blackness of Mahakali—."

Muddana obviously wanted to describe her fully from head to toe, and began with the hair of her head. But his description was doomed to a premature stop. For Manorama said, "To praise Rathi, you begin with Mahakali."

Mudd.—Ah, you interrupt. Yes, alas, I forgot the obstacle-god, the great Vighnesvara. Because I did not remember him, this interruption has come at the outset. "O, great Vighneswara, thou mighty God of the single tooth and the yard-wide ears, of the crooked nose and the capacious stomach, mouse-riding lord, my obeisance to thee. Grant that no obstruction come in my way in this attempt to sing the beauties of this Rathidevi of mine. If you grant this, I promise to give you first of all a share of the dainties and eatables which my wife, pleased with my praise of her, will be giving me."

Mano.—How will he eat, your obstacle god of the single tooth?

Mudd.—Why, my dear, could the God eat? And if he did, would I offer him a share?

Mano.—You gormandizer! what, then, would you eat all yourself?

Mudd.—Are you sure to give anything?

Mano.—Supposing I did?

"Why, then, I cannot eat all of it myself. *Chakkuli** and *garige* for Kamadeva, *aval** and *hurigadale* for Muddana, the sugarcane for the poet, and the cocoanut for——myself."

"That is clever; what to Rathidevi?"

"It is the Goddess that gives; what will she take?"

"What to Manorama?"

"O I see," said Muddana, "in praising Rathi I have forgotten Manorama. Since all the eatables are exhausted, I suppose I must give her the leavings."

Mano.—What a cruel man; let be, now with your description.

Here follows a description, of course, not to the taste of Manorama, and husband and wife have a discussion over it. This portion does not lend itself to translation, as it is mostly "quips and cranks and jests" and other linguistic tricks. At the end of a little of it, Manorama says:—

"That is fine. Now, what is it that you like best, what shall I give you for this praise?"

"Do not be in a hurry," said Muddana," "wait till I have described her fully and then—"

Mano.—Why wait? To taste of the sea, is it necessary to drink up the oceans as Agastya did? One drop is good enough for a study of the whole.

That is the case of a copy [illegible]de. We shall go to another. [illegible] the Bombay Social Service League.

Mudd. [illegible] the work done during the year [illegible] reception extended [illegible] June 1914 and ending with [illegible] eatrughna that. The institution might well be [illegible] to [illegible] national and sanitary work. The [illegible] gratuitous feeding in this philanthropic organization [illegible] congratulated on their successful and [illegible] Bir wants, activities on behalf of the poorer class[illegible] hinense, and

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT.

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"Whatever others of r[illegible] have to join th[illegible]

"By repeating the[illegible] them not to, [illegible] neir gods, and the gods appear to[illegible] nts to join it, [illegible] them what they would have."

"With such formulas to hand the Rishis must be happy, untroubled by want?"

"Yes," said Muddana, rather laconically.

"By the by," said Manorama, "poets like you are mad after writing books, and care not for the needs of home. What of them, what should they eat, and what drink? Is it not desirable that they should learn from some great Rishi some formula such as this one?"

* Kannada names for various eatables.

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"You are laughing at the like of us, are you?" asked Muddana. "What do we want for? I suppose the going and learning of a jungle sage is to be done if we have no formula of our own? Is the poet, whose mighty word makes country desert and desert country, smaller than the small old Rishi? His word is truth, his touch is gold. Why say more? By the virtue of their mere word, they can make or mar, praise or blame, raise or ruin, describe, trample, live over the three worlds. Is the poet whose word is so potent a mean person?"

Mano.—(With wonder, whether real or feigned, Goodness knows!) Then you and your class also have formulas?

Mudd.—What doubt?

Mano.—Have you also one?

Mudd.—It is the warp and woof of my being.

Mano.—Then you are also a great man. When and by whom we [illegible] ?

"By my [illegible] tender years."

"My [illegible] their labd [illegible] is."

"Fie [illegible] ted, it [illegible] may not be taug[illegible] have effec[illegible] fun[illegible]

"As [illegible] proceedi[illegible] by [illegible] you to initiate [illegible] that those de[illegible] both nac[illegible] the formula [illegible]

"O I[illegible] were var[illegible] of the fo[illegible] repugn[illegible] can [illegible] ing inc[illegible] this [illegible] were exe[illegible] no less liber[illegible] formu[illegible] been granted in England[illegible] two-l[illegible] a credit ca[illegible] one anna income[illegible] are [illegible] income exceeding two, [illegible] rate of 4 annas per rupee root-f[illegible] excess. [illegible] crown [illegible] doub[illegible] d to 7½ per [illegible] [Kut-el-[illegible] has Manu[illegible] Frederi[illegible] de, on Who fi[illegible] Khalil [illegible] are in fu[illegible] British t[illegible] ops, and [illegible] Imperial Council[illegible] Mudd[illegible] tters of [illegible] the Turkish [illegible] all this[illegible] nt and, secondly, [illegible] ach Bagd[illegible] Manc[illegible] nery, climate product[illegible] [illegible] formula Mudd.—[illegible] men; th[illegible] [illegible] ated it is the elder lady Jyeshtha. Isi[illegible] of yore and reaped the fruits thereof.

Mano.—Ah, what a great formula. My master and lord, I touch your feet, grant me a boon by the love you bear me. Tell me what the formula is.

Mudd.—Why, it is the seven-lettered; I told you.

Mano.—No, I do not want the name; I want the formula itself.

Mudd.—Ha, what an audacious woman. Then she wanted its name, now she wants it. What will she want next? By this sacred thread, by the man's clothes I wear, I tell you, it cannot be told. You have no power to hear or repeat it. It is bad for the eyes, bad for the feet.

The reader might well be wondering what this mighty formula of seven letters is, of which Jyeshtha is the presiding deity, and which Ishwara repeated and reaped the fruits of, and to repeat and pursue which is bad for the feet, and bad also for the eyes. Let him read some more description of it yet, and see what it is.

"Where is the harm in simply hearing it?" asked Manorama. "Does not a woman hear even the Veda?—when it is being repeated? Where is the harm? How proud you are?"

Mudd.—Proud, my dear. I am not half enough proud. The Veda is one thing, and this formula is quite another; like the goat and the elephant. Besides, they say, "Secretest of all things secret is the secret *mantra*." Therefore, neither may I tell, nor may you hear. So let us go to the story. The Rishi having treated the———

Mano.—Go, go, I will have none of your story. I must know the formula; by my neck, by this ring, tell me.

Mudd.—O the constancy of inconstant woman! I tell her I cannot repeat it to her; she will not hear me. How shall I bring myself to divulge and defile this formula, this sacred possession of ours? Alas, this is the lot of us poets——curse the fates,——caught in the toils of beauteous young sirens. (After pretending considerable thought:) Look here, my dear woman, you are never, never, never, on any account, to divulge it to anybody. Do you hear?

Mano.—Never, never.

Mudd.—Then, listen; Bha——va——Put your hand in mine, and promise not to betray.

Mano.—Here is my hand on it. In the name of the God of our house, in your name, I say solemnly, I shall not betray.

Mudd.—Yes. Bhava——thibhi——"Put not your trust in woman," say the wise. If you betray us, then are we undone.

Mano.—My dear master, am I a dunce? Have not I promised secrecy?

Mudd.—Then here goes. "Bhavathi bhikshandehi."* This, my dear, is the seven-lettered formula. Be sure, and do not tell anybody.

Mano.—Leave go, sir; I thought you were serious. Are you bard or buffoon? At this rate only unlearned women like me may like your story, not others.

* A phrase shouted at housedoors by those who come for alms.

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Muddana then resumes the story. Towards the end of his narrative, he is describing the condition of Ayodhya, after the return of Sita "Then on all sides reigned peace and happiness, ease and contentment——."

Mano.—So you have reached the end of your story?

Mudd.—Yes; the wretched yarn has somehow come to an end.

Mano.—Fie, call you Rama's story wretched?

Mudd.—No, not Rama's story; but the spiritless, tasteless, valueless, wearisome stuff that I have spun.

Mano.—Did ever wise man praise his own work? That is why you are undervaluing the luscious and fragrant poem you have made.

Mudd.—So you are pleased with the poem?

Mano.—(Forgetting the old covenant regarding the present or pretending to forget,) Why I in particular? All who hear would be pleased.

Mudd.—(Laughing.) You are talking out of love to me.

Mano.—My beloved lover, indeed, no. Even as your name is, your poem is dear to the world.

Mudd.—I am afraid you are playing upon me.

Mano.—Did ever anybody hate good? It is the plain and simple truth. Your beautiful story holds captive the minds of all who read it. Indeed, I feel that I would like to hear it again and again.

Mudd.—Will you swear by me?

Mano.—Yes, by you; the jasmine must please.

Mudd.—By my grandmother?

Mano.—Yes, by your grandmother. I am not jesting. There never was book like this, and I think there never will be either.

Mudd.—Let that be; anyhow you are pleased. That is enough for me.

Mano.—Indeed I am. It is a good poem.

Mudd.—And now, my good girl, bring us your present.

Mano.—(Pretending surprise,) How cunning; I have been deceived. Well, speak the benediction, and I shall give you the present.

Mudd.—I cannot speak the benediction. We should have a feast.

Mano.—Why should we have a feast? Is this thy nuptial day?

"Yes," said Muddana, "yours and mine."

fro[illegible]nd when he had spoken the benediction, the s[illegible]rama got up to go.

Mudd.—(Taking hold of her.) How brave you are. Are there women that can cozen Muddana? You cannot go away till you have given me the present.

Mano.—What present shall I give? What do you ask for?

Mudd.—Am I a beggar and come to your door? I do not ask for anything; I shall take what you give.

Mano.—I told you I was a dependant. What can I give, and how can I give?

Mudd.—I have nothing with what and who. Give something that will please me, that will be worthy of the story and that will meet with the approval of the world.

Mano.—Then here is the present——————

Obviously this was a kiss. One hopes that Muddana did not tell Manorama that her parents had given him that also. And the reader of the above conversations will have no doubt that the kiss was a more valuable present to him than all the wealth of the prince's palace.

You are going on a common road, the land about you quite com[illegible]bushes, brambles, here and there[illegible]ceipt of a copy[illegible]places. To one side is a [illegible]rt of the Bombay Soc[illegible]able, and on the oth[illegible]owing the work done during t[illegible]garden, and som[illegible]g with June 1914 and ending w[illegible] as the land he[illegible]915. The institution might well [illegible]t some wistf[illegible] educational and sanitary work. T[illegible]ing but its h[illegible]rs of this philanthropic organization[illegible]our up- tu[illegible]be congratulated on their successful an[illegible] single th[illegible]ed activities on behalf of the poorer cla[illegible]ion of lo[illegible]nd it g[illegible]nder r[illegible]ph. duced into our schools as early as possi[illegible]How view of the experience of Great Britai[illegible]And other countries of the value of scouting[illegible]shrub, powerful means of moral and physical instr[illegible]soul is

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT.

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[illegible]—yes.

Criticism places Muddana at different periods, some holding that he may be some centuries old, others that he is very recent. Whatever the facts, and they are by no means finally established, the mind likes to conjure up that presumably far off time when Muddana, poet at prince's court, arrived home as the soft evening twilight began to envelop the world, and washing his feet and hands with water that his wife brought him, entered the little home of their new-wed life, and sitting in the presence of his household gods, told sweet Manorama stories of the love and travails of the great and noble Rama and Sita.

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Native States & the British Government in India

BY MR. P. S. RAMAKRISHNA IYER, M.A., L.T.

THANKS to the present great war, the ruling princes of this country have come into great prominence. Formerly, if they were not altogether unknown or uncared for in the West, certainly very curious and erroneous notions prevailed about them. By reason, however, of the present war and the magnificent services that, in several ways, they have rendered and are rendering still, many of our ruling princes have become quite familiar to Englishmen and the names of a few of them, at any rate, have become almost household words in England. Further, their work and worth have come to be properly appreciated, and it has been seriously mooted if their status and position should not substantially be improved after the war. It is proposed in the present paper to sketch briefly the relations [illegible] States and the British G[illegible] pre or ain [illegible] hithr[illegible] times as well as to mak[illegible] their labo[illegible] ar ta[illegible] rk [illegible] regards the future[illegible]ted, it [illegible]ly [illegible]yaaic [illegible]ec[illegible] have effecy ch[illegible]ror f[illegible] fun[illegible] al proceedi whe[illegible]al [illegible]ec[illegible] by [illegible]

One [illegible] that those [illegible] or both [illegible] nac[illegible] of India is the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] mber of Nat[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] were var[illegible] Fies, occupy[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] repugn[illegible] can [illegible]ger or sm[illegible] [illegible] ing inc[illegible] this [illegible] were exc[illegible]no less libe[illegible] by prin[illegible] [illegible] been granted in England[illegible] [illegible] a credit ca[illegible]one anna income[illegible]h Gov[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] income exceeding [illegible]d fun[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] rate of 4 annas per rupee [illegible]e state[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] excess. [illegible]f [illegible]r an a[illegible]e [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] doub[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

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in Western and Central India a great many states were carved out by adventurous Mahratta Chiefs—Scindia, Holkar, the Gaekwar, etc.

In the case of a few states such as Kashmir, they have actually been created by the British Government in comparatively modern times.

II.

Having said so much about the origin of Native States in India, I will now proceed to consider the successive phases of policy that the British Government have followed towards them from early times.

It is well known that, after the famous battle of Plassey fought in 1757, the supremacy of the English was established in Bengal, and that, a few years later, they acquired Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. About the same time the influence of the English was established in Southern India, too, after the overthrow of French power. It is then about the middle of the eighteenth century that the first real beginnings are to be traced of English power and dominion in this country and that, the East India Company, from being a merely commercial body, slowly developed into a political and ruling power. There were a great many native princes in the land at that time. The policy followed by the Company in relation to the princes for about a century after the battle of Plassey was one of non-intervention or limited liabilty. In other words, the policy may be described as one of ring-fence. The East India Company had its own territories and it was the aim and policy of English Governors-General and Governors during the period to keep themselves strictly within the ring-fence of the Company's territories and not in the least interfere in the affairs beyond. This was the first phase of British policy towards native rulers. Beyond the ring-fence of its territories the Company avoided intercourse with native chiefs, refused alliances with them and regarded with absolute unconcern the course of events that went on. It should not, however, be understood that during this period absolutely no treaties were concluded or alliances made or responsibilities incurred by the Company. What should be noted is that the alliances that were formed or the wars that were waged during the period were generally such as were forced on the Company from motives of self-preservation.

What were the considerations that dictated on the part of the Company a policy of non-intervention such as this? In the first place, it should be noted that the Company was, all through the eighteenth century, but feeling its way in the troubled waters of Indian politics. Its resources were limited; it was but one among many powers, and it felt that it could not act more wisely than by minding its own business and fighting shy of responsibilities as much as possible. Secondly, it must be observed that the development of the Company into a territorial power in India was regarded with no little anxiety and alarm by British statesmen, and the grave abuses that were reported to have crept into the Company's administration in India served no little to enhance that anxiety and alarm. It became then the policy of the British Parliament to suppress the political ambitions of the Company as much as possible and accordingly we find that, in 1793, an Act was passed by Parliament to the effect that

> to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are repugnant to the wish, the honour and the policy of the nation.

Thirdly, it was e[illegible] Company that, with a policy of [illegible]cept of a copy [illegible] its part, the smaller pow[illegible] of the Bombay Soc[illegible]abid by the larger ou[illegible]ng the work done during t[illegible]gaind that a few p[illegible] with June 1914 and ending w[illegible] asradual-ly ari[illegible]ducational and sanitary work. T[illegible]ing

Th[illegible] of this philanthropic organization[illegible] pointed and congratulated on their successful an[illegible]ur[illegible]stead of a f[illegible] activities on behalf of the poorer cla[illegible]sio[illegible]pected b[illegible]nd only

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT.

Among the Resolutions of the Educa[illegible]nd, and nference was a strong recommendation t[illegible]able. 'Boy Scouts' movement should be [illegible]pl[illegible]coits ced into our schools as early as possib[illegible]ecked ew of the experience of Great Britai[illegible]n heads ther countries of the value of scouting [illegible]sh[illegible]traffic; owerful means of moral and physical instr[illegible]so[illegible]only too

The *Leader* of Allahabad points out that the Co[illegible]ne Jats an opinion might have made se[illegible]another re[illegible]increase the addition. It might [illegible] In a word, the condition of gene[illegible]dents should [illegible] many [illegible] one country became such towards the close of the eighteenth century, that no civilised nation could for a moment regard it with complacency.

In the second place, it must be remembered that, thanks to the policy of non-intervention, the power of the English themselves was, towards the end of the century, threatened with imminent peril. A great many of the Indian princes became openly hostile to the Company and began to carry on intrigues with the French. The intrigues of Tippoo Sultan of Mysore with Napoleon Bonaparte are well known to us. In 1798, Napoleon made an expedition to Egypt, his

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idea being to make Egypt the starting point for an advance against India. From Egypt he wrote letters to Tippoo and raised high his hopes. However, in 1799, Napoleon's grandiose plans of Indian conquest were completely shattered by Nelson at the famous battle of Aboukir Bay. Many of the Mahratta Chiefs, too, were at this time engaged in close relations with the French. French Generals were employed by Scindia, Holkar and other Chiefs to drill and train their armies and French men were enlisted. Seeing that, during the period 1793-1815, England was engaged in a formidable struggle with France, the intrigues of Indian Chiefs with the French could not but cause real anxiety and alarm to the English, who thereby found their interests seriously imperilled in this country. The policy of ring-fence stood condemned and a change of policy was needed.

With the [illegible] of Wellesley as Govern[illegible] their labo[illegible] on a new phase of [illegible]ted, it [illegible] Native States. [illegible] have effecte[illegible] for f[illegible]s that had rise[illegible] proceedi[illegible] by [illegible] being a great [illegible] that those de[illegible] both nac[illegible] this country [illegible] were vari[illegible] no relations [illegible] repugn[illegible] can [illegible] no peac[illegible] were exe[illegible] no less libe[illegible] securit[illegible] been granted in England [illegible] credit ca[illegible] one anna income [illegible] income exceeding [illegible] rate of 4 annas per rupee [illegible] excess. [illegible] doub[illegible] [illegible] d to 7½ per [illegible] has Frederi[illegible] ds traffic, on Khalil [illegible] are in fu[illegible] British t[illegible] ops, and [illegible] Imperial Council [illegible] the Turkish [illegible] ch Bagd[illegible] ties employed towards one another all the complimentary language befitting independent powers, and British interference in the internal affairs of a state was excluded. The native prince bound himself to have no negotiations with foreign powers or states in alliance with the British without the consent of the Company, but he was left with full powers of dealing with certain other states in India. The Company was to supply a subsidiary force to the prince, which was only to be employed on important occasions and the cost of the force was to be met by the prince himself. It will thus be found that, as regards internal government, native princes were left completely free and, further that, as regards foreign affairs, they were only to be somewhat controlled but by no means to be represented by the Company. As a result, the Native States of India, instead of being completely effaced internationally, still continued to exist as international entities to a certain extent. The subsidiary policy of Wellesley, although it was not completely imperial, marks, at any rate, the beginning of British Imperial policy in India.

The policy of Wellesley was, however, renounced by his immediate successors, and a policy of non-intervention resumed. Disastrous results followed once more. Chaos and anarchy became rampant; the Pindaris became more troublesome than ever; the Mahrattas began to prey on their weaker neighbours and spread confusion everywhere. A strong man and a strong policy appeared indispensable.

IV

It was at this juncture that, there came out to India a Governor-General of singular parts and powers, by whom the policy of non-intervention was once for all relinquished and the forward policy of Wellesley was further developed and extended. In connection with the inauguration by the Company of an Imperial policy in this country, the administration of Lord Hastings constitutes indeed a landmark. As Westlake observes :—

> His administration may be singled out as the turning point in the course of shifting the affairs in India from an international to an imperial basis.

While Wellesley was content with merely making the British the preponderant power in India, Hastings made it the paramount power. The British Government now declared that they were not merely the strongest power in this country, but the rightful superior. Native Chiefs were now completely excluded from having any relations at all with other powers and, in future, they were to be represented by the British Government in all foreign affairs. Thus they were completely deprived of their international existence by Lord Hastings.

The policy introduced by Hastings is generally known as the policy of subordinate isolation and military co-operation, and it denotes the third phase of British policy in relation to Native States. In the first place, these States were subordinated to the British Government; secondly, they were isolated from one another, which only meant the negation of an international society; and thirdly, they bound themselves to co-operate

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in maintaining the *Pax-Britannica* in this country. Any the least interference in their internal government was, however, disclaimed by the British Government, and so far as internal government was concerned, the policy of non-intervention was clearly declared. In the time of Lord Hastings political settlements were effected in several distracted areas of native territory, such as Rajaputana and Central India, scores of new states were brought into subordinate alliance with the British Government and its suzerainty was firmly established in the land.

Thanks to the policy inaugurated by Hastings, the rulers of Native States were for many years completely left to themselves in the management of their affairs. Shielded from their enemies by the strong arm of the British and left without any effective control, a great many of the native princes abused their powers, gave themselves up to a life of luxury and debauchery and grossly misgoverned their subjects. Their administration became, in short, a bye-word for oppression and extortion, and their courts became notorious for profligacy and extravagance. This was the case in Oudh, in Satara, in Nagpur and in many other states. In the interests of suffering millions, it now became necessary for the British Government to intervene.

V

It was at this crisis that there appeared in India a Governor-General of brilliant gifts and colossal powers, to wit, Lord Dalhousie, who, for about eight years, guided the destinies of this country with no little capacity and vigour. As regards strength of character, capacity for industry, and devotion to duty, he is certainly deserving of high admiration, although his policy and measures may be somewhat open to objection.

With the accession of Dalhousie, we enter on a new and startling phase of British policy in connection with Native States. It appeared to this Governor-General that the proper remedy for the evil of misgovernment in the territories of native rulers was the annexation of those territories. He appears to have believed that native governments were rotten, and that peace, happiness and prosperity were possible for a people only under British rule. Hence a regular policy of annexation was inaugurated by him, and by the rigid application of the "Doctrine of Lapse" and otherwise, a great many Indian states were added to British Dominion.

With all my admiration for Lord Dalhousie in other ways, I feel constrained to observe in this connection that his policy of annexation was a somewhat mistaken one. In the first place, he appears to have started with a wrong notion, that is, that good government necessarily meant British Government. In the second place, he did not much care to know how his policy and measures would be received by Indian princes and Indian peoples. As a matter of fact, we do find that a great deal of discontent, if not panic, was caused by his policy, which, in no small measure, appears to have been responsible for the outbreak of the Great Indian Mutiny. To say the least, his policy was unwise and inexpedient. Thirdly, he did not sufficiently realise that annexation was only one of the remedies, and not the only remedy, for misgovernment in any state, seeing that annexation could very well have been avoided by a temporary deposition of the Raja and the temporary administrati[illegible] state by the British Government, [illegible]apt of a copy [illegible]ase of Mysore. In case of f[illegible] of the Bombay Soc[illegible]abu[illegible] states, heirs could vet[illegible]ing the work done during t[illegible]gan[illegible] means of adopti[illegible]with June 1914 and ending w[illegible] au[illegible] allowed. Lastly. The institution might well [illegible]t s[illegible]not been for educational and sanitary work. T[illegible]ing[illegible]ld have be[illegible]s of this philanthropic organization[illegible]ou[illegible]le in this c[illegible]congratulated on their successful an[illegible]nce that, i[illegible] activities on behalf of the poorer cla[illegible]sio[illegible]ed even [illegible]nd British

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VI

The British Government at last realised that the policy of subordinate isolation, at once so sterile and jejune, that had so long been followed

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would no longer suffice and that the native chiefs should be closely connected with the British Government and be made to unite and co-operate with the latter for the promotion of public good. Hence the policy of subordinate union. What were the features of this policy? In the first place, as regards their foreign relations, native rulers were to continue in the same condition as before, i.e., were to be controlled or represented by the British Government. In the second place, as regards internal government, instead of being left completely free as before, they were made strictly responsible for the good government of their states and placed under the constant and vigilant supervision of the British Government, as exercised by the Resident. Native princes now bound themselves

to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the English Government shall occasionally judge it necessary for them to offer with a view to the economy of their finances, the [illegible] of revenue, the administration [illegible] of commerce, the encourag[illegible] and industry, or any oth[illegible] their labi[illegible] ncement of the prince[illegible] the mutual welfare o[illegible] have effec[illegible] for [illegible]

In th[illegible] by [illegible] in a spirit of [illegible] that those de[illegible] both [illegible] Governm[illegible] The follo[illegible] repugn[illegible] ment o[illegible] were exe[illegible] no less liber[illegible]

It mu[illegible] been granted in England [illegible] the sup[illegible] a credit of one anna income [illegible] spirit [illegible] income exceeding [illegible] duced [illegible] rate of 4 annas per rupee [illegible] bility a[illegible] excess. [illegible] the Uni[illegible] [illegible] the Quee[illegible] [illegible] Empire a[illegible] [illegible] internatio[illegible] [illegible] progress of [illegible] [illegible] given to matters of common [illegible] The barriers of isolation have [illegible] the rights and duties of the protected [illegible] gained strength and expansion from [illegible] into which they have entered.

[illegible] to 7½ per [illegible] has [illegible] Frederi[illegible] [illegible] ds traffic, on [illegible] Khalili [illegible] are in full [illegible] British troops, and [illegible] Imperial Council [illegible] the Turkish [illegible] [illegible] ach Bagdad [illegible] have

VII

Under this policy of subordinate union, the Native States of this country have been steadily progressing during the last half century. Civilised methods of administration have been introduced; trade and industries have been stimulated; arts, sciences and letters are being judiciously fostered; and in a great many other ways, the prosperity and happiness of their subjects are being zealously advanced by native rulers. Almost all the ruling princes of this country have become active centres of progress, and a few of the states will even be found to be decidedly ahead of British administration in certain respects. Experiments are being tried and reforms introduced in Native States, which however are found impracticable or undesirable in British India. A system of free and compulsory education, for which British India is not yet ripe, has been successfully introduced in a few states, such as Baroda and Mysore. An important judicial reform, which is still found impracticable in British India, has been introduced in certain Native States, and that is the separation of the judicial from the executive functions. In not a few states, industrial progress is being stimulated in many ways, and the activities of the Mysore Economic Conference are well known to us. Further, popular assemblies, the like of which do not obtain in British India, are the common features of many Native States. It seems to me that a bright future lies before these assemblies so long as they are judiciously handled and properly encouraged. From all this, it must be clear, that the condition of the Native States today is not what it was half a century ago; but that, in the matter of enlightenment and progress, they occupy a deservedly high position. All this is only as it should be, seeing that Native States have certain special advantages over territories under British rule. In the first place, Native States are smaller and more compact in area; secondly, the machinery of administration in them is simpler, the ruler being still the important factor; thirdly, there is not the same clash in Native States, that there often is in British India, between Anglo-Indian and Indian interests.

Not only have Native States made remarkable progress in many ways but they have also established their loyalty to the paramount power beyond doubt or suspicion. From time to time they have given clear and undoubted proofs of their loyalty and devotion. The magnificent rally they have made to the Imperial cause in the present war and the magnificent services they have rendered and are rendering still, have exceeded all expectations.

Having regard to these circumstances, it is now recognised in all quarters that the time has come for some modification of British policy towards native rulers and for a substantial improvement in their position and status. It can not be a secret to any of us that, with the growth of education and culture on their part and that with the growing progress of their states, these rulers themselves are coming to feel a spirit of discontent with their position and an ardent

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earning for a position more consistent with a sense of honour and responsibility. Of late, the angle of vision of the British Government towards native rulers has also been slowly changing, and it is being recognised by the paramount power that a policy of trust and confidence, rather than of surveillance and control, should be followed towards them in the future. That certainly was the policy of the late Viceroys, Minto and Hardinge. The following memorable words were uttered by the latter on an important occasion :—

> Our policy towards Native States at least during the recent years has been one of sympathy and trust; of sympathy with their aims and sentiments and noble traditions, and of trust in their fervent loyalty to the person of His Majesty the King-Emperor and to the power whose protection they enjoy. . . . . Irksome restrictions and the exercise of sovereign powers are apt to chafe and irritate a proud and sensitive spirit, with the result disastrous not only to the ruler and his people, but also to the Empire at large. We have, therefore, made it our aim to cultivate close and friendly relations with the ruling princes, to show by every means that we trust them and look on them as helpers and colleagues.

It may further be mentioned in this connection that quite recently the position of our ruling sovereigns after the war was seriously discussed by such an important and responsible paper as the *London Times* and not a few suggestions were made by it in that connection. Having regard to all these signs of the times, it must appear that a bright future certainly looms before the Native States of this country. The present war is going to be followed by a re-settlement not only in Europe but also as regards the British Empire. An imperial council or parliament will probably be formed to keep closely together the scattered members of the British Empire. In British India, a long stride will probably be taken towards self-government. Our native sovereigns, who have made such splendid sacrifices in the war, who have placed all their resources and a few of them, even their lives, at the disposal of Great Britain, cannot certainly be left alone. It will certainly be not too much to hope that, in the course of the re-settlement, their position and status will considerably be improved, that a council of princes, as suggested by the *Times*, will be formed in India itself :

> to establish an organic connection between the Government of India and the ruling princes as a body, to enable them to have a voice in the settlement of questions in which they and their subjects are interested ;

that they will be given some control as regards their foreign relati[illegible] the policy of isolation will be [illegible] of a copy [illegible] and that, in their mutu[illegible] of the Bombay Soc[illegible] allowed to establish[illegible]ing the work done during t[illegible]e another, and [illegible]with June 1914 and ending w[illegible] from all irks[illegible]. The institution might well [illegible] to work out[illegible]ucational and sanitary work. T[illegible] Possessed o[illegible] of this philanthropic organization[illegible] these and [illegible] congratulated on their successful an[illegible] and self-d[illegible] activities on behalf of the poorer cla[illegible] that the [illegible]dily con-[illegible]nd that,

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT.

Among the Resolutions of the Educa[illegible] nference was a strong recommendation t[illegible]odels of [illegible] 'Boy Scouts' movement should be [illegible]ial and [illegible]ced into our schools as early as possi[illegible] ew of the experience of Great Britai[illegible] ther countries of the value of scoutin[illegible] owerful means of moral and physical inst[illegible]

INDIAN COOLIES IN [illegible]TES

BY MR. KARUMU[illegible]

[illegible] The *Leader* of Allahabad pa[illegible]. [illegible] opinion might have [illegible]dition. It m[illegible]

I beg leave to submit the following report on the condition of Indian emigrants in Ceylon, to ascertain which I visited many estates in several planting districts.

HOUSING AND SANITARY CONDITIONS.

There are many blocks of buildings. In each a long central wall divides two parallel suites of apartments. Each of these, measuring 12 feet fr[illegible] length 10 feet broad and approximately 9 feet high, is provided with one door only (and no window) leading to a verandah 4 feet wide. The walls and floors are of mud, and the roof of corrugated iron sheets and [illegible]metimes of tiles. This is the universal type. Each lodging is meant to house four working coolies. The accommodation on many estates is usually less, and five or six coolies, with their children, occupy each chamber. The drainage is very unsatisfactory. Latrines are seldom provided. The new sanitary department is now getting this defect remedied.

The dwellings are often in the midst of clumps of trees. Ventilation is not specially provided, unless the bad joinings of the doors and the cracks in the walls are considered as sufficient for admitting fresh air in, and letting bad out.

HEALTH AND MEDICAL AID.

The health of the coolies is not gratifying. On all estates and in all lines visited, I met sickly

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coolies. Malarial fever and anchylostomiasis are very common. Dr. Lunn, Inspecting Medical Officer, Ratnapura, writes of one set of estate cooly lines that he visited :—

"Not a single person in these lines was free from anchylostomiasis, and some had malaria in addition. Diarrhœa, dysentery and skin diseases are not rare. The medical care of the coolies is entrusted to dispensers, in whom the coolies have no faith whatever. I myself met a few dispensers, and I therefore readily believe what the coolies have to say of them. Quinine is said to be their favourite or only drug. The lines of the coolies are required to be visited by that "Doctor" every other day, but in practice this is done only once a week, and it makes no difference whether he does this every day or only once a week."

"SICK RICE."

I believe, it is given rarely and in exceptional cases, though the law requires it in every case. The superintendent must give not only rice, but milk, [illegible] or necessary things according to their labour and tamil work. My impartial [illegible] have effectively [illegible] and identical proceedings [illegible] support [illegible] that those deaths [illegible] least degree [illegible] unless the [illegible] A woman [illegible] bushel of rice [illegible] which [illegible] neither [illegible]

Those [illegible] to send [illegible] offence [illegible] have met [illegible]

The death [illegible] is remarkable [illegible] on Niwitigala died. Last [illegible] 60 infants born on an estate [illegible] district, 45 died.

[illegible] common [illegible] [illegible] by [illegible] the [illegible] die [illegible] were various [illegible] repugnant [illegible] this [illegible] were exempt [illegible] been granted in England [illegible] credit of one anna income [illegible] income exceeding [illegible] rate of 4 annas per rupee [illegible] excess. [illegible] doubled [illegible] [illegible] to 7½ per [illegible] has [illegible] Frederick [illegible] de, on [illegible] Khalifa [illegible] are in full [illegible] British troops, and [illegible] Imperial Council [illegible] the Turkish [illegible] Bagdad [illegible]

FOOD.

Rice is always supplied by the estates. Prices vary from Rs. $4\frac{16}{25}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ a bushel. This is not necessarily due to the difference of the rice in quality, but to the fact that the greater the distance of the estate from Colombo, the dearer and the worse the rice is.

A very few estates supply "Coconada Mill" rice which is very good ; a few supply "Rangoon Kallunda" which is also good, but the great majority supply "Sulai" and "Pakkudi" rice, which are extremely bad and even deleterious. The coolies are forced to take these.

The quantity of rice given per week is, men $\frac{1}{4}$ bushel each, women $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ bushel each, on alternate weeks, and young working boys and girls, $\frac{1}{8}$ of a bushel each. It must be remembered that rice is provided in part payment of wages earned ; unless a cooly works the required number of days in a week, the allowance is reduced and often stopped. In such cases and when coolies fall ill, they are allowed no food. It must be repeated here that coolies do seldom get "sick rice," which the estate is bound to give under Ordinance 11 of 1865, Section 27.

Coolies often have not enough cash to buy curry-stuffs.

Drinking-water is obtained from streams, but often from wells. A few estates have water taps.

The Ceylon Government has kindly provided almost every estate with an arrack tavern near.

No interval is allowed to take mid-day meals. Many coolies take only two meals, one early in the morning before 6 A.M., and another soon after sunset, while some contrive to find an interval to take a mid-day meal.

On all estates, each dwelling has a piece of ground in front of it equal to it in size to grow vegetables upon.

TASKS, HOURS OF WORK AND WAGES.

Cultivation, manuring, weeding, forking and transport are common to all plantation, tea, rubber, cocoa and also to cocoa-nut estates. . . . . Plucking tea leaf, picking and breaking cocoa pods and weeding are always done by women and, to some extent, by young boys and girls. Tapping rubber is also done by women to a certain degree. The rest are done by men. In fact, the tasks are not hard in themselves. But the many supervisors—sub-Kanganies, head Kanganies and conductors—make them hard. Bribing these immediate superiors prevails, many coolies complain. The superintendents are responsible for this, as they are said to be too prone and anxious to hear complaints against the coolies for their "bad work."

The hours of work in some districts are from 6 A. M. to 4 P. M., and in other districts from 6-30 to 4-30 P.M., *10 continuous hours' work a day.* On a tea estate visited by me, the closing horn was heard only at 5-10 P. M. instead at 4-30 P. M. As was said before, no interval is allowed for mid-day meal. This point I discussed with the superintendents who, while admitting the fact, reasoned thus.

a. On big estates, coolies working at a great distance from their dwellings would take a long time to go and return for their mid-day meal, and

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the estates could not afford to allow such a lengthy interval.

b. Small estates follow the same custom.

c. When the superintendents, after a light refreshment in the morning, can afford to wait till twelve or one o'clock for their lunch, the coolies, after taking a full meal in the morning, can easily afford to wait a few hours more.

Coolies employed in tapping rubber return home by about 1 P. M. Coolies employed in all other works cannot be back home before 5 or 5-30 P. M. Even if they are released punctually at the exact hours, it takes more than an hour to register their names, etc. Factory work is from 6 A. M. to 6 P. M.

The wages of the coolies, though paid monthly, are calculated at so much per day, and no cooly can claim wages for any day on which he has not worked. The great part of the work is done on daily wages, while tapping rubber and, on some tea estates, plucking leaf are contract work.

By far the great majority of the male cooly from 80 to 90 per cent. employed on all plantations, are paid 33 cents. (5¼ annas) per day. Pruners get 40 cents. (6⅜ annas) per day, but the work goes on only at certain seasons in the year. A considerably low minority of coolies, about 5 per cent., employed in factories, in superintendents' bungalows and in the work of sweeping lines, is paid at 40 cents (6⅜ annas) per cooly per day.

On all plantations the women employed are paid 25 cents (4 annas) each per day. For this pay, they must turn out a certain amount of work, and for more or less than this they are rewarded or fined respectively. Very seldom is their work in excess.

Boys and girls who can show a certain amount of work, each get from 16 to 20 cents. (about 1¾ to 3 annas) a day.

The increased wages for Sunday work, on which day the work is optional, the men getting 40 cents (6⅜ annas) and the women 30 cents (about 4¾ annas) each are paid in ready cash on Monday morning.

Coming to work done on contract on all rubber estates for tapping rubber, and on some tea estates for plucking leaves, wages are calculated on the weight. The rates vary according to the products of the estates. They vary from half a cent to 1½ cents (1/200 of a rupee to 1/70 of a rupee) on each ounce of rubber, and 1 cent to 1½ cent (1/100 of a rupee to 1/70 of a rupee) on each pound of tea leaves.

An industrious cooly can make about 50 cents (8 annas) a day by tapping rubber. By plucking tea leaves by contract, he can get 25 cents.

Some men working 26 days in a month without being in bed make 10½ rupees, while many make only 7½ rupees. Women in the same way can make 6½ rupees, and boys and girls betwen 4 and 5 rupees.

Men and a few women, engaged in the work of tapping rubber, can earn from 12 to 15 rupees and from 8 to 10 rupees respectively.

The above figures cannot be said to be the average income of the coolies if their consequent illness and the time, when women cannot work, are taken into consideration. Most coolies do not get more than three rupees in cash a month. Even those employed in the paying work of tapping rubber get only between 5 and 6 rupees a month in cash. On a tea estate, the accountant showed me the check roll in which I found the wages earned by [illegible] deducting the price of rice [illegible] of the Bombay Soc[illegible] Rs. 5-2-0 a bushel, [illegible]ing the work done during [illegible] which is 20 cent with June 1914 and ending w[illegible] in a few cases 5. The institution might well [illegible]e 2 and 2½ educational and sanitary work. T[illegible]

[illegible]s of this philanthropic organization [illegible]e scarcely [illegible] congratulated on their successful ar[illegible] [illegible] activities on behalf of the poorer cla[illegible]e districts [illegible]h higher [illegible] former coolies. [illegible]lies live [illegible] ages.

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT.

Among the Resolutions of the Educa[illegible] nference was a strong recommendation [illegible] e 'Boy Scouts' movement should be [illegible] ced into our schools as early as possi[illegible] ew of the experience of Great Britai[illegible] ther countries of the value of scoutin[illegible] owerful means of moral and [illegible]ysical in[illegible]

The *Leader* of Allahabad [illegible] opinion might have [illegible] dition. It mi[illegible] these two items of expenditure are, of course, paid by the estate from the wages earned. I give the following table of the other necessaries:—

Salt	.. 1 measure	..	8 cents.
Dholl	.. 1 „	..	18 „
Coriander	.. ½ „	..	9 „
Chilli	.. ½ pound	..	12 „
Tamarind fruit	.. 1½ „	..	18 „
Onions	..	..	12 „
Cocoanuts	.. 2 „	..	12 „
Green species of pulse	„	..	9 „
Salted fish	.. ½ „	..	12 „
Masi	.. ½ „	..	18 „
Meat	..	..	62 „

Rs. 8½ a [illegible] 6 would [illegible] rice in [illegible] and 20 cents for the dhoby [illegible]

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Mustard, saffron, etc.		..	15 cents.
Vegetables ..		..	25 ,,
Cocoanut oil	¼ measure	..	18 ,,
Gingili oil ..	¼ ,,	..	18 ,,
Lamp oil ..		..	24 ,,
Match box ..	1	..	3 ,,
Betel ..		..	12 ,,
Areeanut ..	¼ pound	..	6 ,,
Tobacco ..		..	15 ,,
Barber ..	one shave	..	6 ,,

(100 cents make one rupee.)

Add the items of rice and dhoby.

The prices of things may slightly differ in each district.

Many coolies do not earn this amount of Rs. $8\frac{1}{50}$. A cooly wants about Rs. 125 a year. Here is the detailed account :—

Rice 13 bushels at the average rate of Rs. 5 a bus[illegible] Rs. 65

Dhoby [illegible] 2·40

Dhot[illegible] their labo[illegible] 6

Up[illegible]ected, it [illegible] have effecth[illegible] al proceedi[illegible] that those de[illegible] Curry stu[illegible]

For wo[illegible] small min[illegible] rupees a [illegible] the wife [illegible] up the l[illegible]

There [illegible] one estate [illegible] about the [illegible] each cooly v[illegible] more. Seldom does a cooly [illegible] The average debt of a cooly [illegible] These debts are said to [illegible] in different ways. First, the amount advanced by the Kangani before recruiting and the travelling expenses; secondly, value of things brought from the Kangany from time to time; thirdly, cash lent by Kangany during illness and on other occasions. These debts are first entered in the hand-books of the coolies by the "Kanakkapillai" and then registered in the check roll. The cooly is defrauded in various ways. More is marked in the book than is really due. A graduate of the Madras Presidency, a reliable gentleman, tells me that when he and a few of his friends visited an estate during their pleasure trip in the planting districts, they actually heard and laughed at a Kangani saying 8 and 5 made 15, to which the coolies assented with an "Em." One knowing the ignorance of the coolies would not be surprised at this. The coolies generally buy cloths from the Kanganies, who give them on credit. The Kanganies' prices are certainly very exorbitant. Still, the coolies prefer buying a thing at double the price on credit to paying half of the price in ready cash. Apart from the debts to the estates, the coolies have private debts of from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 each. Coolies have a tendency to change estates and do change. Before doing so they have to pay their debts. They are always in gangs of 10 to 20. The head of a gang, called sub-Kangani, obtains a "Tundu," which gives leave to quit the estate after paying the debt marked in the "Tundu." He takes that "Tundu" to another estate and obtains that amount or more, if possible, to pay off the sundry debts and also to keep cash in hand. Out of this cash the sub-Kangani is given a good share as bonus for the negotiation. The coolies sometimes have no idea of the transaction. Thus, the coolies' debts are increased year by year. . . . . .

For the debts the head Kangani is responsible to the estate, and sub-Kangani to the head Kangani, and, of course, the coolies to the sub-Kangani.

When the wife, husband or other members die, the debt of the deceased is put to the account of the living. The law does not certainly bind the wife to the husband's debt, yet this illegality freely prevails on Ceylon estates and is practised by the Kangani, the superintendents countenancing it.

The advances are seldom fully realised. The sub-Kanganies chiefly and Kanganies and, to a small degree, even the estates are said to be the losers. On federated estates a certain amount of the debts of the deceased is written off on estates account.

After a year's service, the travelling expenses of the coolies are cancelled.

It is this cursed advancing system that ruins the coolies. It prevents the estate from increasing the pay, the superintendents say. It turns Ceylon into an Andaman to coolies, for rarely, very rarely, indeed, do the coolies return to India for good. They must return home after paying off debts they are enticed to contract. How can coolies, earning 25 and 23 cents. (4 and $5\frac{1}{4}$ annas) repay debts of hundreds of rupees?

A man going there is like one who is transported to the Andamans for life. This happy method of punishing rowdies has been resorted to

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in Kallal, Ramnad district, by Chettiars who, wishing to get rid of them, have presented large bribes to enable recruiting officers to offer them large advances and entrap them in Ceylon for life.

FREEDOM OF COOLIES.

This is in some cases seriously interfered with, while in others it is not.

The coolies cannot easily go to courts. If the coolies are found going out of the estate for such purposes without the leave of the superintendent, they are prosecuted as bolters. Naturally, coolies do not ask leave of the superintendents to go to court against them.

Facilities for meeting friends, celebrating festivals, and performing marriages are quite satisfactory. However, outsiders, other than coolies, are not allowed to meet and talk to coolies inside the estate.

PUNISHMENT.

One is often fined half a day's or a day's wage for bad work. Caning and thrashing also prevail for bad or neglected work or for disobedience. Bolters, when caught, without warrants, are not sent to court for justice, but are punished by the superintendents. When coolies insist on getting "Tundas" and the estate cannot afford to spare them, they are punished, caned and kicked.

TREATMENT OF COOLIES.

That coolies are ill-treated is clear from the foregoing. It is supported by the fact that bolting is common. But for the wife, the little ones and watchmen, many would bolt.

The relation between employers and labourers is bad. This fact is strengthened by the great number of prosecutions before courts.

Coolies are dismissed from the estates when they become unfit for work, and are left to themselves to shift for the rest of their days.

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION.

The coolies have many disadvantages. They do not have means to pay for legal advice, to purchase medical certificates to prove they have been assaulted, and have no assistance and do not know to defend themselves. The only witnesses they can call are their fellow-workers, who are unwilling to speak against their masters. Few magistrates attach any weight at all to the statement of the coolies. The Labour Law is too severe, absurd and inhuman. It allows rigorous imprisonment for failing to work, nay, for harbouring them out of compassion.

RECRUITING AND RECRUITERS.

The kind of work and the wages are not correctly represented to the coolies when they are recruited, and many great things are promised. That educated men, teachers and clerks, not to speak of carpenters and engine drivers, have been captivated by the recruiters is a clear proof that they are recruited only under extremely false pretences.

On tea and cocoa estates, the recruiters get Rs. 5 on each cooly recruited, and on rubber estates Rs. 10.

A superintendent of an estate, when giving his evidence before a Commission appointed by the Ceylon Government to enquire into the conditions of Indian coolies, confessed that he gave Rs. 15 on each cooly recruited, and subsequently put that amount to the account of the coolies.

In addition to the recruiting fees, the recruiters—Kanganies—are given "pence money." On every cooly (male [illegible] female) working, the recruiters—Kan[illegible] of a copper [illegible] cents (about one anna) a day [illegible] the Bombay Soc[illegible]ad

For [illegible] the work done during [illegible] wha day, the Kangan June 1914 and ending w[illegible]d in rubber estat[illegible] The institution might well [illegible]e 2the wages are [illegible]tional and sanitary work. T[illegible] so much for this philanthropic organization[illegible]re so to more o[illegible]gratulated on their successful ar[illegible] tivities on behalf of the poorer cla[illegible]e dind "pence [illegible]h [illegible]tly paid.

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT.

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EDUCATION.

Only a very few estates have provided schools, while the great majority have not.

REPATRIATION.

Seldom can coolies be repatriated for good as said before. When coolies want to go home, he or she has to leave wife or husband and children as security. Without sufficient security, they cannot at all dream of their homes.

Such is a plain statement of the grievances Indian coolies experience in Ceylon, which call for kindly notice and early redress.

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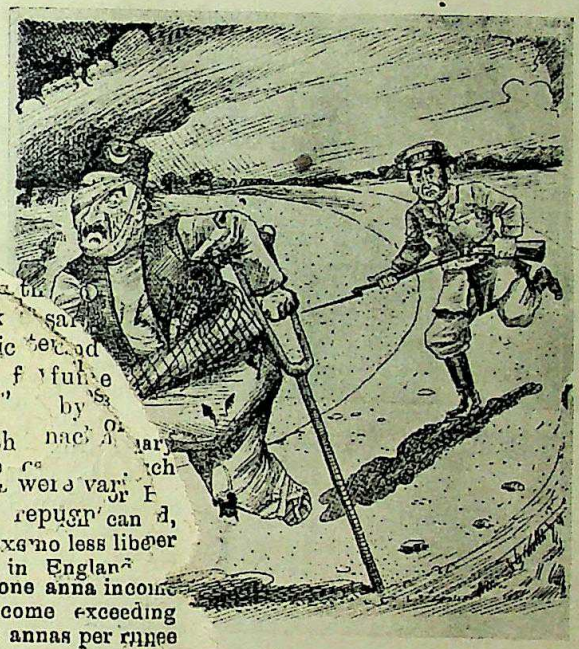

T UP-BADLY

[Kut-el- has been re-captured by General Sir Frederi de, on February 24th. The Turks under Khalil E are in full retreat and were pursued by the British t ops, and H. E the Commander-in-Chief in the Imperial Council repeated General Maude's statement, that the Turkish forces, which were badly shattered, would reach Bagdad as a disorderly mob, and added that in their pursuit our troops had captured about 6,000 prisoners, and taken possession of a considerable quantity of ammunition and arms. Bagdad has been captured and occupied by the British.]

—*Hindi Punch.*

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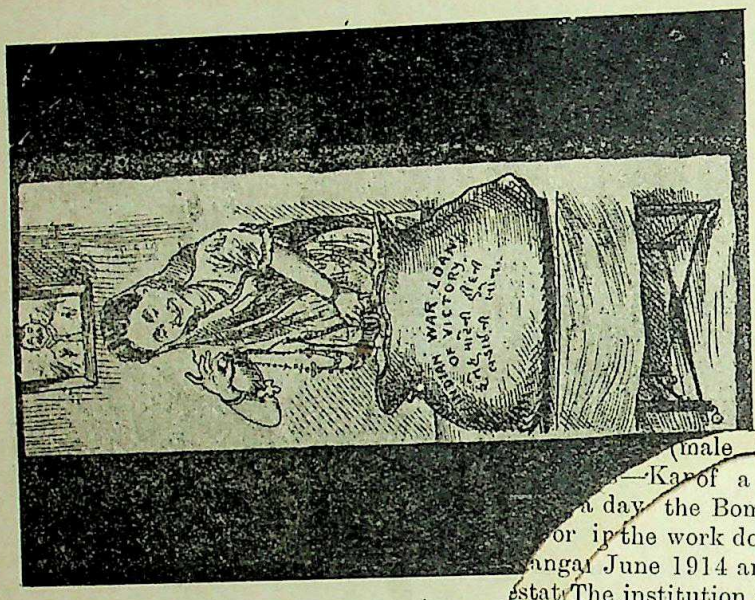

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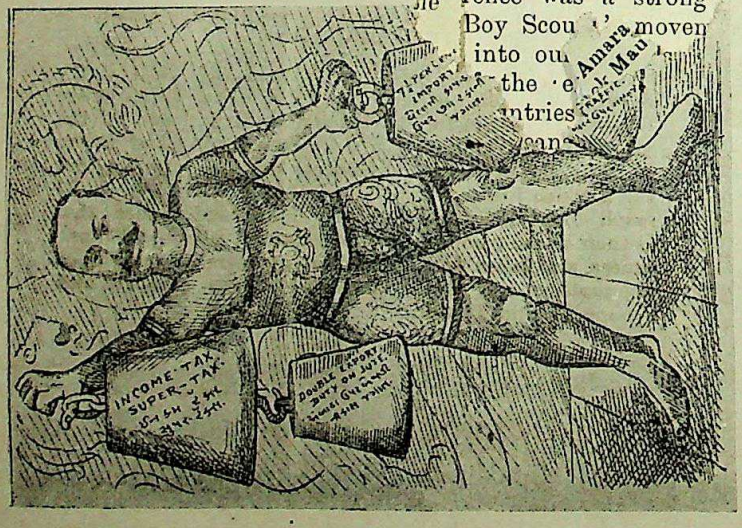

A FEAT OF STRENGTH BY THE GREAT ACROBAT MEYER

[Without imposing a new cess on land or a higher tax on salt, Sir William Meyer has made provisions for new taxation in the Indian Budget for 1917-18.]

—*Hindi Punch.*

YALTY AND PATRIOTISM

her jewellery to serve the Empire in her

—*Hindi Punch.*

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THE INDIAN BUDGET FOR 1917-18.

The Hon. Sir William Meyer's Budget for 1917-18 was looked forward to with quite unusual anxiety and interest in view of the strong rumours afloat that India would be called upon to contribute heavily towards the tremendous expenditure incurred for the War and bear an increased burden of taxation. Calculated on the present basis of taxation, our surplus would have been about £2¾ million. But the Government of India, in consultation with the Home Government, decided to make a contribution of the sum of £100 million towards the expenses of the war. This requires the Indian Government to undertake, with effect from 1917-18, an annual charge of about £6 million, and in order to meet this new liability, the Government have resolved to raise more than £3 million by additional taxation. It is [illegible] satisfaction that the salt tax is not to be increased, and that there to be any special [illegible] their labour at [illegible] to levy a large exc[illegible]ected, it [illegible] basic [illegible] commercial pr[illegible] have effect [illegible] for [illegible] War has had to [illegible] proceedings [illegible] by

The Gove[illegible] that those de[illegible] for both [illegible] ary income tax ch[illegible] [illegible] be c[illegible] ch as has been [illegible] but [illegible] were var[illegible] F

Ordinary rates [illegible] and repay[illegible] can d, but people having inc[illegible] this [illegible] were exem[illegible] no less liber annum will pay a super[illegible] been granted in England.

The rates will be in addition to the one anna income tax, so that a person possessing an income exceeding Rs. 2½ lakhs will pay in all a rate of 4 annas per rupee or 5 shillings in the £ on that excess.

The export tax on jute will be doubled.

The import duty on cotton goods is raised to 7½ per cent., the excise duty remaining at 3½.

There will be a surcharge on railway goods traffic at the rate of one pie a maund of coal, coke and firewood, and 2 pies a maund on other articles.

The new taxation then will yield :—

Super-tax on Big Incomes	£1,350,000
Additional Export Tax on Jute... ...	500,000
Additional Import Tax on Cotton Goods	1,000,000
Surcharge on Railway Goods Traffic ...	500,000
Total	£3,350,000

The estimated surplus according to the proposed budget would therefore be £130,000, which, as pointed out by Sir William Meyer, "is little enough having regard to the circumstances of the time." The Indian Finance Minister has had to make the best of a bad situation and the thanks of the people of India are due to Sir William Meyer for presenting a budget without inflicting any serious hardship on the poorer classes.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR.

I. The Hon. Sir William Meyer.

We have been subjected to much criticism in certain quarters for not contributing more than we have done, and we have been reminded in this connection of a resolution moved and carried in this Council, on the 8th September 1914, by Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, to which Your Excellency referred in your speech on the 7th February, in which the Council expressed the opinion that 'the people of India, in addition to the military assistance now being afforded by India to the Empire, would wish to share in the heavy financial burden now imposed by the war on the United Kingdom, and request the Government of India to take this view into consideration and thus to demonstrate the unity of India with the Empire.' Also of a further resolution, moved and carried on the 24th February 1915, by Mr. M. S. Das, which affirmed the 'unswerving resolution of Indians to support the honour, dignity and prestige of the Empire regardless of the sacrifices it may entail on them.' We have been told that it is a very inadequate compliance with the spirit of these Resolutions to be merely bearing the normal peace cost of the expeditionary forces which we have despatched over-seas; and we have been accused, with reference to remarks made in paragraph 14 of my speech introducing the last financial Statement and paragraph 5 of that introducing the final Budget, of having tried to squeeze His Majesty's Government in respect even of these normal charges.

Well, I must remind these critics that Section 22 of the Government of India Act forbids the application of the revenues of India to defraying the expenses of any military operations carried on beyond our external frontiers otherwise than for preventing or repelling actual invasion or under some other sudden or urgent necessity, and that the specific consent of both Houses of Parliament is requisite to set these provisions aside. As the law stands, the whole cost of the expeditionary forces supplied from India was, therefore, primarily debitable to His Majesty's Government, as had been the case, for example, in regard to the troops we lent for operations in South Africa during the Boer War, and in China about the same time. We felt, however, that in the circumstances of the present war, we could not properly claim such full payment, and accordingly, after the passing of Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis' resolution, which I may say was brought forward with the full cognisance and approval of Lord Hardinge's Government, we proposed that we should bear the normal charges. Resolutions to this effect were passed in both Houses of Parliament, first in September 1914, and, again, in November of that year, and the latter resolution governs India's present contribution in money to the war. Its terms are as follows:—

'That, His Majesty having directed military forces charged upon the revenues of India to be despatched out of India for service in the war in which this country is engaged, this House consents that the ordinary pay and other ordinary charges of any troops so despatched or that may be so despatched during the continuance of the war as well as the ordinary charges of any vessels belonging to the Government of India that may be employed in these expeditions, which would have been charged upon the resources of India if such troops or vessels had remained in that country or seas adjacent,

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shall continue to be so chargeable provided that, if it shall be necessary to replace the troops or vessels so withdrawn by other vessels or forces, then the expenses of raising, maintaining, and providing such vessels and forces shall be repaid out of any moneys which may be provided by Parliament for the purposes of the said expeditions.'

So long as this resolution is in force, His Majesty's Government and we are equally bound by it, and we can neither increase nor decrease the amount of financial assistance which we render in accordance with its terms. In effect, what the resolution lays down is that, although we sent a large number of our best troops out of the country at a time when mere considerations of local safety might well have dictated their remaining here, we pay for them just as if they were still employed in India and at our beck and call.

Further, as regards what constitute 'normal charges' in respect of the many items of expenditure involved, we are bound to satisfy our auditor-general as to the correctness of the classification or to submit his objections for the decision of the Secretary of State. There have consequently been discussions with His Majesty's Government in regard to the proper interpretation of the term "normal charges" in respect of various items, some of the more important of which were mentioned in the portions of my speeches above referred to. But in every case the discussion has been of the most friendly nature, and whenever there was any reasonable doubt, we have been very willing that the decision should be given against ourselves. I may add that the War Office have cordially acknowledged the fairness and clearness with which the accounts have been compiled on this side, and the credit for this is primarily due to Mr. B. N. Mitra, C.I.E., the Controller of War Accounts.

The gross amount that we shall thus have contributed up to the end of the present year may be taken at £19 million; but against this must be set charges relating to British troops actually serving in India which are being borne by the Imperial Government in pursuance of the provision in the resolution of both Houses of Parliament, that the cost of substituted troops (territorial and garrison battalions) shall be borne by the Home Government. With that adjustment, our total net contribution towards the cost of the war in respect of the Expeditionary Forces is about £11½ million up to the end of the current year, to which we must add another £4 million estimated in respect of 1917-18.

It has also to be borne in mind that quite apart from these charges, we have had to add to our military expenditure very considerably in connection with the war, which has, in particular, rendered it necessary to take special measures for the protection of the North-West frontier. I need not go into details here, but will let the lump figures of military expenditure speak for themselves. The last budget framed under peace conditions, that for 1914-15, assumed a total net military expenditure of £20½ million, which was higher than the outlay for any preceding year subsequent to 1906-07. In 1915-16, the net military expenditure amounted to £22¼ million; in the current year, as I have already explained, it has run up to nearly £25·4 million, while we expect it to amount to close on £26 million in 1917-18. The bulk of the increased expenditure thus shown is directly attributable to circumstances connected with the war, and with the precautionary attitude which further possibilities have forced upon us.

It has also to be remembered that we have been put to very considerable additional expenditure, in conjunction with His Majesty's Government, by reason of the political situation in Persia set up by the war. The total additional cost thus thrown upon us may be taken at £1,200,000 from the commencement of the war up to March 1918.

We have further, as I have already indicated, had to strain our resources very seriously, and to impose prejudicial limitations on legitimate trade activities, in order to finance very heavy charges in this country on account of His Majesty's Government, while we have re-lent them a large part of our recoveries by taking up Treasury Bills through the Paper Currency and Gold Standard Reserves. In all, as I showed in paragraph 37, we have since the beginning of the war put £46½ million into British war securities, of which £35 million represents wholly new investment. And, in 1917-18, we expect that our anticipatory payments for the Home Government will be about as heavy as in the current year, while we must anticipate a recurrence of the attendant difficulties.

Finally, at the cost of cutting down our capital expenditure programme to the [illegible] we have abstained from indenting on the ho[illegible]t with the intention of leaving it fr[illegible] of a co[illegible] vernment's loan operations. [illegible] the Bombay [illegible] the discharge of debt, on the work done during [illegible]ted only to a sum of [illegible] June 1914 and ending [illegible]ar we are making. The institution might well [illegible]re on the contra[illegible] [illegible]debt. Nor do w[illegible]ional and sanitary work. [illegible]et in any way this philanthropic organizatio[illegible] ratulated on their successful [illegible]ers for not ha[illegible]vities on behalf of the poore[illegible] a special wa[illegible] of which would have go[illegible] THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT. I need only say that we carefully con[illegible] desirability of such action and came to the co[illegible] that it was at that time not expedient. That conclusion, as the Secretary of State ar[illegible]nced some time ago in the House of Commons, was fully accepted by His Majesty's Government, who realised that the best assistance we could then give was to abstain from borrowing in the home market and rely on India for our own essential requirements.

I now revert to the question whether we might have done more in respect of direct contribution to His Majesty's Government, with reference to Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis' resolution of September 1914. The answer is that the situation at that time did not permit it. Our finances had been most gravely dislocated by the war: We were faced not merely by a large decrease in revenue but by a very serious drain on our Post Office Savings Bank deposits, which had compelled us to borrow £7 million from the Gold Standard Reserve, while the Secretary of State had incurred £7 million of temporary debt in London. In framing the Budget for 1915-16, again, we were faced by what we thought would be a heavy deficit, and having regard to political and financial considerations, Lord Hardinge's Government felt strongly that it was necessary at that time to avoid additional taxation. In connection with a Budget for the current year, such taxation had become a necessity, but the position on the North-West frontier was still so uncertain that we could not safely undertake fresh direct liabilities in connection with the prosecution of the war outside India. We had still, moreover, heavy temporary debt liabilities, £4 million remaining due to the Gold Standard Reserve, while we did not then see our way to

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repaying more than £1½ million of the Secretary of State's India Bills.

We have always felt, however, that if and when our circumstances warranted this, we should take up the question of making a further direct contribution by India towards a struggle in which her own political and economic future is so closely involved, and throughout which her trade and security have been so materially assisted by the command of the sea established by His Majesty's Navy; and we have been in constant touch with His Majesty's Government in regard to this matter. We hold that the time has now come at which we can safely put our wish into effect, and thereby gratify still further the patriotic feelings unanimously expressed in this Council on the occasion of the resolutions moved by Sir G. Chitnavis and Mr. M. S. Das. We are able to do this without misgiving, since we have now, as I have already explained, cleared off the whole of our temporary liabilities, and have accumulated balances strong enough to enable us to carry out our reduced capital expenditure programme without further borrowing in India on our own account next year.

Accordingly, at the beginning of January, Your Excellency addressed a tele[illegible] Secretary of State, from which I quote [illegible] :—

'I feel, and [illegible] the cordial and unanimous [illegible] their labi[illegible] the time has come for Ir[illegible] ected, it [illegible] vaste[illegible] capacity at the [illegible] have effect[illegible] for f[illegible] future, to be utilised to [illegible] by sources and a just[illegible] proceedi[illegible] of her people rend[illegible] that those de[illegible] both [illegible] as His Majes[illegible] We are prepared [illegible] to were var[illegible] for His Majesty's Government, [illegible] can be raised, and to offer for this [illegible] were exemo less liberal than those which have been granted in England. If it should be found that Indian credit can also be usefully employed elsewhere, we should gladly assent to its being so employed, and in so far as the aggregate funds which India can thus directly borrow for the use of His Majesty's Government constitute a contribution not adequately proportioned to her resources, we propose that she should also undertake the service of a portion of the existing British war debt. In this spirit, and in the confidence that such an offer will evoke a generous response from the Princes and Peoples of India, we have addressed ourselves to the task of defining practical possibilities.'

The telegram went on to indicate that we were prepared to accept an ultimate total special contribution of £100 million to the war, and to put forward proposals for increasing our resources in order to meet the consequent recurring liabilities, which may be taken at £6 million a year allowing for the gradual extinction of this debt by a sinking fund. Deducting from this £100 million the amount raised by our borrowing in India for the benefit of His Majesty's Government, and by any special issues which that Government might think it desirable for us to undertake elsewhere, we would liquidate the balance by taking over a portion of the Home War debt.

His Majesty's Government have gratefully accepted this offer, and the £100 million we are thus contributing amounts, I may point out, to nearly double our total Imperial revenue as it stood before the war.—*Budget Speech, March* 1, 1917.

II. The Hon. Pundit M. M. Malaviya.

Men's memories are short and there has been a persistent and regrettable attempt on the part of some people and papers, both here and in England, to belittle the support which India has rendered to the cause of the Empire and of the Allies in this unprecedented war. While we feel grateful that our trade and security have been materially assisted by the command of the sea established by His Majesty's navy, it seems to be forgotten in some quarters that the timely help of the troops and officers, whom India had trained and maintained for years and at enormous expense, was of inestimable value in saving the cause of the Allies in the early days of the war, and that but for that help the prestige of the Empire might have been in serious jeopardy in the East. Though the actual numbers have not been published, I believe I am not wrong in saying that since the war began, India has placed over 25,000 trained soldiers in the service of His Majesty's Government. She has rendered invaluable aid by furnishing supplies of all sorts of foodstuffs, clothing, ordnance, equipment, and munitions by training and despatching horses, by lending to the Admiralty a great part of her Royal Indian Marine fleet, and by fitting out transports. As the Hon'ble the Finance Member said in his statement, the other day, our total net contribution towards the cost of the war in respect of the Expeditionary Forces is about £11½ million up to the end of the current year and £4 million more will be added to it by the end of the next financial year. Besides this, owing to the war, our military expenditure has risen from £20½ millions in 1914-15 to £25¼ millions and will amount to close on £26 millions in 1917-18. We have also had to incur expenditure to the extent of £1,200,000 in Persia, owing to the political situation set up there by the war. In addition to all this we have since the beginning of the war put £46½ millions into British war securities, of which £35 millions represent wholly new investments. When our unkind critics seek to belittle our contributions to the war by comparing them with those of the Self-Governing Dominions, they seem to forget that, unlike the Dominions, we have throughout our connection with the Empire borne our own share of the military burdens. All this has been done not only by maintaining a high level of taxation, but by raising it higher and higher, and is it too much to ask that those who desire that India should make a further direct contribution to the war might, in fairness to her, say so without belittling what she has already done.

Till last year Government set their face resolutely against a special war loan and, if I may say so, they had the best of reasons for doing so. In my humble judgment, the most substantial of those reasons have neither disappeared, nor have they lost their force. The only change that has taken place is that £11½ millions of our debt has been paid, but the Secretary of State and the Government of India have now come to the conclusion that it is expedient to float such a big loan. That decision must now be carried out, in view of the official circumstances of the case. I support the proposal that we should make a further direct contribution to the war. I am at one with the Government here.—*Speech in the Imperial Council, March 7, 1917.*

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PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.*

This is an attempt at constructing a full and connected picture of the ancient Indian polity obtaining between 500 B.C. and 500 A.D., with the help of the Vedic and Buddhist religious literature, the shastras, the epics and the dramas, and the accounts of foreign travellers. The book is written in a simple and clear style, and will be found very useful to the college students. The present edition is rather costly and seems to be intended mainly for libraries. A popular edition, bringing it within the reach of the average Indian student, would be much appreciated.

The book is divided into a number of chapters, which are necessarily of varying interest and importance. Its perusal will show how well developed and efficient was public administration in ancient India. Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, of Trivandram, in his Sir Subramania Aiyar Lecture, of 1914, referred to certain historical prejudices and superstitions of Western scholars in the following passage:—

> First, among these is the assumption that in India political conditions have ever been uniform and homogeneous. Next, comes the old belief on the unchanging character of the East—China and Japan alone recently excepted—to which even so subtle a thinker as Mr. Balfour has professed adherence. Then we have the allied opinion that, excepting perhaps for some forms of poetry, almost the only talent of India was for metaphysical speculation and that the characteristic of India in the realm of practical life has been an invulnerable quietism. This opinion has now risen to the rank of a tenet of historical orthodoxy.

Dr. Banerjea's book, like Professor Rangaswami's lecture, shows how unfounded every one of these notions is.

Ancient India had not one form of government; there were republics, oligarchies and monarchies. Tribal government was common even in the time of Alexander's invasion. But as the size of the State increased, monarchy displaced all the other forms of government as it did in ancient Greece and Rome. The monarchy also was a kind of limited monarchy.

> There were various checks on the authority of the monarch. The king had to abide by the law as laid down in the Shastras or embodied in the customs of the country. In the practical work of administration he was guided by his ministers, who occupied an important position in society and wielded the real power in the State. Then, there was the influence of the learned Brahmanas as a class, who were looked upon by the people as the natural guardians of society . . The Shastras he regarded as embodying a sort of political constitution as well as ethical law, and the ancient system may thus be called a constitutional monarchy—the checks being more moral than political.

In the Vedic and early Buddhist days, kings were elected and deposed, and even after the hereditary principle had been universally adopted, an incompetent or diseased heir was sometimes passed over in favour of a near relative, a brother, uncle or someone else. The theory of the divine origin of kings was a later growth. The king was the chief of the nation, not the owner of the land. He received the land and other taxes only in return for services.

> The conception of the king as the servant of the State was one of the basic principles of political thought in ancient India. Thus Bodhayana says: 'Let the king protect (his) subjects receiving as his pay a six part (of their income).'

Several other authorities including Chanakya, the author of the [illegible] given.

> The Aitare[illegible] the Bomb[illegible] he following oath for the[illegible] work done du[illegible] one (during my life), [illegible] June 1914 and endi[illegible] y life and my prog[illegible] you.' The Mahab[illegible] The institution might v[illegible] h in mind, word[illegible]ional and sanitary work[illegible] o the welfare[illegible] his philanthropic organiza[illegible] eme being. Wha[illegible]ulated on their successf[illegible] by the rules of ethic[illegible] behalf of the poo[illegible] abide by. I shall never be ind[illegible]

When the heir-apparent attained proper age, he was made the Yuvaraja or Crown Prince, and given special training in administration. He learnt the political sciences under learned professors and acquired practical knowledge by serving on the great council of the king, or as governor of a province or as a commander in the army.

There were assemblies and councils, which advised the king on all important matters and occasions. In the South Indian State of Kerala, according to the *Mani-Mekalai*:—

> During the first and second centuries of the Christian era there were five assemblies, namely, (1) the assembly of the people, which consisted of representatives of the people summoned from the various parts of the State and which acted as a check on the king; (2) the assembly of the priests who directed the religious ceremonies of the State; (3) the assembly of the physicians which acted as a sort of board of public health; (4) the assembly of the astrologers who fixed auspicious times for the public ceremonies; and (5) the assembly of the ministers, whose chief duties consisted in the collection and disbursement of revenue and the administration of justice.

The council of the ministers was, of course, the most important, being the cabinet where, however the responsibility was individual and not collective, each minister being answerable to the king.

* Public Administration in Ancient India. By Dr. Parmathanath Banerjee. 7s. 6d. net: Macmillan & Co.

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Our political reformers will be interested to know that in ancient India the police force was kept in an efficient condition by being required to make good the value of stolen articles in case where they failed to trace the thieves. The Agni Purana says :

The king should pay the owner the price of an article stolen by a thief and reimburse himself out of the salaries of police officers.

The system of the administration of justice was well developed. At the head of the judicial system was the King's Court, which was occasionally presided over by the King himself, but generally by a learned Brahmana assisted by three or four other judges. This court had original jurisdiction over the capital and received appeals from the lower courts, which were established in all important towns and headquarters of districts and sub-districts. These courts had their judges appointed by the central government and received appeals from [illegible] courts in the districts. [illegible] village courts, each compo[illegible] their labo[illegible] ars of the village. [illegible] re were professiona[illegible] have effecy[illegible] se fee, according [illegible] proceedi[illegible] by value of th[illegible] that those de[illegible] both

The sour[illegible] were various, and some of them [illegible] repugnant to modern ideas. Brahmanas were exempted from all taxation, and the military expenditure was very high. As Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar says :—

It is mainly on this account that benevolences, and the fruits of trickery, as well as the existence of State-workshops, institutions for foreign and municipal trade maintained by the State for its own profit, the monopolies in the manufacture and sale of intoxicants, in precious stones and metals, in horses and elephants (referred to by Magasthenes), in salt, in the produce of mines and the forests, the institution of State brothels and gambling dens, and the complicated tariff of import and export duties were all equally acceptable to writers like Kautilya, who likewise apparently reflecting the practice of their day do not hesitate even to recommend them.

Taxes and rents were sometimes remitted in order to encourage the people to repair tanks and canals. Many departments of service had been created, some of which like the forest, agricultural and accounts departments, we are prone to believe, as institutions peculiar to the British administration of India.

The annual accounts of every department were regularly submitted to the accounts department, and after they had been examined by the superintendent they were audited by competent auditors. They were then submitted to the ministers in charge of the different departments, and considered by them sitting together as a cabinet.

COOLIES.

BY

"GRYLLUS DOMESTICUS."

Heu miserande puer!

Virgil. Aeneidos lib. VI.

A piece of cloth tied round the head,
And a basket of iron, or cane,
For carrying earth—or a hat instead—
Or to shelter from sun, and rain—
See reader here, in a splash of the pen,
The foremest of India's laboring men.

That road on which you walk, ride, and bike,
That causeway of granite black,
With pointed stones in two long rows,
O'er which in the monsoon the river flows,
And which also serves as a dyke,

That railroad track,
And that bridge with girders—a hundred tons—
Those buildings five and six stories high,
That tunnel through which the railway runs,
Those great mill chimneys piercing the sky,

That church with steepled bell,
And the yellow wall of the cemetery,
And every grave as well,
And every tombstone you may see—

Look round about—
There's nothing in brick, or stone, or lime,
To the house in which you dwell—
If it had a tongue it would cry out :—

"At some place, or some time,
That poor man there with his mother wit,
That laboring man had a hand in it—
With only a cloth tied round his head,
And a basket of iron, or cane,
For carrying earth—or a hat instead—
Or to shelter from sun, and rain
And a little cloth bundle in which he takes
His breakfast of dry jawari cakes."

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS.

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

Considerations on some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity. By Prof. K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar. Sir Subrahmania Iyer Lecture, Madras University.

The book under review is a very valuable one and throws light on a very important but obscure branch of Indian culture. Every student of Indian literature and history knows how the science and art of government had been carried to a high state of perfection in ancient India, though they have now to be brought into line with the highest political ideas of the West and applied to the needs of modern life. The learned author first discusses the sources of information on the matter and classifies them under six heads: religious, political, historical, literary, philological and astronomical. In the second lecture he says: "Some implications of this attempt to define the State should also be borne in mind. The first is that *unity* is the inseparable feature of the State and has to be preserved at all costs. The second, naturally following the first, is that the normal form of government is *monarchy*. The third is that the administration is highly specialised. The fourth is that the State rests on a territorial basis. The fifth is that it imagines small States, and the last is that it is founded on a weak international law." A famous chapter in the Ramayana shows what a lofty conception of the State and the institution of kingship the great minds of India's past had and proclaimed; and all our books on Indian polity declare that Dharma rules alike both kings and subjects and show the existence of an excellent and highly organised judicial machinery. The learned author shows how the aim of the Indian State was to preserve the Society and the State in conformity with the established moral order of the universe. This book of lectures is rendered even more valuable by his scholarly notes.

Confessions of a Thug. By Colonel Meadows Taylor. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

Colonel Meadows Taylor's "Confessions of a Thug" is already a classic in historical literature, and the Oxford University Press have done well to include it in their well-known "World's Classics." Mr. C. W. Stewart, B.A., has supplied a judicious introduction and glossary. This handy and pocket edition will now be easily accessible to every lover of historical romance.

The Population Problem in India. By P. K. Wattal, M.A. Bennet Coleman & Co., Ld., Bombay. (Re. One. G. A Natesan & Co., Madras.)

Mr. Wattal's interesting study of the "Population Problem in India" is provocative of a multitude of thoughts. He deals with figures and statistics with perfect ease, and carries the reader through the controversy with great agility. Students of political economy are familiar with the laws of supply and demand, and Mr. Wattal's "Study of the Population Problem in India," with reference to the available means of subsistence opens up a vista of interesting social and economic controversies. It is impossible to give an adequate estimate of Mr. Wattal's extraordinary deductions, but it cannot be doubted that they afford food for ample reflection to the sociologist. Some of his conclusions and remedies may not be quite palatable to [illegible] school of economists, but no[illegible]ency and importance [illegible] the work done [illegible]ed by Mr. Wattal's June 1914 and [illegible]t question of the [illegible]he institution m[illegible]

Auto-Suggestion [illegible]anthropic org[illegible] Parkyn, M.D., C.M. [illegible]n their su[illegible]owler and Company, Lo[illegible]lf of the [illegible]

This thoughtful [illegible]ook supplies new methods of bodily and mental healing. Dr. Parkyn, the author, explains the principles of Auto-Suggestion or Self-Suggestion which, in his practice, has helped to cure general obstinate cases of illness. That the mind largely controls the bodily organs, internal and external, cannot be denied at this time of the day, and the best reply to critics of this system of cure is the number of concrete examples where the cures have been undoubted. We may refer to the Series of "Optimistic Suggestions," at pp. 88-89, to illustrate the authors's methods.

Modern Weapons of War by Land, Sea and Air. By Cyrill Hall. Messrs. Blackie and Sons, London.

In this book the author has avoided as far as possible the use of too technical language and has described and explained to his readers the various weapons and how they are manipulated. It is exceedingly difficult in a book of this sort to avoid its being a mere descriptive catalogue, but the author has more or less successfully done so, for instance, in explaining the highly complicated working of a big gun or a battleship, he simply takes his readers into action with him and gives them quite an exciting time.

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The Tilak Case, 1916. Edited by D. V. Gokhale, B.A., LL.B. The Printing Agency, Poona City.

This is a handy volume of 200 pages, containing a complete text of the proceedings against Mr. Tilak, commencing chronologically from the order of the District Magistrate to the date of the judgments in his favour, cancelling the execution of the bonds of security. The book opens with a handsome frontispiece containing pictures of Mr. Tilak, Mr. Kelkar and Mr. Karandikar, followed by those of the judges and lawyers, who took part in the great trial. A verbatim translation of Mr. Tilak's speeches is also given.

The Efficient Life. By Luther H. Gulick, M.D. Published at Garden City, New York, by Doubleday, Page and Company.

This is a vigorously written book on general principles of health, containing practical suggestions and methods to make one healthy and efficient. The author [illegible] their labil [illegible] rk [illegible]cise, sleep, eating, med[illegible]cted, it [illegible]lly [illegible]yanic [illegible]es, which enter into t[illegible] have effect [illegible]ch[illegible]ror f[illegible] functions, and his [illegible]al proceedi[illegible]wh[illegible]al de[illegible] by great practicality fi[illegible] that those de[illegible]r both hackneyed directions wh[illegible] [illegible]f rt, be carried out, and there is [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the whole book that enlists our attention and regard.

Glimpses of the Bhagavat-Gita and the Vedanta Philosophy. By M. W. Burway, Esq., B.A., Judge, Small Cause Court, Indore.

This is an edition of the text and translation of the Bhagavat-Gita, with an introduction of 128 pages, wherein the author discusses the true principles and doctrines set out in this sacred work. The author maintains that the Gita is an exposition of the Adwaita Philosophy, as taught in the Upanishads and by Shankaracharya. At the same time it is as full of practical wisdom as of speculative law. The author strongly criticises the views of Pandit Tatwabhushan on the teachings of the Gita and the historicity of Sri Krishna, and exhorts his readers not to be influenced by the shallow criticisms of foreign critics and their Indian followers. The author rightly deplores caste dissensions, and points out that they are inconsistent with the lofty principles of the Gita. The introduction will repay perusal by all interested in Hindu religion and philosophy. The text is in bold Devanagari type, and the translation is simple and readable, and mainly follows that of Mrs. Annie Besant.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

TALKS WITH GOLDEN CHAIN LINKS. By Ethel M. Whyte. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

SEA WARFARE. By Rudyard Kipling. Macmillan & Co., London.

THE HIGH PRICE OF SUGAR AND HOW TO REDUCE IT. By Harold Hamel Smith. Bale, Sons & Danielsson Ltd., London.

AUSTRO-MAGYAR JUDICIAL CRIMES WITH A PREFACE. By William Joynson-Hicks, M.P. H. Howes & Co, Ld., London.

NATURAL HEALTH *versus* ARTIFICIAL HEALTH. By Satis Chandra Lahiri, B.A. Metcalfe Press, Calcutta.

POINTS OF CONTROVERSY. Translation of Katha Vattu. By Sheve Zan Aung, B.A., and Mrs. Rhys Davids, M.A. Pali Text Society, London.

THE ESSENTIALS OF A UNIVERSITY IN A GREAT CENTRE OF POPULATION. Government Printing, Calcutta.

STRAY BIRDS. By Dr. Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan & Co., Ld., London.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF REMY OLLIER. By A. F. Fokeer, Port Blair, Mauritius.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA.

THE MAXIMS OF TIRUVALLUVAR. By V. V. S. Aiyar. 89, Dharmaraja Coil St., Pondicherry. Price Rs. 2-12-0.

EVIDENCE: A POCKET BOOK OF CASE LAW RELATING TO EVIDENCE IN BRITISH INDIA. By Arthur Eggar, B.A., Bar.-at-Law. Higginbothams Ld. Madras.

MAHARANA KUMBHA. By Har Bilas Sarda, F.R.S.L. Ajmere.

ZARATHUSHTRA AND THE BUDDHA. By Miss. D. J. Stephen. THE C.L.S I. Madras.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE LATE R. JAGAHNADHA SASTRY. By R. Satyanarayana. Chodavaram, Vizagapatam.

OBSERVATIONS ON INDIAN HOME RULE. By R. G. Pradhan, B.A., L.L.B. Satara.

REPORT ON THE OPERATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Government Press, Madras.

STUDIES IN THE TEACHING OF CHRIST (Tamil). By Rev. Sydney Cave, B.A., B.D. The C.L.S.I., Madras.

THE LIFE OF CHANDRALELA (Telugu). The C.L.S.I., Madras.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH.

February 22. The southern portion of the Sanna-i-yat position in Mesopotamia was captured in the first assault to-day.

February 23. Operations on the Tigris and successful crossing of the stream in the neighbourhood of Shumran Bend.

February 24. Capture of the Shumran Peninsula and retreat of the enemy in the direction of Bashallah.

February 25. The whole of the enemy position from Sanna-i-yat to Kut-el-Amara has been secured. Kut itself has fallen.

February 26. In the Congress to-day, President Wilson asked authority to establish armed neutrality.

February 27. Public meeting of the women of Bombay to protest against the continuance of the Indenture System was held at Madhav Bahg with Lady Pherozeshah Mehta in the chair.

February 28. At to-day's meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, H. E. the Commander-in-Chief presented the report of the Select Committee on the Defence of India Force Bill.

March 1. The Indian budget and India's contribution of £100 millions to the cost of war.
Successful raids on the Ancre.
German evacuation of Gommecourt.
German intreagues in Mexico exposed.

March 2. The Mexican revelation of German intreague and Japan's spirited repudiation.
Sinking of Dutch ships.

March 3. The Allied Ministers have presented a memorandum to the Chinese Government sympathising with its attitude towards Germany.

March 4. Second Lieutenant F. I. Thesiger, Field Artillery, heir of H. E. the Viceroy, has been wounded.

March 5. H. E. the Viceroy received a deputation of the Press Association of India at the Viceregal Lodge this morning.

March 6. Startling revelations of German attempts to kill President Wilson and dynamiting factories. The President's appeal for united action.

March 7. Meeting of the Viceregal Council passed many important resolutions—those on India's contribution and super-tax, etc.

March 8. Great recruiting meeting at Madras, with Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar in the chair.

March 9. A largely attended meeting of Indian Ladies was held at the Ram Mohan Library, under the presidency of Lady J. C. Bose, to protest against the continuance of indenture.

March 10. It is announced that Sir Harcourt Butler succeeds Sir James Meston as Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, while Sir Reginald Craddock will take up the Lieutenant-Governorship of Burma.

March 11. British occupation of Bagdad.
The *Times* testimony to Indian heroism.
Lancashire Deputation to Mr. Chamberlain *re* : Indian cotton tariffs.

March 12. Prohibition of labour emigration from India under the Defence Act.

March 13. Mr. Chamberlain moves in the House of Commons that the Indian war gift of £100 millions be accepted.

March 14. H. E. the Viceroy publishes a special message re[illegible] of a copy [illegible] Loan. Similar messages [illegible] the Bombay Soc[illegible] Sir William Meyer, [illegible] the work done during t[illegible] Sir G. S. Barnes, [illegible]ne 1914 and ending w[illegible]ear.

March 15. [illegible]nstitution might well [illegible]dication of the Czar [illegible]and sanitary work. T[illegible]e of Commons by Mr. [illegible]ropic organizations [illegible] and Duke Michael is appoi[illegible]. [illegible]heir successful a[illegible]

March 16. The Russian national ministry has been formed.
British occupation of Bapaume.

March 17. Post-War Reform Meeting at Madras, with Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai in the chair.

March 18. German retreat in the Western front. British troops are entering Peronne. The French have taken over 1,000 Bulgarian prisoners.

March 19. The French Cabinet has resigned. M. Ribet is forming a new cabinet.

March 20. The first meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet was held to-day in London at the Premier's house.

March 21. The American steamer *Healdton* was torpedoed to-day. Seven survivors arrived at the Hague.
Rioting in Berlin is reported.

March 22. Stubborn battle in Galicia.
Franco-British forces nearing St. Quentin.
Allied gains in the Balkans.

March 23. Great War Loan Meeting at the Senate House, Madras, H. E. the Governor presiding. About two lakhs of rupees were subscribed on the spot.

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INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR.

Mr. Yusuf Ali, writing in the February issue of *The Nineteenth Century and After*, explains all the various phases of India's contribution to Britain in this war and dispels from the English mind the belief that her effort in the war has not been commensurate with her resources, and that her claim to Imperial partnership is neither an idle dream nor a source of potential weakness to the Empire. The fighting resources of India have done and are doing untold service throughout the far flung British battle line. "With the Canadians the Indian ranks have fought at Ypres; with the Anzacs they were in Gallipoli. They fought against terrible odds in East Africa before General Smuts brought over his triumphant troops from South Africa. Their magnificent work in Mesopotamia, in com[illegible] British troops and in face [illegible] their labo[illegible] factors, has been recogni[illegible]. Indians ar[illegible] have effec[illegible] which their countrymen [illegible] proceedi[illegible]."

India's fi[illegible] that those de[illegible] both public and private, such [illegible] being thrown into the pool. Besides her [illegible] contributions, India has given or released millions in short-time loans and has helped most substantially by refraining from borrowing in every available market at the sacrifice of her own needs and interests. "In estimating India's contribution to the military financing of this war, we must not merely look at the figures of the extra expenditure she is now incurring, but also at her military budget for years past, compared to her local needs and to her own resources, in aid of Imperial defence." India's pre-War insurance for Imperial defence was £18 millions annually, at nearly the rate of 22 per cent. to the total budget revenue. There has been, since the War, a good deal of expansion in India's military budget, a rise of £4 millions per annum. The military charges incurred in connection with Indian troops, when they are out of Indian territory, something like £8 millions annually, are borne directly by the Indian-Exchequer. India's chief wealth consists at present in her raw produce, and she has placed this freely at the service of the Empire and its Allies, at considerable self-sacrifice. "Her food-stuffs have had their influence on the British markets. Her jute has made, and is making, sandbags for the Allied trenches. Her mineral resources, such as manganese and coal, have been of the utmost value. . . Such manufacturing facilities as India possesses have been concentrated in the making of munitions and stores of war, and Government and Railway workshops, as well as private works and technical schools, have put their quota in the common effort."

Mr. Yusuf Ali then criticises the existing military system of India, and suggests several feasible measures for a substantial expansion in India's powers of offence and defence in an Imperial scheme. The present War has shown a shortage of officers, military and the military-medical reserves; and the old-fashioned prejudices which restrict Indian enlistment to a few races deemed warlike, and have to look outside the country for a great portion of the supply of Sepoys, has resulted in a lamentable falling off in recruiting in peace-time. And it is necessary that new sources should be tapped. The so-called volunteer force is practically closed to Indians. It is only the other day, as will be seen from the Viceroy's speech printed elsewhere in this issue, that a Bill to form a United Indian Volunteer Corps was moved in the Imperial Legislative Council by H. E. the Commander-in-Chief. The Anglo-Indians, and the sprinkling of Indian Christians, are not in numbers, physique or education, the stuff which would feed a first-class army. Indian public opinion is ready for a substantial expansion in India's powers of offence and defence in an Imperial scheme, provided that certain elementary conditions are fulfilled. Trust in Indians, improvement in the conditions of enlistment and service for Indian officers and men, the removal of colour and religious bars for Indians, the opening of Commissions to them, the re-examination of recruiting fields in the light of the new evolution of Indian society; the throwing of the weight of Indian defence more and more on the citizens of British India and less and less on the trans-frontier tribes, the making of India self-contained as regards the manufacture of rifles, gunpowder and munitions of war, the development of the Indian Marine into an Indian Navy, on the lines of the Australian Navy; and the building up of a strong, well-trained defence reserve—these are the primary conditions which must be fulfilled, and their fulfilment depends upon those who hold the key of Imperial authority.

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FRENCH NATIONALISM.

Dr. H. A. L. Fisher, Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, and Minister for Education in the new Government, writing in the *Hibbert Journal* of January 1917, explains the soul and nature of the French nationalist movement. French nationalism is not decisive in the sense in which the term may be applied to the strivings of the pan-Germanic idea or to the restless aspirations of the southern Slavs. It has never obtained entire control of the French Government; it was never a triumphant and overwhelming power in the sphere of opinion. Its central core of doctrine was associated not by inner necessity, but through the tissue of historic circumstances, with suspect causes, Royalism on the one hand, Ultramontanism on the other. And twice within a decade, French nationalism had associated itself with an ill-judged enterprise and experienced a resounding defeat. On the other hand, it may be said that the errors of French nationalism were the result not of corruption but of impatience. It was full of inexperience, ardour and desperate irritation; but was a vital force because it represented an instinct, a tradition and a dream.

The founder of this nationalist movement, Deroulede, was a soldier-poet, who, having fought in the campaign of 1870 as quite a young man, dedicated the remainder of his long and stirring life to the idea of national revenge. He broke through the malady of cosmopolitanism, of self-questioning, of delicate cynicism, of exact intelligent but essentially despondent labour, which hitherto had the field. He despised the great Paris Exhibitions, deeply distrusted colonial enterprises, as likely to divert the nation from its proper work of recovering Alsace-Lorraine, and poured scorn upon the whole tribe of politicians. Up to his time the atmosphere of Paris was saturated with philosophic rationalism. But he deposed from their pedestal the great captains of rationalism; and nationalism received from its catholic and literary exponents all the illustration and support which deep feeling and penetrative imagination could bestow.

"The nationalist leaven in French thought tended upon the whole to sweeten the body-politic and to rid it of some of its more rancorous humours. It is true that it administered in a very deplorable degree to foment anti-Semite prejudice; but if this aspect of its influence be deducted, the general trend of its operation was to infuse a wider and more generous tone into politics, to inculcate a spirit of comradeship, and a higher sense of devotion to the large interests of the State, combined with a greater feeling for the historic glories of France, and for that invisible and imperious bond which binds the living to the dead in a spiritual and efficacious communion. This is the valuable side of nationalism viewed as an ethical agent. It was estimable not because it preached the hatred of Germany, but because it preached the love of France not by reason of its antagonisms but in virtue of its affinities, not because it worked for foreign war but because it endeavoured to compose a domestic peace. Its strength lay in the fact that it did succeed in restoring to the national consciousness a vivid sense of the precious things which had been overlooked, forgotten or trampled under foot" . . . . . "In general the nationalists rendered excellent service by their exaltation of all the natural forms of local and provincial piety, which had been so greatly overshadowed by the centralising polic[illegible] of a co[illegible]nary State. . ."

The weakn[illegible] the Bombay So[illegible] the side of constructive [illegible]e work done during [illegible]hip. It represented eme[illegible] 1914 and ending w[illegible] The one thing which m[illegible]ution might well [illegible]y was the ignominy of belon[illegible]nitary work. [illegible]d and acquiescing nation, [illegible]ic organization[illegible] to spread a passionate full-blood[illegible] successf[illegible]eling about the national problem. On the side of emotion and sentiment, the higher type of nationalist literature contributed in a marked degree to deepen the channels of patriotic feeling and to rekindle a spirit of hope in the destinies of France. Another prominent feature in the nationalist creed was a revolt against the domination of the 'intellectuals' and, in particular, against the cast-iron system of efficient but monotonous education which is part of France's heritage from Napoleon. Patriotism, as understood by the nationalist, is first and foremost the love of a material thing of an extended space upon the globe, and an understanding which vanquishes all reactions of cold discursive intellect.

SCIENTIFIC TERMS IN TAMIL.

The journal of the Tamil Scientific Terms Society is doing a good service in giving the Tamil public an accurate and standard translation for technical English terms. The January-February number contains a list of such words, which students writing in Tamil would do well to take note of. We congratulate the conductors on their painstaking but very useful enterprise in this important work of modernising a beautiful ancient language, so as to make it suit the requirements of up-to-date technical knowledge.

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AFTER-WAR ECONOMICS.

Professor A. C. Pigou, the well-known economist, writing to the *Economic Journal* (December 1916) deals with the interesting problems of how far the real rate of interest in England after the war is likely to be effected by Government's prohibition or non-prohibition of the export of British capital, and whether it is desirable that Government should prohibit or otherwise interfere with such exportation. He explains that the real rate of interest, like every other value, is determined by the interaction of the forces of supply and demand. On the supply side, we have to inquire into how far the war would have affected (1) the holding of claims to income from foreigners in the form of interest on capital lent to them in the past; and (2) the current productive power available within the country. On the demand side for capital after the war, there will [illegible] within (1) a considerable volume of their labour and plant which would involve an increased, it may be, basic demand for capital; (2) [illegible] have effected a change for capital to pay off a large proceeding [illegible] obligations to foreigners which that those debts—or another, are now being incurred [illegible] export of capital for new enterprises abroad is prohibited after the war, there would have to be set on the other side the elimination of the large normal demand for British investments in foreign and colonial undertakings.

On the supply side of new capital, with reference to the holding of claims on foreigners, the amount of capital that Britain has called in from abroad since the war began is estimated to be more or less equal to the amount of fresh loans made by Britain to foreign countries, especially to the Allies. And the dimunition in our income might be possibly, say, about £200 millions in respect of capital claims upon foreign countries, which would imply a contraction of income from abroad of perhaps £15 millions a year as against pre-war conditions; and this sum is practically negligible in view of the aggregate income-getting capacity of the nation. As regards the current productive power available within the country, we have to take note of land, industrial plant and organisation, the able-bodied and able-minded population, etc.

The equipment of industries after the war in respect of plant and machinery will be considerably below normal; though not very much smaller than what it was before the war. As regards systems of organisation there are grounds for believing that the situation may have been actually improved by the war. Artificial and conventional barriers restraining women from working in certain occupations, injurious restrictions as to the demarcation of occupations and restrictions of output will have been removed, while the important matter of shift system will be better utilised. And it seems remarkable, on the whole, to expect a distinct improvement in industrial orgainsation as a direct result of the experiences of the war. The various tendencies affecting labour power cannot, of course, be balanced with any confidence; but we may be sure that the net income-getting capacity of the community after the war is not likely to differ substantially from what it was before the war. Out of this income-getting capacity, we will have to deduct (1) the portion that would be absorbed in the up-keep of armaments; (2) the absorption of a larger part of the real income in ordinary consumption owing to the inevitable increase in the dependent part of the population. After the war, the supply of new capital available in response to any given rate of interest will be somewhat smaller than before.

On the demand side, we have seen how, if the export of British capital for new enterprises is not prohibited, the aggregate demand for it is almost certain to be much larger than it was before the war. And balancing the influences of supply and demand respectively, we may say that if the export is left free, the rate of interest will almost certainly be much higher than before the war. The prohibition of free export of capital would inflict a direct and obvious injury upon those persons who are in a position to make savings, and its immediate and direct effect would probably, though not certainly, be injurious to the working classes, as it would prohibit the sending abroad of machinery, etc., which the workpeople help to make, but do not themselves buy. Freedom to export capital will certainly exercise a twofold influence in enhancing the real income of the country at a later time. No economic case could be made for forbidding the export of capital in a sweeping general way, though Government should have power to prevent obviously anti-social investments, and should be influenced by political considerations also.

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IMPERIAL EDUCATION.

In the new number of *The Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation*, Mr. Edward Jenks discusses the various aspects of the problem of Imperial education, which will press for solution at the close of the great war; as that alone will be the most effective agent in maintaining and crystallising the quickened sense of unity, which the war has engendered among the various members of the Empire. The economic requirements of the decade following the war will necessitate an enormous going to and fro of specialists in all branches of industry; and these specialists, being men of intelligence and of force of character, will unconsciously link together the communities which they serve. The first necessity in the repair of the ravages of war will be the improvement of means of communication, which will facilitate intercourse and stimulate unity and mutual understanding in the Empire. Another link of unity is the English speech, which will be associated in the minds of the nations of the Empire with all that is just and generous and profitable and picturesque. The hitherto neglected fabric of Imperial history must be built up by writers and teachers with the gift of imagination; and on it must be placed, as a golden roof of world-wide splendour, the majestic and united achievements of the great war. Even now a school of Imperial historians should be trained, who will be prepared to show how the sacrifices and triumphs of the war are but the natural sequences of generations of honest industry and upright administration and of heroic endurance and self-sacrifice, which have made the British flag respected throughout the Empire.

The British Isles should remain 'home' to all the citizens of the Empire, and a vital link of Imperial unity. The ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Dublin and Edinburgh, Aberdeen and St. Andrews, should be made, by their charm and influence, to serve as a bond of unity, of unrivalled and enduring power to unite all the educated classes of the Empire. Much has been done already by the efforts of public-spirited men and women, by extension meetings and the Rhodes Trust, to break down that spirit of exclusiveness and privilege which naturally coincided with the very worst period of academic sloth and inefficiency. Barriers of age and sex, of caste and privilege, of religious and social exclusiveness, must be swept away. It is necessary that the direct benefits and priceless essentials of the older university life should be extended to a greatly increased circle of students from all parts of the Empire, with a consequential increase of unifying influence throughout the Empire. Many other and more familiar proposals of educational reform, like readjustment of teaching, to meet the needs and opportunities of adult students, the modernisation of curricula, a genuine co-operation among the different religious bodies, to settle ecclesiastical disputes which still disgrace education—these should be tackled with. Law may very well serve as a bond of unity; and a scheme of Imperial law study, which would build up a Common Law of Empire which, like the Common Law of England, should be the product of the best minds of the ages working in the school of experience.

ORIENTAL MONARCHIES.

In reviewing Prof. K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar's "Considerations on some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity" in the pages of the *Modern Review* for March, Prof. J[illegible] Sarkar points out incidentally the [illegible] of a comparison between the ancient and the [illegible] Bombay Sc[illegible] European or Asiatic. The work done during [illegible] of writers on Hindu polity 1914 and ending w[illegible] India there were republics, tha[illegible]tion might well [illegible] himself as merely exercising a [illegible]itary work. T[illegible]t of ministers was held to be no organization [illegible] the people enjoyed self-government. To the mind of the twentieth-century reader, these statements imply the direct influence of the people on the foreign policy of the State, the responsibility of the Executive to the governed, the reign of a law which emanates from a legislature representing the citizens, and the control of government by the will of the people. But every one of these latter connotations is untrue as applied to the ancient Hindu State. The professor assures us that in the ancient Indian State the people were very loosely knit, and the sovereign had no means of making his will felt effectively by the governed. It had local autonomy in parochial matters, but it did not mean the possession of representative government on popular control over the executive and national diplomacy. In ancient times, not the State, but society was omnipotent; and from the tyranny of society the only refuge was the freedom of the homeless man. The sovereign was impotent in the sense in which the modern State is omnipotent for good and evil alike. But the people were equally powerless and devoid of any apparatus for enforcing their will on the government. They could frustrate the royal mandate by passive disobedience, but their united will could not compel the king to adopt any desired line of policy.

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The ancient State was weak—both people and king, the king more than the people—because the population was not homogeneous, and there was no organic connection between the king and his subjects, or between the subjects themselves. Within small tribal republics or principalities, however, the dominant race were the rulers, and the State had homogenity though depressed indigenous races were excluded. There was no internal check on the sovereign and no means of preventing evil on his part except the dagger or the poison-cup. In this sense the term 'Oriental despotism' is as applicable to the ancient Hindu State as to the Empire of the Cæsars. In the ancient East and West alike, the people accepted the rule of the Imperator, who had repelled foreign foes and who had saved the people from *Matsya Nyaya*, or who had led them on to a career of conquest. The Vedic kingship was no doubt responsible to the popular assembly of freemen, like the [illegible] of the ancient Teutonic tribe. But their [illegible] were exceedingly small and [illegible], it [illegible] when these kingdoms grew into [illegible] have effectively [illegible] royal power was unlimited by [illegible] proceedings [illegible] machinery of popular and [illegible] that those days—because there was no constitution [illegible] of pious wishes and counsels embodied in *Niti Sastras*.

THE INDIAN VIEW OF CONDUCT.

Srijut Aurobindo Ghosh, in the course of a series of masterly articles on the "Bhagwat Geeta" in the *Arya*, makes some interesting observations with regard to the Indian view of the science of conduct. He says :—

"Indian ethics has always seen the practical necessity of graded ideals for developing the moral and spiritual life of man. The Kshatriya ideal, the ideal of the four orders, is here placed in its social aspect, not as afterwards in its spiritual meaning. "This," says Krishna in effect, "is my answer to you if you insist on joy and sorrow and the result of your actions as your motive of action. I have shown you in what direction the higher knowledge of self and the world points you ; I have now shown you in what direction your social duty and the ethical standard of your order point you, *swadharman api cha vekshya*. Whichever you consider, the result is the same. But if you are not satisfied with your social duty and the virtue of your order, if you think that leads you to sorrow and sin, then I bid you rise to a higher and not sink to a lower ideal. Put away all egoism from you, disregard joy and sorrow, disregard gain and loss and all wordly results ; look only at the cause you must serve and the work that you must achieve by divine command ; so thou shalt not incur sin."

It is the creed of the Aryan fighter; "Know God," it says, "know thyself, help man ; protect the Right, do without fear or weakness or faltering thy work of battle in the world. Thou art the eternal and imperishable Spirit ; thy soul is here on its upward path to immortality; life and death are nothing, sorrow and wounds are nothing, for these things have to be conquered and overcome. Look not at thy own pleasure and gain and profit, but above and around, above at the shining summits to which thou climbest, around at this world of battle and trial in which good and evil, progress and retrogression are locked in stern conflict. Men call to thee, their strong man, their hero, for help ; help them, fight. Destroy, when by destruction the world must advance, but hate not that which thou destroyest, neither grieve for all those who perish. Know everywhere the one Self, know all to be immortal souls and the body to be but dust. Do thy work with a calm, strong and equal spirit ; fight and fall nobly or conquer mightily. For this is the work that God and thy nature have given to thee to accomplish."

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE NELLORE DISTRICT UNDER HINDU RULE. By Rao Bahadur T. Raghaviah, B.A. ["Journal of the Madras Economic Association," February 1917.]

CHAITANNYA : THE SAINT OF NADIA. By Srijut K. B. Bose. ["The Mahamandal Magazine," February 1917.]

THE STATE-COUNCIL IN ANCIENT INDIA. By Narendranath Law, M.A., B.L. ["The Modern Review," March, 1917.]

THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA. By Mr. R. K. Dutt. ["The Vedic Magazine," February 1917.]

IDEAS ON POPULAR EDUCATION IN INDIA. By Mr. Bhawani Datta Joshi, B.A. ["The Hindustan Review," February, 1917.]

MATTAVILASA-PRAHASANA. By T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A. ["The Madras Christian College Magazine," February, 1917.]

THE UNITY OF THE HINDU FAITH. By T. R. Rangaswami Ayyangar, M.A. ["The Theosophist," March, 1917.]

TUBERCULOSIS IN MADRAS. By Major F. F. Elwes, I.M.S. ["The Local Self-Government Gazette," February, 1917.]

THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRIES IN MYSORE. By Mr. S. G. Sastri, B.A., M. SC., F.C.S. ["The Mysore Economic Journal," February, 1917.]

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THE CABINET REVOLUTION.

Mr. Sidney Low, writing in the last number of the *Fortnightly Review*, points out the main differences between the old Cabinet system and the new one definitely inaugurated by Mr. Lloyd George's ministry and shows that this transformation cuts a deep chasm through British constitutional conventions. The former Cabinet was both ministerial and administrative, it was collectively responsible to Parliament, and officered and recruited entirely from the Parliamentary circle, intimately related to the House of Commons, framed on rigid party lines and conferring with absolute secrecy. The present Cabinet is not the ministry, and it is a body which directs but does not administer. The ministry has exchanged collective for individual responsibility; while the Cabinet has a very loose connection with the House of Commons, and for some purposes it is virtually independent of it; it stands outside the local party divisions, and admits to its confidential deliberations representatives of all the great States of the Empire as well as those of the United Kingdom, and it still holds private but no longer, in the strictest sense, secret meetings.

This new system was superseding the old one before the present Prime Minister came into power. Several of his innovations have been introduced in a more or less incomplete form already; and the ground has been prepared for him by events and the action of his predecessor. Mr. Lloyd George's 'New Model' consists of a Cabinet which is not the ministry, though there are plenty of ministers and more sub-ministers than ever. The four regular members of the Cabinet are relieved of administrative duties; they are not ministers in the old sense; but are only super-ministers. They are a Directory controlling all departments, but not individually responsible for any. As a consequence of this change, the individual ministers can no longer shelter themselves behind the cherished doctrine of collective responsibility. Under this system, the connection between the Executive and the Legislature is much looser. And the present Cabinet is neither a Committee of the House of Commons, nor is it a Party Cabinet. The Premier draws his strength from outside the walls of Parliament and owes his elevation to a kind of informal and irregular, but unmistakably emphatic, plebiscite. The House of Commons did not make him Premier, and it is doubtful whether it could unmake him. The Cabinet ignores parties and has no party-complexion; and it has largely divested itself of the famous and unique character of secrecy. Parliamentary control has been very sensibly relaxed by the War which conferred *quasi*-autocratic authority upon the Executive and the formation of the Coalition.

The most searching and permanent change will be the separation of powers, and the concentration of what may be called Imperial functions in the hands of a group of ministers standing apart from those, who are in the main concerned with the local administration of the United Kingdom. Government will be divided into two compartments or councils, one the real Cabinet of Empire and the other occupied with insular and domestic concerns. And the former will include ministers from the Overseas Dominions. And thus there will be something like a federation of the Empire for executive purposes; the Imperial Cabinet dealing with naval, military and foreign policy and common affairs. [illegible]ation will be regularised and brought [illegible] a co[illegible]y with constitutional principles. [illegible] Bombay So[illegible] Parliament is elected by all [illegible]ork done during [illegible]mpire, and when it has delegate[illegible]14 and ending w[illegible] assembly its legislative and oth[illegible]n might well [illegible]he United Kingdom. [illegible]ary work. [illegible]organizatio[illegible]

RIVER-NAMES IN THE RIG-VEDA.

Sir Aurel Stein, the well known explorer of Central Asia, and the translator of Kalhana's *Chronicle of Kashmir*, gives in the present number of *The Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* an analysis of the river names in the famous "Nadistuti" or "The Song of Rivers" in Hymn X, 75, of the Rig-Veda. The numerous ancient river names of North-Western India therein mentioned furnish an indication more definite than can be found elsewhere, of the area once occupied by or familiar to the Indo-Aryan people. The river names given in the verse strictly prove that they follow each other in strict order from east to west, from the Ganges and the Jumna on the east to the Jhelum, etc., on the west. The exact geographical knowledge thus indicated, ranging over a great extent of territory, may at first sight cause surprise, since it seems impossible to suppose that the composer of the *Nadistuti* could have had before him a topographical record in the shape of either text or map. Yet Stein says that this difficulty is removed by the light thrown by his actual travel experiences in Central Asia, where he has again and again come in contact with men, who, wholly illiterate and unable to keep any but mental records, could

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yet without any apparent effort give a brief but reasonable account of the successive stages, with passes, streams and other natural features which they had passed on journeys extending over far more than a thousand miles. And it is safe to assume the same facility of obtaining exact information in ancient times; so that the only difficulty which the composer of the Vedic hymn is likely to have experienced, when recording the river names, was how to fit their sequence with his metre.

The rivers, Parusni, Asikni and Maruvradha intervene between the Sutudri-Satlej and the Vitasta-Jhelum. Professor Roth correctly identified the Asikni with the Chenab, whose classical name Akesines is undoubtedly derived from the Vedic form by some kind of popular etymology. The identification of the Parusni with the Ravi, though probable, cannot yet be considered as certain. The Maruvradha also is best identified with the glacier-[illegible] which joins the right bank of the [illegible] till known in Alpine territory a[illegible]cted, it [illegible]van river. And it does not re[illegible] have effec[illegible]ilological argument to prove th[illegible]l proceedi[illegible]harooward van, we have the direct [illegible] that those de[illegible]tive of a form closely linked with [illegible]aruvradha. The rivers Arjikiya and Susoma, which are enumerated in the hymn after the Vitasta-Jhelum, may be identified with the Sohan river and one of the chief tributaries which the Jhelum receives on its right bank. Thus, the analysis of all the river names proves that, leaving aside the still uncertain Arjikiya, they follow each other in strict order from east to west.

RAILWAY MANAGEMENT.

In the course of an article on Company *vs.* State Management of Railways in the February issue of the *Wealth of India*, the writer Mr. B. L. Vaipayee Bhimpuri, B.A , pleads for direct State control of Railways in India. He urges :—

"Although under State management we cannot have all the good results of private initiative, nor the advantages of competition, yet, since the Government are not likely to care so much for their own gains as the companies naturally do, and are not likely to be so shortsighted as the companies, in many cases, have been, and since the Government will probably better encourage the industrial development of India, and since by making a saving of some 19 lakhs annually, by taking over the management of the E. I. R. in 1919, they can reduce the burden of taxation, therefore we advocate strongly the management of the Indian Railways by the State."

ENGLISH NATIONAL EDUCATION.

Dr. Gilbert Murray, in the paper published in *The School World*, February 1917, solves many problems which confront us in the field of education. Some of the charges brought specifically against the English national system of education, he says, are, that too much time is spent on classics and literature, that the system and grade of teaching are not organised according to standards of intellectual capacity, but by distinctions of class, that modern languages are neglected, that the people do not use their time better or take their intellectual work more seriously, that teachers with more real culture behind them are required, and that in secondary schools some large differentiation of teaching is necessary, together with more supervision and help for boys and girls after they have left school.

The charge that the English spend too much time on classics and on literature, and that Germany concentrates on science, is not at all true. Secondary education is far more classical in Germany, where they have more Greek and Latin. English secondary schools give an overdose of classics and literature to upper-class boys, whether they are intellectually fit for it or not; and the middle and poorer ranks are shut out from the possibility of studying the classics at all on the mere ground of social inferiority. It must be made possible for all boys and girls of all classes to have the education for which they are intellectually suited. The alleged neglect of science is probably a case not of neglect but of bad organisation and low standards. The neglect of the study of modern languages is intimately and rather disgracefully true. And though this ignorance is partly due to the fact that English is a great and widely spread language; that English literature is so vast and vital, that literary curiosity might be satisfied without reading much of foreign books, still the neglect and its consequences are glaring and ought to be radically remedied.

Another desideratum is a greater number of real teachers with more real culture behind them, who have not merely the minimum of knowledge, but also an invaluable superfluity of knowledge. We need a further development of medical inspection and care for health, more supervision and help for boys and girls after they have left school, partly by continuation classes and partly by clubs. Both technical and vocational training and the humanistic side, *i.e.*, the culture of the mind and of the imagination must be improved,

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LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN MADRAS.

The February number of the *Local Self-Government Gazette*, in reviewing the progress of local and municipal administration in the Madras Presidency for the last five years, very appropriately congratulates the Hon. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar on the excellent work accomplished by him during his regime as member of the Executive Council. There are two lines in which it is desirable that Local Self-Government should proceed in this country. One is the association of large numbers of non-officials with reference to the advisory part of the work and the other is the association of equally large numbers in the actual administrative and executive work of Local Self-Government. In either case it is satisfactory to note that Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar's quinquennium shows marked advance on the old system.

"Nine new municipalities were constituted during the period under review; over fourteen councils had their franchise extended, the number of elective seates in them being raised by 63. At the commencement of the quinquennium there were sixty-one councils with a total strength of 896, of which 168 were officials and 728 non-officials, the elective seats numbering 449. At the end of it, the total strength rose to 1,019, officials, and non-officials numbered 186 and 833 respectively, and the elective seats rose to 502. There was a similar broadening of the constitution of district and taluk boards. On the latter the elective seats rose from 331 to 759."

The rules for the election of members to municipal councils and taluk boards have also been revised and the abolition of the separate qualifications prescribed for voters and candidates is a change in the right direction. A steady advance has also been made in the policy of entrusting the actual administration of local boards to non-official chairmen and presidents:—

"Eight councils were allowed to elect their own chairmen—among them important ones like Tanjore and Palghat. But it is in regard to rural boards that the greatest progress was made in this respect. We are as far as ever from non-official presidents of district boards, but the extended employment of non-official vice-presidents of district boards has been a marked feature of this period, the number of these rising from four in 1912 to eighteen in 1916. We may add that, quite recently, the Government have undertaken to try the experiment of elected vice-presidents in selected districts. More important than this, the system of non-official presidents of taluk boards received a large extension. During the period, over 28 taluk boards were allowed to have non-official presidents, three of them elected. More than a fourth of the taluk boards in the presidency were thus given non-official presidents during a period of five years—a rate of progress with which there is no reason to be dissatisfied."

Side by side with this, greater powers have also been conferred on local bodies, though the powers as yet granted cannot be said to remove all the irksome restrictions in matters of detail.

The Government's interest in the *Panchayat* system has considerably enhanced since the report of the Decentralisation Commission, but the policy eventually decided on has by no means given any satisfaction to the people. But the creation of more unions with larger electorates must have a decisive interest in the development of this system.

"Along with the broad[illegible] of the basis of the constitution of local b[illegible] co[illegible] has also been, during this period, a[illegible]mbay So[illegible] make them take an interest in [illegible] done during [illegible] like town-planning and sanitat[illegible] and ending w[illegible]t in recent years has been more fr[illegible] might well [illegible] initiated by Prof. Geddes and dev[illegible]y work. [illegible]anchester. Local bodies have been mad[illegible] ganizatio[illegible] an intelligent interest in planning the growth of towns, not in the haphazard lines of the past, but according to a systematic programme carefully conceived and worked out, and the conscience of the community made alive to the need for enforcing building regulations. This new spirit, which is bound to grow in years to come, has been sedulously fostered and, largely with the aid of Government grants, schemes of extensions on lines approved by experts are being carefully worked out and executed in large towns."

The awakening in sanitary reforms is due to the energy of this department. A scheme of popular health lectures is being tried, and in large towns the appointment of health officers and sanitary inspectors is generally deemed a step in the right direction. Turning to the legislative activity of the period, there is, of course, the Madras City Municipal Bill.

"The provisions of this Bill relating to taxation, have, we think, justly given rise to adverse criticisms, but it cannot be denied that in its essential features the Bill is a distinct improvement on the existing Act and is conceived on more liberal lines. Bills for the amendment of the District Municipalities and Local Boards Act and a Town Planning Bill have also been prepared."

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The Public Services Commission

At the Meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, on the 7th March, the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock said with reference to the recommendations of the Public Services Commission :—

In communicating the Report, the Secretary of State requested that the Commission's recommendations should be expeditiously dealt with, and that he should be placed in possession of the Government of India's conclusions, regarding them as early as possible. The procedure, which the Government of India, with his approval, have decided to follow, was explained in H. E. the Viceroy's speech on the 7th February, but a detailed description is contained in the Home Department letter of the 25th January to Local Governments and Administrations, a copy of which is placed on the table. The Government of India have no doubt that the Local Governments, will be careful to ascertain non-official opinion, including that of their labl c ai tative Indians on all important ected, it ilry it will be of assistance, and have effecych that the occasion and method of l proceedi when may safely be left to the Local e that those de discretion.

The following is the text of the letter placed on the table :—"Sir, in continuation of the correspondence ending with the Home Department telegram, dated the 21st January 1917, intimating that the report of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India will be published on the 25th January 1917, I am directed to address you on the subject of the procedure which the Government of India have decided, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to follow in dealing with the recommendations contained in the report. (2) Over a year has elapsed since the report was signed, and many of the subjects, with which it deals, are in varying degrees and for various reasons so urgent and important that it is desirable to make special efforts to deal expeditiously with the Commission's recommendations, and reach definite decisions, to which effect may be given as financial conditions permit in a pre-considered order of precedence. The ordinary procedure of reference to Local Governments, who in turn make a reference to their local officers, leads to voluminous correspondence, and is necessarily slow, and the Government of India have decided to adopt the following method of treatment in order to minimise the delay, which has attended the consideration of former reports. (3) In the first place, the Government of India, will, as expeditiously as possible, form provisional conclusions, regarding the Commission's recommendations, involving general principles and of general application, and H. E. the Governor in Council will be informed, without delay, of these conclusions as a definite indication of the lines which the examination of the report should follow and the limits to which the discussions thereof should be confined. His Excellency in Council will, at the same time, be requested to favour the Government of India within a specified time with his views on the general principles provisionally accepted. On receipt of these opinions, the Government of India will consider whether they should modify their conclusions, and the principles finally settled after such consideration will, subject to the Secretary of State's approval, govern the treatment of all the detailed recommendations. (4) Simultaneously the Government of India will commence their examination of the detailed proposals contained in the annexures to the report in accordance with the general principles provisionally adopted, and will endeavour to carry through this examination as rapidly as possible, in order to place the Local Governments, at an early stage, in possession of their tentative views on the Commission's detailed recommendations. During this interval, the Local Governments should aim at collecting information and completing the preliminary work on the same lines in order to be in a position to deal, without delay, with the references from the Government of India when they are received. (5) In all cases where the issues are not so simple as to render such a course unnecessary, H. E. the Governor in Council will be requested, in these references, to nominate an officer or officers to represent his or their views on the various points to be considered at a series of conferences, which the Government of India will hold with the representatives of all the Local Governments and Administrations. After the conferences have completed their work, the Government of India will again examine their tentative conclusions in the light of the recommendations made, and will then communicate their considered views to H. E. the Governor in Council for a further expression of his opinion. On the receipt of the replies of the Local Governments and Administrations to this final reference, the Government of India will once more consider their position and will decide on the definite recommendations which they will place before the Secretary of State. (6) While the Government

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of India trust that the scheme, outlined above, will enable all the recommendations in the report to be dealt with in a reasonably short time, they do not desire that this endeavour, after celerity in disposal, should obviate the necessity for observing a proper perspective in giving effect to the several proposals. Some of the subjects to be dealt with are obviously more urgent and important than others, and questions concerning the increased employment of Indians in the higher services are among those calling for an early settlement. In the former class, in dealing with each branch of the report, therefore the necessity for expediting the possibility of postponing till financial conditions are easier, the operation of the decision finally reached should be carefully considered, and the due precedence, which should be observed in giving effect to each scheme, should be specifically indicated, so that this matter may be discussed at the conferences referred to in the previous paragraph."

Sir William Meyer on the "Super-Tax."

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer, in presenting at the Imperial Legislative Council, on March 7, the Select Committee's Report on the Bill to impose a fresh tax, said :—

We are going on the principle of taxing in one year the profits made in the year previous to that. It is the principle already applied in respect of profits of companies and other sources of income in the existing Act. It is, in fact, the only, feasible method, since we tax the profits actually ascertained, whereas if we taxed current profits we should be dealing with uncertainties. In so far as a man is taxed in a year, in which he has not been doing so well on larger profits in the previous year, he will have the compensation that in the third year the poorer business of the second will relieve him of some taxation. We also have to take into account the fact that certain companies, firms and persons have made large profits in 1916-17, owing to the war, and that, as I indicated in paragraph 61 of my budget speech, we propose to secure a portion of these excess profits to the State. It follows that Section 33 of the principal Act, which is quite inconsistent with this system, would be out of place in the principal Act having regard to the method of assessment there adopted, and marked for omission when we come to the general revision of that Act. As regards the argument that it is a hardship to tax profits of a past year that have already been allocated, I need only say that any new tax involves unexpected calls on people's income, and in the present case the tax can hardly have been altogether unexpected, for, there was certainly an anticipation of either an increased income tax, a super-tax or an excess profits tax. As indicated in the Select Committee's Report, we fully debated the question as to taxing companies and firms in respect of undistributed profits. That is the British practice and *primâ facie* we should be quite justified in standing by it. But, as indicated in the Report, we have made an important concession with reference to the special circumstances of India at the present time, that is, besides exempting from the taxable undistributed profits, the Rs. 50,000 previously contemplated in the difference between the total and taxable income, we make a further allowance not exceeding 10 per cent. on the whole profit in the whole sum, on which the ordinary income-tax is paid for amounts left undistributed in the business. Thus, if a company had made Rs. 40 lakhs [illegible] and distributed Rs. 32 lakhs leaving [illegible] lakhs allocated to reserve, or [illegible] one during [illegible] lified to the purposes of the busines[illegible] nd ending [illegible] khs would be reduced by Rs. 50,0[illegible] might well [illegible] the super-tax, so far as undistribut[illegible] work. [illegible] concerned, would be paid on as Rs. 3½ [illegible] only. As has been indicated in the Report, in making this concession we have had regard to the special circumstances of Indian enterprise and industry. We wish to encourage the expansion of capital applied to industrial enterprises by allocation thereto of a part of the profits already made. We have also taken into consideration the fact that assessments this year will be made on profits of 1916-17, and that those profits have, in many cases, been obtained at the cost of a special strain on plant and machinery, which would not be adequately covered by the general allowances made for depreciation. The 10 per cent. concession is intended to cover this also, and I desire to emphasise the fact that it is a very special concession not covered by British practice, and that we reserve to ourselves the liberty to reconsider it later on when things have become more normal, if circumstances seem then to point to the fact that the concession is needless.

Further, I should like to say that it must not be in any way understood that by giving a concession up to 10 per cent. of the total profits, the Government consider that that is the maximum amount which ought to be put into the expansion of the business. Another point which has been brought to my notice by my hon'ble friend, Mr. Bray, is this :—In the case of com-

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panies and firms which make profits in India, but have also an English domicile, they are subject to the English income-tax and super-tax as well as to ordinary Indian income-tax. That raises what may be called the double income-tax question, which the Home Government have already promised to consider and which must, indeed, be considered in connection with *post bellum* measures calculated to draw the bonds of the Empire closer, but for the present we must take things as we find them, and we cannot give up any portion of our ordinary income-tax. I may point out, too, that it is not exactly the question of full double income-tax, seeing that for purposes of Home assessment income-tax paid in India is deducted from the assessable income in England. Well, now, as to the application of this to the super-tax, we cannot take into account at present the operation of income-tax and super-tax in England, but the excess profits tax levied there as a temporary measure is on a somewhat different basis, and we propose as a measure of relief, to lay down that where evidence has been given to the effect that in respect of Indian transactions or proceedings under this Bill, a specific sum had been paid to the British authorities in the way of excess profits tax, that amount shall be treated for Indian purposes as working expenses and will not be taken into account in calculating the taxable income. Another point raised in the Select Committee by my hon'ble friends, Mr. Bray and Mr. Wardlaw Milne, was the practical operation of Section 21 of the principal Act, which is one of the sections to be made applicable in the present Bill. That Section runs as follows :—Any person not resident in British India, whether a subject of His Majesty, or not being in receipt through an agent of any income chargeable under part 4, shall be chargeable under that part in the name of the agent in the like manner and to the like amount as he would be chargeable if he were resident in British India and in direct receipt of that income. I was asked whether, if a company or firm remitted directly to a partner or shareholder resident out of India the amounts accruing to such partner or shareholder by reason of profits or dividends, that transaction would be treated as an agency transaction within the scope of Section 21. My reply is that this would be a strained reading of Section 21 as it stands. We should regard the transaction described as a direct remittance to the beneficiary, and the agency provision would only come in where a third party was employed as an agent. We are prepared to make this point clear by executive instructions, our intention in connection with the present legislation being, as I stated at the last sitting, to disturb the existing law and practice as little as possible. As stated in the Select Committee's Report, we desire to treat Hindu joint families on the same footing, as far as possible, as firms. I say nothing more at this stage and would now move that the Report of the Select Committee be taken into consideration.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

The Viceroy on "The Indian Defence Bill."

H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech in the Imperial Council, on February 21st, 1917:—

The moment has arrived when the Empire must make a united and concerted effort to finish this war. We have been asked and we have agreed to send every available man to the decisive sphere of action. This will involve the sending away from India of certain British units. The army in India has always been composed of a blend in certain proportions of British and Indian troops, and military experience has shown that this blend constitutes the very best fighting force which we can supply. This principle of blend is no new thing in military history. Historically there are parallels and precedents, wherever armies have been composed of different races, and now to preserve the proportions of this blend, we find it necessary to replace these British units which are required for the decisive theatres of the war. To do this effectively and equitably it is obviously imperative to introduce compulsion in time of war. Volunteering is a broken reed. The Government must have power to give orders and enforce them. This was impossible as the law stood, and we propose therefore to introduce the Bill which will be placed before you. Moreover, as things stood on the basis of volunteering, some men were offering their services while others were getting off scot-free. This is clearly inequitable. There must be equality of sacrifice. To secure this we propose compulsion for all coming under the definition of European British subjects. We have seen it suggested that industries will suffer

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as a consequence of this measure. You cannot have legislation of this nature without the concomittant inconvenience, but the Government of India hope that under the provisions of the Bill and the regulations drawn up under it, no needless hardship will be imposed. Both the Commander-in-Chief and I had many discussions on this subject with leading businessmen in Calcutta. We recognise that in India there is no reserve of elderly men or ineffectives on which to draw for the replacement of those called up, and we hope that under the machinery of the Bill the least possible disturbances of industry of hardship will take place.

I turn now to our invitation to Indians to offer their services. As I pointed out in my opening speech to the Council, compulsion in this case is out of the question on practical grounds, but we will endeavour to deal with those who apply to be enrolled. Hon'ble Members will have realised from my previous remarks that volunteering, as we have known it under the Volunteer Act, 1868, is dead. It is useless to spend money on a military force which is bound to be ineffective under the condition and nature of its existence. So this new force will come under the provisions of the Indian Army Act. It is intended to be an effective military organisation. As the British element under this Act is to be dealt with, on the same lines as those of the British Regulars, so the Indian element will come under the same military conditions, which apply to the Indian Regular Forces, saving the fact in both cases that service is to be within India. I do not think it necessary for me to labour this point. We cannot play at soldiers in these times, nor, I hope, shall we play at soldiers at any future time. Military efficiency must be the sole criterion of our policy.

One last word. This is an urgent measure, but we feel that time lost may be gained if Hon'ble Members will co-operate with us in making this Bill a useful and practical measure. We did not enact it as an Ordinance, for we felt that with the Council sitting it should be brought before the Council for its consideration. We have not put it before you as a war measure to be passed in all its stages at one sitting, for we look forward to your help, advice and co-operation in the passing of this important measure. We recognise that your special knowledge may prove of invaluable assistance, and so I commend our proposals to you in the sure and certain confidence that your minds are at one with ours at this present juncture, namely, to do all within our power to secure the victory of the Allied arms.

Sir Sivaswami Aiyar on "Indian Volunteering"

Presiding over the meeting of the citizens of Madras, held on the 8th March, at the Gokhale Hall, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar said :—

The object of our gathering this evening is to make an appeal to the people of this Presidency to respond to the call which has been made by His Excellency to contribute our man power towards the formation of the Indian Defence Force. For more than a generation our people have been praying for the privilege of volunteering and for opportunities for participating in the defence of the country. Deeply grateful as we are to the Government for the peace and security we enjoy and for the protection afforded by the British Navy and Army, we have felt aggrieved by the absence of opportunities for military training, so as to enable us to serve in the defence of our own country. What could have been more humiliating than the feeling of abject helplessness and fear which overtook a during [illegible] of Madras and induced them to q[illegible]ending [illegible]nds when a few shells were fired by light well [illegible]bout three years ago? [illegible]y work.

The opportunity for w[illegible]nizatio[illegible]ve waited so long has come at last, and if we do not avail ourselves of it now, it may not arise again. Our whole future, our sense of national self-respect, our advancement in the scale of nations, are all staked upon the answer which the country will furnish to this call to serve our country and the Empire to which we are proud to belong. In the consciousness of a new-born sense of nationality, we have been pressing our claims for political privileges, but what better way is there of proving our fitness for political rights than loyally and cheerfully shouldering the burdens of the Empire and showing by our conduct that we are prepared to incur all the sacrifices necessary for the commonweal? It is by the manner in which we shall rise to our duties, in this hour of trial and of common danger, common not only to our Empire but to the cause of freedom and justice and right, that we shall be judged, and, rightly judged. Our duty at the present moment is to offer our personal services and our material resources to any extent that may be required by the Government, so that this devastating war may be brought to as speedy and victorious a close as possible. We are at present in the dark as to the extent of help required of us in the way of men. You will remember that H. E. the Viceroy drew attention to the possible limitations upon the Government's power of training and equipment,

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and he expressed his confident expectation that as many men will offer their services as the military authorities can deal with in the way of equipment and training. Whatever may be the demand, it must be fully honoured. We are also not aware yet of the conditions of training and service, but whatsoever they may be, it would be most unpatriotic to indulge in any carping criticisms and make them a pretext for not joining the Defence Force.

We are all of us anxious that opportunity should be given to train Indians of sufficient status and education as Commissioned Officers and that the ranks of Commissioned Officers should be thrown open to men as and when they are qualified. An announcement to this effect was made by the Secretary of State, but to what extent it will be advisable to carry out this promise must necessarily depend upon military considerations, of which we cannot possibly undertake to judge. Je pue been asked also whether these arrangetheir labd continue after the period of the war. cted, it ll matters which I would ask you to di have effecyour consideration. We may be confl proceedwhen the war is over, all these questic thatthwe dealt with in a reasonable, sympathetic and even generous spirit. I would appeal to the young men to join in as large numbers as the authorities desire. Do not raise questions of pay, rank or privileges. The burdens you will be called upon to bear will be serious, but the risks you run by being called upon to serve in India will be nothing in comparison to those cheerfully faced by millions of young Englishmen of all ranks and classes and by thousands of our own countrymen who are serving abroad. This is not the time for meticulous calculations of self-interest or of prudence. I have received a letter from a friend in Bombay who has passed the age at which people are recruited and who nevertheless applied to the military authorities for enlistment. Many are the men of mature age who wish that they might be young again, so that they might offer themselves for the service of the country.

If your enthusiasm for ideals and for the nation's progress is genuine, join the force in hundreds, if not in thousands. To parents and guardians also I would appeal to let their sons and wards go forth and answer the call of patriotism. I may quote here an appeal which the great Admiral Togo made to a number of young Japanese officers, whom he wanted to send forth to bottle up Port Arthur. He told them: "My lads, if I had only one son, I would send him on this dangerous mission. If I had a hundred sons I would send them all on this dangerous mission." That is the spirit in which the Japanese have acted and that is the spirit which ought to actuate our leaders. We are often in the habit of referring to Japan and to the progress attained by Japan in asking for political privileges, but let us prove that we have got the same sense of chivalry and patriotism as Japan. In a country like India, which has been the nursery of soldiers and of chivalry, it should be unnecessary to appeal to any foreign examples. We are now passing through a most momentous epoch and by our conduct on this occasion shall we be judged. If we fail to respond, we shall cover ourselves with indelible disgrace and lay ourselves open to the charge of incurable effeminacy, and all our agitation in the past for volunteering and military career would signify nothing; but I venture to hope that young India will rise to the call of patriotism and loyalty and the full height of its manhood, and that the response will prove a turning point in history.

Hon. Mr. Sastri on "Compulsory Education."

The following is the text of Mr. Sastri's speech in support of Mr. Sarma's primary education resolution moved in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 28th ultimo:—

I am constrained to remark at the outset that the hon. member for education has failed to come to grips with his subject. He has been content to play the part of the destructive critic which I thought was a special province of the non-official members. The Hon. Sir Sankaran Nair has failed to disclose his hand altogether. Let me remind him that on the historic occasion to which he drew our attention when Mr. Gokhale laid before this Council plans for making elementary education compulsory, his predecessor in office acknowledged it to be the duty of Government to make education universal and he himself looked forward to making it compulsory though not perhaps in so short a space of time as his non-official friends would have it. It was not a purely destructive criticism that Sir Harcourt Butler indulged in. On the contrary having excited hopes that sooner or later Government would embark on a bold programme of elementary education, he concluded with a suggestion, a positive suggestion to this effect: "If hon. members are so keen on having compulsory elementary education, I would suggest to them a more practicable course than this. Let them go into the local Legislative Councils and

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there get measures passed for allowing municipalities and district boards if they cared to make elementary education compulsory." That was a positive suggestion he threw out, not merely to escape the responsibility of adopting compulsion for himself but to suggest what he thought was a more practicable course.

Now some of us took up the idea in right earnest. In Bombay and in Madras and I think in one other province in India, members of local council have brought up a resolution for this purpose. What was the result there? We were thrown back on the Government of India. Every such Government told those members, the Government of India have for the time being decided compulsion, and we wont hear you on that subject here. We are coming here again to ask you once more and if you do not return a satisfactory answer, I can only say that you treat us like the rotten pumpkin in the old story . . . so here we are beaten to and fro between this and the local council but we do not get any further. I really wished to ask the hon. member for education to consider seriously why his department was created. I remember, sir, quite clearly at the time the Department of Education was created and Minister appointed with a whole establishment, it was said in Parliament that it was largely for the purpose of stimulating elementary education in this country, and Mr. Gokhale time after time used to refer to that as an era that marked definite progress in the success of his own campaign for free and compulsory education.

Now not being in the secret, I will not say that the Government of India has been doing nothing, but so far as the outside public is concerned they do not know any programme that has been laid down. On the contrary so far as they can see, they have seen a Patna University Bill which has set the country on very controversial grounds, and they have seen a movement for calling the Calcutta University into account. But what is the programme of elementary education that the department has got to its credit? It is now 4 years since it was proclaimed that 91,000 schools and one lakh of pupils more would be brought into existence. I ask what financial stability for this programme has been arranged by the Government of India? Have they put forward a definite scheme of progress from year to year? Have they taken up elementary education in right earnest as a duty they owe to the people? In point of fact, sir, it has been urged that perhaps as much as war, as much as this desperate war in which we are engaged, elementary education is an important necessity. I would ask the Department of Education to consider that to the demands made on the war, they should add their own as of not less importance and not less exacting, so that after the war year after year so many more schools will be added to the system of elementary education, so many more boys and girls will be brought under the healing influences of education.

I was rather surprised, sir, that the detail of school attendance committee was dealt with to the extent that it was. Well, if we must go into such details, I would ask the Council to consider one or two things. Those committees have never been tried in this country. We have never had any compulsion. What is the occasion to say beforehand, before a single school attendance committee was ever started and had a moment's work to its credit, what is the good of saying those committees will prove unsatisfactory? Sir Verney Lovett told us that school committees won't answer, local boards won't [illegible] municipalities won't answer either, they are [illegible]during [illegible]ed, they have very little money, the people [illegible]nding [illegible]y and so on. Yes, people are busy, but [illegible]ght well [illegible]neglect such duties? If it be found that [illegible]rk. [illegible]tion boards and municipalities are unequal to the task, I shall be one of those to advocate that special bodies be created for the purpose of advancing elementary education within each area. Recently, sir, the Bombay Government appointed a strong committee for the purpose of going into the whole question of the constitution and finances of the local bodies, and they came out with a strong recommendation. I think it was unanimous, to the effect that in local areas it was based for educational purposes to create a special school board. I have felt, sir, for some time that it would be a great advantage to constitute such school boards in every area. Now it may be a difficult question how to work these school boards constitutionally alongside local bodies. That is a point I shall leave experts to decide.

Now, sir, the member for education spoke of the duration of school life as being unduly low. School life is really exceedingly short in this country and do you know—hon. members of this Council may not know—that this shortness of the duration of school life has been recognized to be the greatest evil of this evil system of elementary education that we have in this country, and what was the remedy proposed? Sir Alfred Bourne has written in one of his luminous reports that so long as there is no complusion in this country, it is impossible to increase the duration of school

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life. Now we were told: you go and persuade people to send their children to school, and we were told last time when the whole matter came under discussion in this Council, that in Japan wise people tried persuasion before they reverted to compulsion. I have no doubt that in England also this experience was similar. Some time in 1817, a committee was appointed to enquire and find out what the effect was of the working of the Act. They produce a very remarkable document, most interesting reading it is. One of the passages relates to this very point of how compulsion has been actually worked. They reported that the cases of people brought before magistrates under the Act were comparatively few and that the results were very good. Their answer was that people went and persuaded who knew where they were, because compulsion had been enacted, a law had declared that it was the parents' duty to send their children to school, and it was penal on the part of a labourer to employ children for their labour. Because these laws had been enacted, it was possible for moral persuasion to have effect, backed as it was, by threat of legal proceedings. Now give us that lever; tell us that there is compulsion in the land, and we promise here also that compulsion will be employed as little as possible and that moral persuasion will be resorted to as far as possible. Another remark that was made on that side of the house reminded me of an old incident in the history of elementary education in England. Some generations ago it was quite the fashion of people to deride the idea of a liberal education for the children of the poor. The methods of educators then ran on special social class lines—one kind of education for the children of gentlemen, another kind of education for gentlewomen and a small amount of rudimentary learning, absolutely contemptible, for the children of the poor. I am glad to hear that that kind of thing has long gone by in European countries. Nobody now thinks that because a man was born the son of a labourer, the best thing to teach that child is how to be a labourer always and never to desire to rise above the rank of his father. To teach children to desire to work humbly in the station to which they were born was an old fashioned ideal from which all Europe, all America and every civilised country in the world has moved off. Then there used to be a prayer I have read, in which the children were asked to pray every day, 'May I be brought up so as to be a humble and dutiful citizen, looking up with reverence to those who afford me this education, and the means of subsistence,' and so on. Now that is a kind of attitude which grandmotherly people like their children to adopt, but it is no longer an ideal of civilised countries. We want children to grow up to the full stature of their ability. Whatever they are competent to do, let them be able to do it. Let no man's capacity run to waste, and let it not be in the power of any human being to say to another, 'you are born to that station, and in that station if I can I will keep you.'

Now I would ask, sir, before I sit down one final question, Is it or is it not the case that the Government of India are going after all to face this question. I think they are going to do so. Though they do not like in this debate to acknowledge their obligation, I am perfectly certain that one day this Government is going to show in the matter of elementary education that they are actuated by precisely the same ideals as we are actuated by. They cannot say: we are a foreign Government, we cannot bear the odium and the unpopularity of a compulsory measure. If the Government were our own, if we were in charge of the portfolio and all the machinery of Government as you are to-day, we should probably have no hesitation in going in for a measure of compulsion. And I dare say, sir, you are all rapidly moving to the attitude when you will recognise that being in our place, that is the place which belongs to us by nature, you should likewise incur our responsibility. Go forward in a bold spirit, I assure you all educated India is behind you; do not raise false phantoms, the people will not come forward and ask for compulsion. If they could ask you for a measure of compulsion, compulsion will be meaningless. Did they come forward in England? Associations after associations in various towns, religious bodies, secular bodies, all composed of leaders of thought, in campaign after campaign covering generations, urged compulsion and, finally, the populace was coerced by Parliament. It is wrong to expect in India, backward as she is, standards of political advancement and political ideals which have been proved impossible in countries like England. I ask the Hon. Sir Sankaran Nair to go forward boldly; let him have no scruples whatever in this matter. I would ask him further to use all influence he has, as head of the powerful department under his control, with the Government of India and get as much for that department as possible. No part of the finances of Government can be better employed than in starting new schools and paying teachers for the purpose.

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Prohibition of Labour Emigration.

The following Notification was published as a *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, on March 12,'17:—

In pursuance of Section 2 of the Defence of India Act, as subsequently amended, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct that the following amendment shall be made in the Defence of India Consolidation Rules, 1915, namely, after Rule 16-A. The following Rule shall be inserted, namely:—16-B.—No native of India shall depart by sea out of British India for purpose of, or with the intention of, labouring for hire in any country beyond the limits of India, provided that the prohibition imposed by this Rule shall not extend to any person or class of persons, permitted so to depart by a general special license, granted by such authority as the Governor-General may appoint in this behalf.

Explanation:—"Labour" in this Rule means unskilled labour, and does not include any work or other occupation of the nature referred to in Chapter 11 of the Indian Emigration Act 1908.

Commenting on this Notification, *New India* writes:—The Defence Act of India has at last been used for a good end—the immediate stoppage of the emigration of Indians with the intention of labouring for hire beyond seas. . . . The Governor-General in Council has responded to the demand of India, and has struck down the accursed system. It is probable that having thus sharply stopped the abuse of emigration the Government will consider the whole question, and we shall hope to see an Act introduced on the lines of that which passed its second reading the other day in the Madras Parliament. Lord Chelmsford has acted with great courage and decision, and India owes him gratitude. What a comfort it is to see the Government answering India's demand, and acting as a Home Rule Government would act.

Scholarships for Indian Students Abroad.

At a recent meeting of the Imperial Council, the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali elicited from the Education Member the following reply, regarding the scholarships available for annual allotment:—Two Government of India scholarships; ten technical scholarships; two Oriental scholarships and one scholarship for Indian women graduates. The number of Mussalman candidates who have been awarded such scholarships since their inception is 26, excluding the two who resigned the scholarships awarded them.

Information for Indian Labourers.

Mr. A. H. West, representing Mr. M. K. Gandhi, publishes the following notice:—

(1) Everyone can choose either to re-indenture or to work as a free man.

(2) If a man re-indentures, he will incur no punishment in India by Mr. Gandhi or anyone.

(3) By working as a free man for three years, anyone can make a permanent home in Natal and go to India and return whenever he likes. He must then pay his own passage.

(4) Those who completed their indenture during the past twelve months can claim a free passage to India.

(5) If twelve months have expired, application can be made under the Relief Act for a free passage.

(6) At present, free passages under the Relief Act are suspended. Application should be made in April next.

(7) Those who re-indenture can claim, at the end of their contract, a free passage to India for themselves and their children; but a wife cannot claim such free passage unless she herself re-indentures.

(8) Anyone accepting a free passage to India will not be allowed to return to Natal.

(9) Owing to the war, the Government do not allow gold coin to be taken from South Africa. Returning immigrants may, therefore, deposit their gold coins with the Protector who will issue a receipt, and the money will be paid out at the rate of fifteen rupees for every sovereign in India.

Note.—After putting before the people the facts, I do not advise anyone to re-indenture. Better, by far, accept less wages and preserve their independence and self-respect.—*Indian Opinion.*

A Christian View of the Indentured System.

The *Gnyanodaya* of Bombay writes:—"On behalf of the Indian Christian community and of the Missionary body, we express our wholehearted, most earnest, protest against any prolongation of the Indenture System by which Indian coolies are recruited to four British Colonies. It is an immoral, degrading, humiliating system which has been so effectually shown up, that no delay in ending this bad arrangement should be tolerated by Government. . . . The one and only righteous, and even politic course, is to end the system immediately."

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The Nizam's Gift.

H. H. The Nizam of Hyderabad has been contributing to the British navy the sum of £20,000 per mensem from September 1914.

In accepting the gift, the Secretary of State cabled to the Viceroy on the 9th March 1917 :— His Majesty's Government gratefully accept the Nizam of Hyderabad's munificient gift to the Admiralty. Please convey to His Highness the warmest thanks for the splendid generosity, both on behalf of His Majesty's Government and of the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty, who gladly agree to apply the gift in accordance with His Highness' wishes.

Kapurthala Administration.

The administration report of Kapurthala State for 1915-16, records that the major portion of the State's Imperial Service Infanty has been serving throughout the twelve months in East Africa. The gross income approximated closely to 32 lakhs of rupees, the Oudh Estates contributing to this total rather less than 15½ lakhs. Some 3¾ lakh of surplus funds have been invested in the French war loans, the State co-operative credit societies, and the Hoshiarpur Doab Branch Railways.

Industries in Marwar.

The principal industries of the Marwar State are the different quarries worked by hand power. The marble quarries, at Makrana, last year produced 1,24,654 maunds of marble, which is famous throughout the whole of India. The major portion of the output was despatched to Calcutta for the construction of the Victoria Memorial. Next in importance are the sandstone quarries at Jodhpur, Sojat and Khatu. We are told that these stones are utilised for ordinary and decorative building purposes. The working of gypsum mines at Kairat, Manglode, Chutisan and Chirimatai and of Fuller's earth at Kapurdi and Barmer, we understand, are the other industries on a small scale, while the newly started wolfram, manganese molybdenum and tin quarries near Degana promise to be a thriving industry.

H. H. The Raja of Faridkot.

His Highness the Raja of Faridkot has generously offered to the Government, free of rent, the use of his house at Simla known as "Ravenswood" during the continuance of the war for use as an office. The offer has been gratefully accepted.

The New Diwan of Baroda.

Manubhai Nandashanker Mehta, M.A., L.L.B., who has succeeded Mr.V.P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., as Dewan of Baroda is the son of the late Rao Bahadur Nandashankar Tuljashankar, the late Diwan of Cutch and Lunawada and the well-known author of the historical novel, "Karan Ghelo" of Guzarat.

Mr. Manubhai entered the Baroda Government service in 1891 as the Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy, where he enjoyed the highest regard and esteem of the College students. In 1899, he was taken up as the Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja and subsequently was made Hazur Kamdar, during which period, in 1900, he had been to the continent with His Highness. In 1905, he was made Nai-Diwan ; he held also the office of Nyaya-Mantri, Famine Commissioner and such other posts of great importance and responsibility till his recent elevation to the Diwanage of His Highness' Government. During all his varied career, Mr. Manubhai enjoyed the implicit confidence of His Highness and highest regards of the people of Guzarat.

Court Language in Patiala.

About a couple of years ago, His Highness the Maharaja Sahib, of Patiala, directed that the language of offices and courts in the Patiala State shall be Panjabi. Some doubt having lately arisen as to the language in which pleaders were expected to address the courts, Diwan Bahadur Daya Kishan Kaul, Financial and Foreign Secretary, has emphasized the previous orders by notifying that the language shall be Panjabi, the mother-tongue of the people.

Indore Chamber of Commerce.

A Chamber of Commerce has been established in the Indore State in accordance with the wishes of the commercial community in the State. At an inaugural meeting held for the purpose, Mr. S. S. Mehta in a lengthy address explained the plan and purpose of the Chamber, and a provision of sub-committee was formed to frame rules and regulations.

H. H. The Nawab of Rampur's Offer.

H H. the Nawab of Rampur has placed at the disposal of Government for the duration of the war his large Brook Hill estate, at Naini Tal, comprising four houses, and also his three Bareilly houses, for the use of the sick and wounded. The offer has been accepted by the Government.

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INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION.

Sir W. Meyer on the Cotton Duties.

In the course of his financial statement in the Imperial Council, on March 19, Sir William Meyer referred to the Cotton tariffs as follows :—

The taxation already described (super-tax) will yield us in all £1,850,000. The way in which we propose to make the bulk of the remaining provision required is one which will, I think, be received with satisfaction in this Council and in the country in general, while the incidence of the tax will be of much more general application than that of the imposts above described. It will be remembered that in introducing the Financial Statement for the current year, I said that we had been anxious to raise the duty on imported cotton goods, while leaving the cotton excise duty, which has formed the subject of such widespread criticism in this country, unenhanced, subject to the possibility of its being altogether abolished when financial circumstances are more favourable. But His Maiesty's Government held that in the then circumstances such a course would be undesirable, and decided to leave the cotton duties question to be considered later on in connection with the general fiscal policy which may be thought best for the Empire and the share, military and financial, that has been taken by India in the present struggle. To-day I am able to announce that in view of the taxation required to make our war contribution worthy of India and of the place we desire her to hold in the Empire, His Majesty's Government have now given their consent to our raising the import duty on cotton goods from 3½ per cent. as it now is to 7½ per cent., which is our present general traiff rate. The cotton excise duty will remain at 3½ per cent. There can be no question of our doing away with an impost which is estimated to produce about £320,000 next year at a time when we have to impose extra taxation. By this means we estimate that we can get an additional £1 million. I am sure that the action of His Majesty's Government, following as it does on their recent association of India with the special Imperial Conference called in connection with the war and the measures to be taken thereafter, will meet with the greatest appreciation in India.

The enhancement of duties, above indicated in respect of imported cotton goods and jute exports must come into effect at once. The application of these duties during the current month will yield about £80,000, and the receipt figures of the revised estimate must be added to accordingly.

Lancashire and the Indian Cotton Duties.

The Members of the Lancashire Cotton Trade deputation waited on Mr. Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, on March 12, to protest against the imposition of a tariff on Lancashire exports. They declared that the duty protected the Indian manufacturer and therefore contravened the stipulation laid down and twice expressed in resolutions of the House of Commons. The duty was unjust and was the heaviest blow that the Lancashire Cotton Trade had ever suffered. The speakers asserted that the Government policy might prejudice Lancashire's efforts in the War if the duties were persisted in, and there would be no rest in Lancashire whatever in consequence till justice was secured.

Mr. Chamberlain, replying, said that the Government would be very sorry if any measures, they were obliged to take, interfered with the Lancashire cotton trade, which was a great imperial asset. He again emphasised that the increase in the duty was necessary to enable India to contribute a hundred millions to the War expenses. He was very sorry that the free gift by the people of India, made with genuine goodwill, should occasion strife in England, but he begged the members of the deputation not to under-rate the strength of Indian feeling on the subject.

Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that, while Lancashire imported all her requirements free of duty, the Indian manufacturer had to pay duty on all his requisites. Thus protection hitherto had been on the side of Lancashire. He had been assured that the effective competition of India with Lancashire was less than two per cent. of the whole trade. Within the past ten years, Lancashire's looms had increased by 120,000 which exceeded the total of India's looms. The deputation were dangerously mistaken, if they thought that the Government was merely the tool of a few greedy millowners in India. He emphasised the unanimity of Indian and Anglo-Indian opinion that the special position hitherto accorded to cotton in India was a great injustice to Indian.

The Maharajah of Bikanir declared that there had been an intense feeling of irritation, suspicion and injustice throughout India with regard to the question, and any attempt to upset the recent legislation would revive, if not intensify, the feeling of injustice and humiliation. Such a result would be most deplorable in view of the

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fact that India had shown every desire to make all sacrifices of the Empire.

Sir S. P. Sinha denied that there was any desire to benefit the Bombay millowners.

Replying to the suggestion that the question should be postponed, Mr. Chamberlain said he was eager to see the fiscal policy of India reconsidered after the war in conjunction with the fiscal policy of the Empire as a whole, and when that was done, he hoped India would bear in mind Imperial obligations and responsibilities and try to frame an Imperial system. He added that the reversal of the Government's decision would be a calamity for England, and he could not hold out any expectation thereof.

A Resolution accepting India's war gift of £100 millions was passed in the House of Commons on March 1914.

Mr. Asquith moved an addendum to the Government motion that the increase should be reconsidered after the war in connection with the fiscal relationships of the Empire.

Mr. Lloyd George accepted the addendum, and the motion, as amended, was unanimously adopted amid cheers, after the amendment of the Lancashire members had been rejected by 265 votes to 125.

Indian Cotton.

Mr. J. M. Todd, Professor of Economics at Nottingham University, in a paper at the Royal Society of Arts recently, on "The World's Cotton Supply and India's Share in it," said the present price was the highest on record since 1869. The high prices were the result of natural and economic causes which might well be repeated if the conditions of supply were allowed to remain as at present. It was desirable to develop other sources of supply of cotton outside America, and it would be to our greatest advantage if it were found in the British Empire. India was the only country in the world from which there was any hope of obtaining an early if not immediate, increase of 1,000,000 bales per annum of new cotton and there was every reason to believe that India could maintain such an increase cumulatively till her present crop was at least doubled. Lord Emmott, who presided, said that India was undoubtedly the only country we could look to for a great and rapid increase in the production of the necessary supplies of cotton for the world's needs. But if the quality of the cotton hitherto sent by India did not show improvement, little relief could be looked for from there, at least so far as Lancashire was concerned.

The Housing of Factory Employees.

By desire of Sir Thomas Holland, Chairman of the Indian Industries Commission, the Consulting Surveyor to the Government of Bombay has issued a circular letter addressed to employers of labour, asking for their co-operation in investigating and finding out the exact conditions as to the housing of factory employees, so that appropriate action might be taken to bring about their amelioration. In the course of his letter, the Consulting Surveyor says:—"It is quite unnecessary to remind you of its extreme importance from the factory and millowners' point of view. It is clearly the business of the employer of labour to consider carefully the conditions which will conduce to increased production and to study the means whereby his increased wealth may lead to an improvement in the physical and social welfare of his employees. In a survey of this nature the proper housing of the working classes must of course take a very prominent place. It is generally admitted that the existing housing of the working classes in this country does not tend to improve their physical, moral or social status, and that indeed is the direct cause of their want of stamina and diminishing earning power."

We understand from the *Eastern Engineering* that a copy of the letter has been forwarded to the Bombay Municipal Corporation, who have sent it on to the Commissioner with a request that if there be no objection, the information asked for by the Consulting Surveyor to Government might be furnished.

Slow Progress of Power-Mills.

It is more than 30 years since industrialism got a firm footing in some of the big towns in India, says a contemperary, and since then the number of power-mills has been steadily growing. Nevertheless, in the course of a whole generation they have failed to make any serious effect on the economic organization of the state. Of the population of India, calculated at 315 millions, 35 millions only are supported by industries; of these 18 millions were classed at the census as dependants, and only 17 millions as actual workers. Of these 17 millions, only 8,23,000 are employed in the 2,983 power-mills now existing in India, while no less than 1,66,92,000 are engaged in small workshops and home handicrafts. The fact that not even 1 million out of 315 millions are at work in power-mills after 30 years of progress suggests that there must be some fundamental difference in the conditions of India and Lancashire which affects this particular problem.

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After-War Trade.

At the annual meeting of the Rangoon Trades Association, on March 1915, Mr. W. G. Turner, in his presidential address, referring to trade after the war said: "The British Empire has obligations and duties in connection with her Allies and these do not cease on the day peace is declared. If we are going to give France, Belgium and Poland a chance to reconstruct their shattered industries, it can only be done by prohibitory tariffs against enemy manufacturers, by protecting ourselves against the system of 'dumping,' subsidised shipping and bounty-fed industries. We may not adopt these methods ourselves, but the legislature should make it impossible for alien enemies to continue these insidious attempts to undermine British trade. What was a debatable policy in the past becomes a sacred duty in the future.

"We have another powerful weapon in the coming industrial war. That is the fact that the British Empire is by far the largest producer of raw materials. I see no reason why we should not, by the introduction of import duties, conserve these raw materials or, at any rate, such materials as we hold the monopoly of, for our own benefit. There is not the least doubt that if the enemy held this commanding position, they would take full advantage of it. We often grumble at foreign competition, but at the same time ourselves supply raw materials at cost price."

Paper from Cotton-Stalks.

There appeared a few weeks ago in several English dailies a short report of a continental discovery of far-reaching economic importance. It was reported that a Berlin chemist had succeeded in preparing paper pulp from cotton-stalks. The idea was certainly one which could be taken up in a large cotton growing country like India, and we are glad to learn that at least in one Indian Province successful experiments have been initiated already through the efforts of the Central Provinces Agricultural Chemist, Mr. Slymen. We understand that an Ellichpur gentleman, Rao Saheb G. N. Sahasrabudhe, sent to the Director of Industries of the Central Provinces some cotton stalk samples which had been examined in the Government Laboratory. The results shown are encouraging.

We give below the report on the cotton-stalks by the Nagpur Agricultural Chemist :—

The utilization of cotton stalks in the manufacture of paper pulp has been suggested at various times during recent years chiefly in America. In order to determine the details of the process and the nature of the product obtained, experiments on a laboratory scale were made in the Agricultural Research Institute, Nagpur. The analysis of cotton stalks was first made, and they were found to contain 42·4 per cent. of cellulose, 10·3 per cent. of moisture and 5·8 per cent. of mineral matter. The cellulose was determined by Cross and Bevans' method and was of a good white colour. For the preparation of paper pulp, the cotton stalks were roughly broken up into pieces about half an inch long and digested in a laboratory autoclave at a pressure of 3 atmospheres (145. C.) with caustic alkali solution for about 5 hours. After washing, the stalks were treated with bleaching powder. The pulp obtained is, therefore, a Soda pulp, but the alternative methods of preparing a sulphate or a sulphite pulp might also be tried if the chemicals were easily available.

The important process of beating the pulp could not be carried out very effectively in the laboratory, as no hand beating can take the place of the beating engine of the paper works. Small samples of paper were, however, made which go to show that paper can be prepared from cotton-stalks. The samples do not pretend to indicate what might be obtained by the proper appliances of paper works as no filling or finish has been given.

If Rao Saheb Sahasrabudhe would like to go into the matter further, I would be quite willing to write to leading manufacturers of paper making machinery and get an estimate from them of the cost of plant for a paper works. The local considerations are (*a*) quantity of material available within a reasonable area; (*b*) cost of chemicals and fuel; (*c*) quantity and quality of water supply; (*d*) product to be obtained whether (i) paper completely made or (ii) half stuff, *i.e.*, bleached but unbeaten pulp.

Bengal Home Industries.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Home Industries Association was held at Government House, Calcutta, on the 27th February. The funds of the Association now amount to Rs. 50,000. Premises for the showroom and sale depot have been taken at 3A., Hogg Street, Calcutta, immediately behind the Municipal offices, and it is hoped that H. E. Lady Carmichael will open them shortly before her departure. Much interest is being taken in various districts. Many district committees of the Association have been formed or are in process of formation. It is hoped that substantial financial support will be obtained from the Government.

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Measures for Fostering Village Industries.

The *Bengal Co-operative Journal* suggests the following measures for preserving village industries :—

The remedies are two : education and organisation. By education is not meant mere literary training—though, of course, the children of craftsmen must be taught at least the three R's,—but a thorough grounding in the technicalities of their art. Village schools should be established to demonstrate improved machinery suited to the pockets and conditions of cottage workers. Children should be taught to welcome and adopt every labour-saving machine adapted to their needs. A central technological institute should be continually at work, testing new inventions and bringing the most practicable of them to the notice of craftsmen in innumerable village schools. Craft secrets should be investigated, and the best of them exploited. Organisation is needed in the purchase of raw material, in the finance of its manufacture, and in the sale of the manufactured article. Here it is that the co-operative method offers the most promising solution. In Bombay Presidency, 31 co-operative societies have been formed, composed entirely of weavers with the object of buying yarn, dyes, implements, etc., at wholesale prices, advancing cash loans to weavers, and helping to some extent in the sale of cloth during the slack season. Owing to the apathy and ignorance of the weaving classes, the success obtained has not yet been very striking. But here and there results have been remarkable, and there is no reason to think that the plan itself is at fault.

Waste in War Time.

A correspondent writes to the *Times of India*:—

In all the war economies that have been recommended from time to time, there seems to be one very important item of waste that has entirely escaped attention. Throughout India, and especially in Bombay, there are many thousands of maunds of the finest wheat flour used every year for sizing of cloth. This is pure vanity, and this valuable foodstuff goes into waste at the first washing of the cloth. If the use of all edible starches in the sizing of cloths was prohibited throughout India, it would certainly lower the price of wheat and flour, which is surely what the Government are desirous of doing, and if such an excellent regulation was adopted in war time, it might be possible to have it retained in time of peace.

Glass Manufacture.

An Indian glass manufacturer, Rai Saheb Lala Panna Lal, of Ambala City, in a paper contributed to the 12th Session of the Indian Industrial Conference, at Lucknow, gives some useful information regarding business ways in general and glass manufacture in particular. The author gives estimates for the construction of two glass works at Rs. 70,000 and Rs. 25,000 with working capital at Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 10,000 respectively, and gives a history of glass-making as carried on by the old Minhar class of workers. He treats of plant, tools, furnaces and melting pots as a man experienced in the work, and shows an intimate knowledge of the various materials required for the craft, and then turns to blowing machines, presses, emery wheels and the manufacture of bangles. The difficulties of glass manufacture in India seem to centre round the high temperature to which the workmen are exposed, especially during the hot weather. This is a point, observes a contemporary, that the writer does not touch although it is very important. He might obtain some useful ideas from the iron works of the Tata Co., at Sakchi, where every care has been given to the comfort of the men who are exposed to the heat of the foundry and rolling mills. Lofty roofs allow a free escape to the heated air, and in certain parts electric fans are provided. Much may be done in even a small glassworks to increase the comfort of the men. A coat of limewash on the outside of an iron roof will reduce the temperature of the metal at least 26 degrees. Fah. Tiled roofs and brick walls may be similarly treated. A ventilating fan, driven from the same source of power as the grinding wheels, might supply a current through passages below the floor to openings where the men are stationed when at work, and this air might be cooled from 10 to 15 degrees by suitable humidifying.

Industrial Training of Indian Women.

A Bombay correspondent of the *Tribune* says there is in Bombay alone opening for 300 literate women to be employed as supervisors and forewomen in factories which are suitable for middle class women. There are, he says, not a few nurses, mid-wives, and trained female teachers who earn a precarious living, but if they were to divert their attention to the mills, they would better their prospects and quadruple their income. This side of the industrial question undoubtedly requires larger attention.

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Export of Articles from India.

A Press *communique* dated Simla, March 14, states :—With reference to the revised list of interpellations together with the rulings published by the *Board of Trade Journal* of the 19th October 1916, which was republished in Notification No. 35 C. W. D., dated the 6th January 1917, the following telegram has been received from His Majesty's Secretary of State for India:—It has been decided to revoke with effect from 2nd April the general licenses for importation into the United Kingdom of the following articles under the heading (A) Wood,(B) wood:—Manufactures of beetwood, boxwood,dogwood, greenheart, hickory, lancewood, lingumvitæ, piadouk, sabieu, sandlewood, birch, timber in logs, barrels : tops and bottoms and wooden tops for birch, maple and persimmon blocks and squares for bobbins, reels, shuttles and spools box, shooks box, board screws made of wood, tool handles and brush handles, painters of ash and hickory case boards, empties returned flooring boards: planned and prepared, tongued and grooved of non-prohibited woods, rules measuring of wood, cars made from ashwood, pine block for match making, plywood wooden pulleys, wood wool. Consignments *enroute* to this country on or before 12th March will be admitted on production to the customs officer of the date of despatch, and licenses will usually be granted for the consignments paid for the consignees on or before that date.

Import Duty on Cotton Goods.

The following comment of the *Madras Mail* on the increase of import duty on Lancashire goods will be found interesting :—

"The increase of the import tax on cotton goods is important politically, for it marks the breakdown of the detestable Cobdenite system of penalising India in the interests of Lancashire. It has not, however, been possible to go the whole way and abolish the countervailing cotton excise, for no money can now be gone without. Still, since the excise remains at 3½ per cent. and the import duty has been raised from 3½ per cent. to 7½ per cent., our main purpose is served. We congratulate Mr. Austen Chamberlain on having allowed the inequitable system hitherto in force to be scrapped."

The Jute Trade.

Members of the Indian Jute Mills Association have agreed to short time of five days weekly from April to September 30th. The decision has not influenced gunny on the share market which continue inactive.

Millionaires in Japan.

A contemporary writes :—There are altogether 2,201 people in this country, worth more than 500,000 yen, according to a census taken by the *Jiji* quite recently. This is the third such investigation conducted by the paper; the first was in 1901, and second in 1911. The number of such persons has increased by 1076 since the second investigation, when it was 1025. In other words, in 5 years of 1911-16, the number of well-to-do people has increased just 115 per cent. The aggregate wealth of these 2,201 persons is estimated at 3,470,000,000 yen. Those possessing over 10,000,000 yen number 43 ; over 5,000,000 yen, 73 ; over 3,000,000 yen, 80 ; over 2,000,000 yen, 108 ; over 1,000,000 yen, 451; over 500,000 yen, 1,433. Classified by professions, businessmen head the list with 1,433, including 53 engaged in shipping ; next come landowners with 423 ; then directors of banks and other companies, with 289; factory and mineowners number 51 and 35 ; while peers on the list are 105. There are also 142 not belonging to any of the above items. Of the whole number 2,201, Tokyo-Fu has 595 or 27 per cent. ; Osaka 382 or 17·3 per cent. ; while Ibaraki Prefecture has only 7, the lowest figure. Comparing the number of these wealthy people with the whole number of families in Japan, which was 9,720,000 in 1913, we find that every 10,000 families have 2·19 such persons. This, of course, varies with locality ; for, in Tokyo, there are 8·15 persons for every 10,000 families which is the highest, while ·32 for every 10,000 families in Ibaraki Prefecture is the lowest.

India and the Economic Conference.

The Hon Sir George Barnes, replying to Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy's question at a recent meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council regarding the re-nomination of a representative from India to the Economic Conference to be held after the War, said :—

The Government of India are fully aware that there is a strong feeling in commercial circles that India should be represented at any conference on the economic policy to be pursued after the War, and have been in communication with the Secretary of State for India on the subject. We have, I am glad to be able to inform the Hon. Member, that the definite assurance of the Prime Minister that when the conference is held, India shall be represented.

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India's Cotton Crop.

The increase compared with the previous year in the yield of India's cotton crop for 1916-17, as estimated in the final general memorandum, says the *Pioneer*, is shared by all the principal cotton-growing provinces except the Central Provinces. The total area reported under the crop in the whole country is 21,212,000 acres, or nearly 19 per cent. more than the revised figure of last year. The total estimated yield is 4,557,000 bales, which is 22 per cent. above the revised figure last year. Of this total the estimate for Bombay Presidency is 1,348,000 bales, showing an increase of 44 per cent. on last year. The Central Provinces, which comes next in importance among the cotton-growing provinces, has an estimated yield of 884,000 bales, which is 20 per cent. short of last year. This shortage in estimated yield is in spite of an increase of 8 per cent. in the acreage under cotton. Climatic conditions at sowing time were favourable, but heavy and continuous rain later on retarded weeding operations, damaged the crop and stunted its growth on heavy soils in nearly all the Southern districts. Madras shows an increase compared with last year of 54 per cent. in its yield, the Punjab an increase of 30 per cent., and the United Provinces an increase of 18 per cent. Hyderabad (Deccan) has the largest area under cotton among the Native States, and the acreage for 1916-17 is estimated at 3,200,000, an 8 per cent. increase on last year. The yield is estimated at 500,000 bales, being 11 per cent. increase, while the yield of Central India is estimated at 309,000 bales, an increase of 43 per cent.

Agricultural College, Punjab.

It is announced that the next session of the Punjab Agricultural College commences on the 27th August 1917, and applications received before the 15th March 1917, will receive prior consideration. Application received after that date will only be entertained if vacancies are then available.

Punjab Sugarcane.

The final forecast of the Punjab sugarcane crop for 1916, gives an area of 410,043 acres under the crop, an increase of 18 per cent. as compared with 1915, due to the high price of *gur*. The season was quite favourable, and the outturn is estimated at 346,276 tons of *gur*, which is 26 per cent. better than last year.

Sugarcane in the United Provinces.

The work at the cane research station, at Shajahanpur, shows there is a definite limit to the yield of sucrose from most of the indigenous canes, and heavy manuring merely gives rise to an excessive vegetable growth without any proportionate formation of sucrose. This is amply confirmed by the returns over a series of years from different farms. The only way to increase the yield is to introduce better varieties and to improve methods of cultivation. Even here the climate is an important factor to contend with, and it is pointed out that one acre of Java produces as much sugar as 14½ acres in the United Provinces. It is thus easy to understand why, with a total average of 300,000 acres, Java supplies India with most of our crystalline sugar and why the United Provinces, with 1½ million acres, lags behind. . . Under these conditions it is futile to expect any large development in sugarcane growing in the provinces, though doubtless some improvements can be effected, provided they are not costly and yield a proportionate income. If there is no great probability of the United Provinces or other provinces of India growing sufficient sugar to supply the internal wants of the country owing to climatic conditions and other difficulties, the policy of raising the custom duty on imported sugar is economically unsound. —*The Tribune.*

German Substitute for Cotton and Wool.

Spinners and weavers of Germany claim that they have found in their own country a satisfactory and inexpensive substitute for cotton and wool. The plant is called the typha and is a sort of cat-tail that grows exensively in marshes. This year's crop is estimated at between 1,500,000 and 6,000,000 tons. The yield of the finished product is 10 per cent. of the raw product. Samples of cloth made from this material are said to show that it is suited to making a large variety of fabrics. Leading German merchants, spinners, and bankers have subscribed capital for the manufacture of the new cloth. They call attention to the fact that Napoleon's embargo on sugar resulted in developing their great beet-sugar industry, and predict that a similar development will take place in the cloth industry. One point in favour of the typha is that it can be grown on land not needed for cultivating other crops, and it can be harvested from June until frost.

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Agricultural Co-operation.

In the course of a paper, advocating the cause of the co-operative movement in India, Babu Shiva Charen Lal, of Gwalior, points out :—

Agriculture is the first thing which should claim the attention of co-operators in India, and this statement is fully borne out by the recommendations of the committee on co-operation. There seems to be a bright future in store for co operation in India, and to quote from an article from me, which appeared in the *Leader* of the 16th November 1916, we are anxiously looking forward to the time when "organization for purposes of credit will lead to concerted action in other important matters. . . when primary education, sanitary measures, medical and charitable relief will all claim the attention of the village society," and "when our village co-operative societies will be on a miniature scale the replica of our larger municipalities which enjoy the advantages of local self-government."

There are at present some 15,000 co-operative credit societies, mostly rural, working in British India; nearly all the important and enlightened States of India, such as Hyderabad, Mysore, Gwalior and Baroda have also introduced and extended the principle of co-operative credit within their jurisdictions; and the writer has good reasons to believe that the Kashmir Durbar is also shortly to follow suit. These co-operative credit societies, coupled with a slight relaxation of demand on the produce of the cultivator will, in course of time, tend to materially improve his condition.

A Soil Sampler.

The sampler, says an expert writer in an English Agricultural Journal, consists of a brass tube 11 inches long, with one end made into a cutting edge. This cutting edge is so made that the soil is not appreciably compacted when the sample is taken. The end, having the cutting edge, is furnished with a tight-fitting brass cap 2 inches in height. The open end, plugged with absorbent cotton, makes the sample complete. In using the apparatus, the complete sampler is first sterilized. It is then taken into the field, the cap is removed, the driving head is inserted above the cotton plug, and the sampler is driven into the ground to the desired depth. It is then pulled out, the cap is flamed, replaced, and the sample is ready to be taken to the laboratory. This sampler is easily sterilized, easily kept clean, easily manipulated, and durable.

Agricultural Holdings.

The average area of land enjoyed by an Indian landholder, observes the *Wealth of India*, is something less than 5 acres, and no man can be reasonably expected to live a decent life on land which is anything under 40 acres in extent. The many sub-divisions of landed estates allowed at present are said to be against the adoption of scientific methods, which again mean large capital and big efforts. Mr. G. A. Stuart, Director of Agriculture, Madras, in his evidence before the Industrial Commission, referred to this problem. He said :—

The improvement of agriculture, which was the basis of many industries, was hampered by the extremely scattered nature of the holdings in Madras. That applied especially to irrigated land, much of which was held in minute scattered plots. This system reduced the efficiency of all agricultural operations. He thought that more might be done to encourage the gradual formation of compact holdings, but it would be difficult to do very much unless the Hindu law of partition was altered.

An Agricultural Exhibition.

The eighth Chinsura Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition came to a close on the 24th ultimo. The exhibits were numerous. There was a large gathering and many gold and silver medals and certificates were awarded. Mr. Bradley-Birt, I.C.S., President, before distributing the awards, said that the agricultural portion of the Exhibition was not as representative as it might have been.

Irrigation Economy.

A useful enquiry in connection with the Agricultural Departments in India, observes a local contemporary, would be to ascertain the duty of water in the matter of the irrigation of crops. We do not recollect if this has been undertaken yet, but we have an idea that systematic enquiry would show that in the matter of irrigating crops a good deal more water is used than is actually required, just as it had been discovered in paddy cultivation that more seed was being used than was actually required and with less successful results. . . . . The experiments proved that with much less water than it was customary for the ryots to give their crops and with special means of breaking up and preparing the land for cultivation, it was possible to get an outturn of wheat and *bhusa* that made the ryots open their eyes with astonishment and offer large areas of land for similar treatment.

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Literary.

THE PRESS DEPUTATION.

H. E. the Viceroy's amazing reply to the Press deputation that waited on him, on March 5, at Delhi, has naturally caused much disappointment. The reply which was ungenerous has been resented all over the country as altogether an unusual Viceregal utterance and of a highly controversial nature, which it was presumably His Excellency's desire to avoid. His Excellency's criticism of the Judges is quite ill-conceived and uncalled for. The *Bombay Chronicle*, whose Editor Mr. B. G. Horniman headed the Deputation, has the following comments on the speech :—

"We are unable to understand Lord Chelmsford who says that anything in the nature of muzzling the press strikes right across the whole grain of his being, and then proceeds to justify the existence of a muzzle which can be applied in the most arbitrary fashion, without resort to the law courts, by the quotation of a few casual extracts from one or two journals, one of which, and the one that seems to have impressed him most gravely, has actually been held by two Judges of the High Court, under the wide and comprehensive terms of the Act which he defends, to be of an unobjectionable character. But it is characteristic, we regret to say, of the whole of the Viceroy's justification of the Act, that in referring to this extract, he quoted with profound emphasis the opinion of a High Court Judge and completely ignored the differing view of that Judge's two colleagues by whom he was overruled. We have too great a confidence in Lord Chelmsford's desire to deal fairly with a great question of this kind to suppose that he can possibly have been aware when he delivered his speech, that he was quoting mere *obiter dicta* on a point, in regard to which the settled judgment of the Court holds an opposite view. But we fear that this instance gives the clue to the manner in which the material for Lord Chelmsford's guidance in this matter has been prepared."

LITERATURE FOR HOSPITALS.

The Women's Branch of the Bombay Presidency War and Relief Fund has made a strong appeal to the public, to remember the troops who want books to read. One Army Corps in Mesopotamia wants a library of 2,400 books, and another wants 1,600 books. Hospitals and Convalescent Homes need a weekly supply of 5,000 newspapers.

SUBSIDISED NEWSPAPERS IN INDIA.

In reply to a question by the Hon'ble Mr. Mir Asad Ali Khan at a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, on March 10, the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock stated :—The Imperial Government do not subsidise any Indian or Anglo-Indian newspapers or periodicals, but merely takes such number of copies as are required for departmental purposes. In 1911, the following newspapers were subsidised by the Local Governments named : Bombay, *Jagat Vritta*, 10,000 copies, amount of subsidy per annum Rs. 16,000; Bengal, *Sulav Samachar*, 25,000 copies, amount of subsidy per annum Rs. 62,000; United Provinces, the *Independent*, 300 copies, amount of subsidy per annum Rs. 9,000; Eastern Bengal and Assam, *Biswa Barta*, copies 11,000, amount of subsidy per annum Rs. 32,000. The subsidies in the last three cases were withdrawn after a year and have not been renewed. The period for which a subsidy was sanctioned in the case of the *Jagat Vritta* has not yet expired.

MADRAS WAR FUND COMPETITION.

The term for entries for the Madras War Fund Literary Competitions has been extended to the 1st July. Prizes will be given, as already announced, for the best (1) limerick ; (2) riddle ; (3) rhymed double acrostic ; (4) amusing anecdote or incident ; (5) sonnet or poem, or parody of not more than sixteen lines ; (6) story, descriptive sketch or dialogue of not more than 2,000 words with the scene in South India ; (7) illustration in black and white, relating to 4 or 6 ; (8) caricature in black and white.

BISHEN NARAIN DHAR AS A LITERARY MAN.

A recent number of the *Canning College Magazine* (Lucknow) devotes considerable space to the late Pandit Bishen Narain Dhar. The late Pandit was famous for his devotion to English literature, and in this connection an interesting story is told of him. When Morley's bulky "Life of Gladstone" in three volumes came out, he devoured it in six days and then exclaimed, "Oh, I wish I had a fourth volume to go on with."

THE "MYSORE UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE."

We have received the first number of the *Mysore University Magazine*, the organ of the new Mysore University. It records the intellectual, athletic, and social phases of the life of the University. It hopes to become a valued organ for the expression of the views of all classes of the members of the University and of the outside educated community.

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Educational.

ORIENTIAL STUDIES SCHOOL.

Opening the School of Oriental Studies, on February 23, H. M. the King emphasised the wide scope and vast importance of its work, affording fresh opportunities for study to those services which had been the pioneers of progress and instruments of good government in India and Egypt, and furnishing with fuller technical equipment the pioneers of commerce and industry who, in each successive generation, undertook the duty of upholding the honoured fame of British trade in the East. Its work would also serve to develop the existing sympathy between Britons and Japanese. If the School succeeded in imparting to pupils, sent out as teachers of unselfish government and civilised commerce, a clearer comprehension of the thoughts and lives of the diverse races of the East, the good effects thereof would extend far beyond immediate tangible results. The ancient literature and art of India were of unique interest in the history of human endeavour. His Majesty looked to the School to quicken public interest in the intellectual tradition of India, and to promote and assist the labours of students in these departments of knowledge to the advantage of both countries. The school was about to open its doors in the midst of an unparalleled crisis in the world's history. For more than two years, the peoples of His Majesty's dominions had loyally and devotedly vied with each other in offering blood and treasure for the prosecution of a righteous war—(cheers)—and the sense of common sacrifice and endeavour had drawn us all nearer one another in feeling and sympathy. Meanwhile, the peaceful labours of the School, in spreading accurate and scientific knowledge of Eastern life and thought, would foster a spirit of loyalty and patriotism and knit together still closer the many nations of the Empire.

In conclusion, the King said :—"May God bless the labours of this school in the advancement of learning, unity and good government among people of every race and language."

Lord Curzon trusted that the school would become a sort of clearing house of ideas between East and West,

THE HINDU UNIVERSITY SCHOOL.

We learn from the *Hindu College Magazine*, that as soon as the College and Pathashala can be moved to Nagwa, the school will be divided into three branches :—

(1) The present school; (2) the Oriental School in which all subjects would be taught through the medium of Hindi; and (3) the Industrial School in which students would be trained so as to be able to make their living by trade and industry.

INDIANS AND RESEARCH WORK.

In the course of his convocation address, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, referred in these terms to the labours of Indians in Research work :—

"Special work with promising results has been undertaken by Dr. Brajendranath Seal, Mr. Raman, Dr. Ganesh Prasad and Dr. P. C. Ray in their respective branches of knowledge. Dr. Seal's work on the positive sciences of the ancient Hindus has served its purpose as a contribution to the history of scientific and philosophical thought of the Hindus, and has won unstinted recognition from scientific journals like *Nature* and the *Lancet*.

"A department of experimental psychology has been opened at the college of science. This department can be built up only slowly, for though this fascinating branch of knowledge has long been included in our curriculum, no one had succeeded in graduating in it, in absence of facilities for practical work. I, therefore, welcome with pleasure our first Master in the subject—Babu Manmatha Bannerji, whose Second-Class is no index of want of merit but largely of the handicap I have mentioned.

"Dr. Ganesh Prasad has published four original papers on Acoustics, etc. He has three research scholars under him, each of whom has published an original paper. The work of one of the Sir Rashbehary Ghose scholars is a brilliant investigation of a difficult hydro-dynamical problem, and that of the other is an interesting piece of research in the dynamics of a particle. The student, who was awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship last year for his investigation as a Sir Rashbehary Ghose scholar, has published an important paper on aerial manes in the *Philosophical Magazine* of London."

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Legal.

SIR SHAMS-UL-HUDA.

The King has approved of the appointment of Nawab Syed Sir Shams-ul-Huda as a puisne judge of the Calcutta High Court in succession to Mr. Justice Chatterjee. Sir Shams-ul-Huda is at present a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal. He is to retire in April.

COURT-MARTIAL SENTENCES.

At a recent meeting of the Viceregal Council, H. E. the Commander-in-Chief introduced the Court-Martial Sentences Bill. He said it was unnecessary to deal at any length with the Bill, but briefly it put into the hands of high officers the power to condone any acts hastily committed by young officers which lay the officers open to be tried by court-martial. Some officers were young and impulsive, and did not always consider what might be the result of their acts, and the Bill empowered certain officers to endorse on the reports that the question of their being tried by court-martial should be suspended for the present, and the officer be given an opportunity by good conduct to rehabilitate his character and to earn the remission of the suspended sentence.

The rules of business having been suspended, the Bill was considered and passed without discussion.

THE CALCUTTA BAR.

Mr. B. C. Mitter, Bar.-at-law, the Standing Counsel, has been appointed to act as Advocate-General in the place of Sir S. P. Sinha, and Mr. S. R. Das, Bar.-at-Law, has been appointed to act in the place of Mr. B. C. Mitter. Mr. Mitter is the son of the late lamented Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter, and he has enjoyed an extensive practice for several years on the original side of the High Court at Calcutta. Mr. S. R. Dass has acted more than once as Standing Counsel on previous occasions.

THE NEW INDIA APPEAL.

The judgments of the High Court of Madras, in the *New India* case, nine in all, together with the grounds of appeal, and the arguments on them, go to England for an application to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for the leave to appeal refused here. Where a great principle is concerned, observes that paper, it is necessary to fight to the end, whether one loses or wins.

LITIGATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

The eighth monthly meeting of the Dacca Sahitya Parishat came off recently at Dacca under the presidency of Mr. R. K. Dass, Bar.-at-Law. After the adoption of the last meeting's report which was read by the Secretary, and the election of new members, Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen, M.A., D.L., read an interesting paper on "Litigation in Ancient India."

Before reading his paper, he said that the subject was so vast that he had been investigating it for the last 5 or 6 years without being able to obtain anything like a thorough mastery of it. He could not exhaust the subject in a single paper; he, therefore, proposed to deliver a course of lectures at the Dacca Sahitya Parishat on the above subject. The proposal was received by the audience with enthusiastic cheers. He then read his paper, the first part of which was mainly introductory dealing chiefly with the authorities consulted and their relation to one another. In the second part, the writer gave an account of the way in which litigation was dealt with in the various works constituting the Dharma Shastras. The subject dealt with, in the earlier treatises especially, might seem to be very meagre, being confined to theft, adultery, assault and defamation in criminal law and topics relating to debts in civil law. But the writer remarked that Panchayets used to decide a considerable amount of litigation concerning adoption, marriage, succession, inheritance, etc., and those matters scarcely came up before the King's Courts. Hence the mistake of foreigners like Megasthenes in attributing meagreness to Hindu Law.

SIR DONALD JOHNSTONE.

Sir Donald Johnstone, on the occasion of retiring from the Chief Judgeship of the Lahore Chief Court, bade farewell to the Court in the presence of all the other Judges of the Court and a large gathering of members of the Bar and Court officials. The Hon. Mr. Shafi, Vice-President of the Chief Court Bar, paid an eloquent tribute to the courtesy and ability of the retiring Chief Judge.

Sir Donald Johnstone was subsequently entertained to a farewell dinner by members of the Punjab Club. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who presided, said that no one could have done more than Sir Donald to maintain the dignity and independence of the judiciary.

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Medical.

THE VITAL STATISTICS OF INDIA.

Reviewing the Report on Sanitary Measures in India in 1914-15, the *New Statesman* points out :—

The health of the European Army, in 1914, was remarkably good. The table of the mortality from all causes shows that from 1881 to 1903 the death-rate per 1,000 troops ranged from 13 to 22, but the average was fairly constantly in the neighbourhood of 17. Since 1903, the death-rate has fallen steadily and rapidly, and, in 1914, was only 4·3 per 1,000. This is a remarkable and highly creditable improvement. Malaria was the chief cause of sickness, accounting for 262·8 admissions to hospital per 1,000 of strength, or more than one-quarter of the total admissions from all causes. Venereal diseases were responsible for 55·2 admissions per 1,000 troops, a rate which was a small increase on that for the previous year, but is substantially lower than the average rate 91·7 for the years 1904-13. The health of Indian troops has shown an equal improvement since 1903, and, in 1914, the mortality was only 4·17 per 1,000. The admission rate for malaria was 112·8, and for venereal diseases 15·6. If the same standard of admission is employed for Indian and British troops, the low rate of venereal diseases among the former is very striking.

AN AYURVEDIC EXHIBITION.

Vaidyaratna Pundit D. Gopala Charlu, of Madras, opened at Poona the Ayurvedic, Exhibition organised in connection with the eighth session of the Ayurvedic Conference, when there were present about 300 Indian physicians and hakims from different parts of the country. His Holiness Sri Sankarachariya, of Virupaksha Mutt, who is himself a distinguished physician practising the Indian system of medicine, also attended. Pundit Gopala Charlu dwelt at length on the uses of Exhibitions, which, he said, were very useful in bringing the Indian system in touch with the Western. He suggested that there should be permanent medical *muswars* in different parts of the country, and concluded his address by appealing to Indian Princes and Chiefs to support the indigenous system of medicine.

AYURVEDIC CONFERENCE.

The eight session of the All-India Ayurvedic Conference assembled in the Kirloskar Theatre, on the 25th February, at Poona. About 350 Vaidyas and Hakims, representing several provinces of India, attended. Vaidyaratna Kaviraj Jogendranath Sen, Calcutta, an ex-President, and some other leading workers in the cause were unavoidably absent. Several distinguished guests attended, prominent among them being Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, the Hon'ble Messrs. Godbole and Kamat, and Messrs. Tilak and Kelkar. His Holiness the Sankaracharya, of Virupaksha Mutt, was also present.

Dr. M. G. Deshmukh, M.D., (Bombay), in his welcome address, urged the Ayurvedic Maha Mandal to protect the existing rights of the Vaidyas and to agitate for securing further rights for them.

H. H. the Rajah of Cochin, having been formally elected President of the Conference, read his opening address, which was in Sanskrit. After dealing with the deplorable condition in which the ancient science of medicine was at present, he suggested the following remedies for its revival :— (1) Works bearing on medical science, written either in the vernaculars or Sanskrit, should be collected in one place. (2) Statements that may appear to be conflicting with one another in such works should be reconciled by learned Vaidyas. (3) Encouragement should be given to the comparative study of both the systems of medicine, Indian and Western. (4) A central school teaching Ayurveda should be established at a convenient place with a medical library attached to it.

A number of resolutions were passed at the Conference. It was resolved to send a deputation, consisting of the President, Pandit Gopala Charlu, Kaviraj Gananath Sen and a few others to the Viceroy, to place before him the views of the Conference with regard to the Indian system of medicine. Another resolution protested against the action of the Ashte Municipality, in abolishing the Ayurvedic dispensary at the place which was largely used by local people. A committee, consisting of Sir Rama Varma, Sir P. Pattani, Sir R. Bhandarkar, Sir Subrahmanya Iyer, the Gaikwad of Baroda, Maharajas of Rewa, Alwar and Dongarpur, and a number of others, was appointed to collect funds and frame rules for the Ayurveda Mahavidyalaya. Provincial Committees to work in their respective provinces, according to the resolutions passed, were also formed.

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Science.

THE LATE COUNT ZEPPELIN.

Count Ferdinand Von Zeppelin whose death was reported on March 8, was born at Constance on the 8th July 1838. He received his early education at the Polytechnik, Stuttgart, and subsequently at the Tubingen University. Later he went to America, where he took part in the Civil War of 1861-65. His adventures during the Franco-Prussian War won him immediate recognition. (*See* "All About The War—The Indian Review War Book," page 152: G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.)

But the name of Count Zeppelin will always be associated with what is now known as the conquest of the air. A pioneer in this enterprise, he won the Kaiser's appreciation and induced the German Government to construct a fleet of airships. The rest of the story is pretty familiar to the world, and the cruel slaughter of women and children, with no conceivable bearing on the exigencies of the war, is not a desirable commentary on the prowess of this precious son of the Fatherland. Nevertheless from the German point of view, his achievements in this war have enhanced his popularity, and the Kaiser's message of condolence to the bereaved Countess is an interesting document.

"I feel the death of this excellent man," wrote the Kaiser, "most painfully. The whole of Germany unites with me in mourning one of the greatest sons of the Fatherland. His successes in the air have rendered his name immortal far beyond Germany. His memory will always remain sublime and dear to me. Wilhelm."

DR. BOSE'S LABORATORY.

His Excellency the Viceroy, while recently at Calcutta, accompanied by the Governor of Bengal, visited Dr. Bose's private laboratory in Upper Circular Road to see the demonstrations of some of his most striking discoveries. They went over the Bose's Research Institute, which the distinguished Indian scientist is going to found for the perpetuation of India's contribution for the world's advance in science. In the Bose Institute, it is intended that a limited number of post-graduate scholars would receive special training to devote their whole life and undivided energies in the cause of science. The Viceroy expressed his high appreciation of the work already done and of the object of the Institute. One important practical outcome of Dr. Bose's recent research specially interested His Excellency; this was the transplanting into the grounds of the Institute two large Banyan trees—a task that would have been regarded as impossible; but by rendering the trees unconscious by the action of suitable narcotics, they were protected from the great shock consequent on uprooting, and the trees are now showing vigorous growth. Another recent invention of Dr. Bose, which interested His Excellency, was the high magnification crescograph, which magnifies and records growth in a period as short as one second. The high magnification attained varies from ten thousand to a million times.

DR. P. C. ROY'S RETIREMENT.

On the eve of Dr. P. C. Roy's retirement, the students of the Presidency College, Calcutta, presented him with an address, in the course of which they said:—"Your place in the College, Sir, we are afraid, can never be filled. Men will come and men will go, but where else can we possibly expect to find again that sweetness of disposition, that vigour of simplicity, that unwearied spirit of service, that broad-based culture, that wisdom in deliberation and debate which, for the space of thirty years or more, endeared you so much to pupils?"

STATE SUBSIDIES FOR SCIENCE WORK.

An important declaration was made by Lord Crewe recently in reply to a deputation from the Joint Board of Scientific Societies, with regard to further financial assistance from the Government in aid of scientific research work as applied to industry. He stated that the Government had been impressed by the needs of the hour, and had considered what could be done to assist the great stable industries of the country in developing systematic research on a large scale. It was clear that in the case of large, wealthy industries, where individual firms or limited companies might look for profits on a large scale as the direct result of research, it was not reasonable to suppose that the taxpayers of the country would willingly pay the whole amount to be devoted to such researches. A plan, therefore, for systematic co-operation between the leaders of those great industries and the Advisory Council for scientific and industrial research had to be devised.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer was prepared to devote a large sum for the needs of this co-operation, which during the next five years would enable four or five times as much to be spent on this work of co-operation for research between the Government and the industries as had been already spent.

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Personal.

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN AMERICA.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore recently visited New Haven (Conn), where he was presented with the Yale Bicentennial Medal. In making the presentation, the President of the University said :—

Apart from its share in the debt which the West owes to the East, Yale acknowledges special obligation to India which it can never repay. To your country our scholars are indebted for a large source of their inspiration. For three-quarters of a century, the classics of India have been taught in these halls, and the Sanskrit studies of W. D. Whitney are one of the brightest ornaments in Yale's scholastic crown. To your country we owe our local habitation and our name. Two centuries ago the collegiate school of the colony of Connecticut was firmly established in New Haven by the gifts of Governor Yale, of Fort St. George ; and the fortune which enabled him to make these gifts was acquired in the Indian Peninsula. In recognition of these obligations and many others, I have the honour to present you, as a memorial of your visit, with the Yale Bicentennial Medal. We welcome you as one of the great brotherhood of seekers after light and truth ; we honour you as one to whom it has been given to help thousands—yea, millions—in that search.

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR.

A *Fort St. George Gazette Extraordinary*, published on the 27th February last, says :—" H. E. the Governor in Council desires to place on record his warm appreciation of the valuable services which the Hon'ble Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer has rendered to the State during the term of his office. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer's intimate knowledge of the needs and aspirations of the people of India and his distinguished legal attainments have been of the greatest assistance to His Excellency in Council, while his high sense of duty and genial disposition have secured for him the respect and affection of all."

A party was subsequently given in honour of Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, at the Government House, by H. E. Lord Pentland ; it was largely attended by the leading citizens of Madras, both official and non-official. A public entertainment was also got up by the non-official members of the Madras Council, at the Moore pavilion, on the 16th instant. Both the functions were very largely attended and highly successful.

TWO NEW APPOINTMENTS.

His Majesty the King-Emperor has approved of the appointment of the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, to be the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in succession to the Hon. Sir James Meston, K.C.S.I., whose period of office has been extended to November 1917.

His Majesty has also approved of the appointment of the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock, K.C.S.I., Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, to be Lieutenant-Governor of Burma in succession to Sir Harcourt Butler, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

M. SAZONOFF.

M. Sazonoff, the well-known Russian Minister for Foreign affairs, has succeeded the late Count Benckendorff as Ambassador in London. He retired from the foreign office towards the end of 1916. M. Sazonoff, observes the *Times of India*, although he did not begin his political career as a great admirer of the Anglo-Russian *Entente*, became converted subsequently to the views of his predecessor M. Isvolsky, and after a visit to H. M. the King-Emperor, at Balmoral in 1912, took his stand as a staunch supporter of the *Entente*. In this rôle he was greatly disliked by the reactionary pro-German cliques, and his averseness from all extremes and political fanaticism often drew upon him the attacks of certain of the Russian papers, to which caution and reflection in diplomacy are anathema The news of his appointment to the Russian Embassy has been received with much satisfaction in Britain.

GENERAL EGERTON.

General Sir Charles Comyn Egerton, G.C.B., D.S.O., who has just retired from the India Council, joined the Bengal Staff Corps in 1871, and, after serving in the Afghan War, was Assistant Adjutant-General with the Punjab Frontier Force from 1886 to 1893. He was with the Hazara, Miranzai and Waziristan expeditions ; commanded the Indian contingent at Suakim, a brigade of the Tochi force, the Somaliland field force, and, finally, the Secunderabad Division. He was appointed A. D. C. to Queen Victoria in 1896, and joined the Council of the Secretary of State in 1907.

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Political.

INDIA AFTER THE WAR.

Mr. D. W. Miller, of Marsden Point, Arrekland, N. Z., writes to *Everyman* :—

I submit that no future Council of Empire will be complete without the presence of India's stalwart and efficient sons. During a time of difficulty their proffered help of men and money has proved their unbounded loyalty. Thus the resolution of last January, when the very representative and influential National Congress demanded self-government, cannot fairly or wisely be set aside.

The wise act of statesmanship that gave South Africa self-government has been fully justified. May it be but the precursor of an even greater act of magnanimity in recognising India to a more honoured seat in the grand federation of peoples under our illustrious Sovereign, who is also known as the Emperor of India.

NEW TURKISH MINISTRY.

The Grand Vizier, Said Halim Pasha, handed his resignation to the Sultan on the 7th ultimo on the ground of ill-health. The Sultan accepted and requested Talaat Bey, the Minister of the Interior, to constitute the new Ministry which has been formed as follows: Grand Vizier, Talaat Bey; Sheikh-ul-Islam, Mussa Kiazun Effendi; Foreign Affairs, Nazim Bey; Justice, Halil Bey; War, Enver Pasha; Marine, Djemal Pasha; Public Instruction, Posts and Telegraphs: Shukri Bey; Governor of Lebanon, Ali Munif Bey. The Grand Vizier has taken temporary charge of the portfolios of the Interior and Finance.

The new Cabinet is favourably received by all parties and will adopt a programme based on that of the previous Ministry.

THE FRENCH CABINET.

The French Cabinet has been formed as follows:—

Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs—M. Ribot.
Minister of War—M. Painleve.
Minister of Marine—M. Lacaze.
Minister of Munitions—M. Thomas.
Minister of Finance—M. Thierry.
Minister for the Interior—M. Malvy.
Minister of Commerce—M. Clementel.
Food Controller—M. Violette.
Minister of Labour.—M. Bourgeois.
Minister of Justice—Ex-Premier Viviani.

NEW NATIONAL CABINET IN RUSSIA.

The revolution in Russia is one of the most momentous and far-reaching events in temporary history. It began on the 10th March with a ruffle between the hungry mob and the reactionary police in the streets of Petrograd, and the resultant conflagaration brought about the abdication of the Czar in three days. This is, of course, the immediate cause, but by no means the only or chief cause. It appears that this effort of the Russians, is to thwart the attempts of pro-German ministers and to prosecute the war with more whole-hearted devotion. It is announced the Grand Duke Michael Alexandravitch has been appointed regent. All old ministers suspected of pro-Germanism have been arrested.

The following is a list of the new National Cabinet :—

Premier and Minister of the Interior—Prince Lvoff, who is also President of the Alliance of Zemstvos.
Minister for Foreign Affairs—Miliukoff.
Minister of Justice—Kirenski.
Minister of Communications—Nekrashoff.
Minister of Commerce—Konovaloff.
Minister of Education—M. Manuiloff, who was a Moscow Professor.
Minister of War and Marine—Dutchkoff, who was a member of the Council of Empire.
Minister of Agriculture—Shingareff.
Minister of Finance—Tirestchenko.
Comptroller of State—Godneff.

MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

In accordance with the terms of the resolution passed at the last Congress and under the direction of the All-India Congress Committee, the Madras Provincial Congress Committee has appointed a working committee, which has now resolved to prepare a brief exposition of the scheme of reforms adopted by the Congress and the League, with a view to translate the same into Tamil, Telugu, Hindustani, Canarese, and Malayalam and spread it broadcast among the people; (2) to send copies of the Congres scheme to all non-official members of the Legislative Council, the members of the All-India Congress Committee and leading citizens in the moffussil, requesting them to popularise the scheme by means of lectures in English and Vernacular. Arrangements are also being made to depute the members of the working committee to visit various places in the moffussil to carry out propagandist work,

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General.

THE VICTORIA CROSS FOR INDIANS.

The announcement made at the Delhi Durbar in 1911, that in future Indians would be eligible for the Victoria Cross gave satisfaction, which was increased during the War by the award of that decoration to a number of Indian heroes. The following account of Indians who have won the Victoria Cross is taken from the *Indian Year Book for 1917* :—

SEPOY KHUDADAD, 12TH BALUCHIS.

On 31st October 1914, at Hollebeke, Belgium, the British officer in charge of the detachment having been wounded, and the other gun put out of action by a shell, Sepoy Khudadad, though himself wounded, remained working his gun until all the other five men of the gun detachment had been killed.

NAIK DARWAN SING NEGI, 1-39TH GARHWAL RIFLES.

For great gallantry on the night of the 23rd-24th November 1914, near Festubert, France, when the Regiment was engaged in retaking and clearing the enemy out of our trenches, and, although wounded in two places in the head, and also in the arm, being one of the first to push round each successive traverse, in the face of severe fire from bombs and rifles at the closest range.

JAMADAR MIR DAST, 55TH COKE'S RIFLES.

For most conspicuous bravery and great ability at Ypres, on 26th April 1915, when he led his platoon with great gallantry during the attack, and afterwards collected various parties of the Regiment (when no British officers were left) and kept them under his command until the retirement was ordered. Jamadar Mir Dast subsequently on this day displayed remarkable courage in helping to carry eight British and Indian officers into safety, whilst exposed to very heavy fire.

RIFLEMAN KULBIR THAPA, 2-3RD GURKHA RIFLES.

For most conspicuous bravery during operations against the German trenches south of Mauquissart. When himself wounded, on the 25th September 1915, he found a badly wounded soldier of the 2nd Leicestershire Regiment behind the first line German trench, and though urged by the British soldier to save himself, he remained with him all day and night. In the early morning of the 26th September, in misty weather, he brought him out through the German wire, and, leaving him in a place of comparative safety returned and brought in two wounded Gurkhas one after the other. He then went back in broad daylight for the British soldier and brought him in also, carrying him most of the way and being at most points under the enemy's fire.

LANCE-NAICK LALA, 41ST DOGRAS.

Finding a British officer of another regiment lying close to the enemy, he dragged him into a temporary shelter, which he himself had made, and in which he had already bandagad four wounded men. After bandaging his wounds he heard calls from the Adjutant of his own Regiment who was lying in the open severely wounded. The enemy were not more than one hundred yards distant, and it seemed certain death to go out in that direction, but Lance-Naik Lala insisted on going out to his Adjutant, and offered to crawl back with him on his back at once. When this was not permitted, he stripped off his own clothing to keep the wounded officer warmer and stayed with him till just before dark, when he returned to the shelter. After dark he carried the first wounded officer back to the main trenches, and then, returning with a stretcher, carried back his Adjutant. He set a magnificent example of courage and devotion to his officers.

SEPOY CHATTA SINGH, 9TH BHOPAL INFANTRY.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty in leaving cover to assist his Commanding Officer, who was lying wounded and helpless in the open. Sepoy Chatta Singh bound up the officer's wound and then dug cover for him with his entrenching tool, being exposed all the time to very heavy rifle fire. For five hours until nightfall he remained besides the wounded officer, shielding him with his own body on the exposed side. He then, under cover of darkness, went back for assistance, and brought the officer into safety.

NAICK SHAHAMAD KHAN, PUNJABIS.

For most conspicuous bravery. He was in charge of a machine-gun section in an exposed position in front of and covering a gap in our new line within 150 yards of the enemy's entrenched position. He beat off three counter-attacks, and worked his gun single-handed after all his men, except two belt-fillers, had become casualties.

For three hours he held the gap under very heavy fire while it was being made secure. When his gun was knocked out by hostile fire, he and his two belt-fillers held their ground with rifles till ordered to withdraw.

With three men sent to assist him he then brought back his gun, ammunition, and one severely wounded man unable to walk. Finally, he himself returned and removed all remaining arms and equipment except two shovels.

But for his great gallantry and determination, our line must have been penetrated by the enemy.

THE FALL OF BAGDAD.

The *London Times*, referring to the fall of Bagdad, says in an editorial, dated March 12, 1917 :—

It should always be remembered that a very large proportion of the forces which General Maude has guided to victory are Indian regiments. The cavalry which hung on the flanks and demoralised the Turkish army and chased it to the confines of Bagdad must have been almost exclusively Indian cavalry. The Infantry which bore months of privation and proved in the end the masters of the Turks included Indian units which had already fought heroically in France, Gallipoli and Egypt. Whatever mistakes the Indian military administration may have made in the earlier stages of the Mesopotamian campaign, the valour of the Indian troops, who have contributed so largely to the successes on the Tigris, has never been questioned. In the last few days, there have been discussions which seemed to imply that India's help in the war chiefly consisted of the belated offer of financial aid. She has done far more; for, in common with ourselves, she has given the blood of her best and bravest and nowhere more than on the deserts of Mesopotamia.

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.
PUBLISHED ABOUT THE THIRD WEEK OF EVERY MONTH.
EDITED BY G. A. NATESAN.

Vol. XVII. APRIL, 1916. No. 4.

WAR-TIME ECONOMY IN BRITAIN.

BY MR. SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

"WE must economise" is one of Britain's slogans now-a-days. The need for saving forms the refrain of private conversation. It is echoed from the press and the platform. Cabinet Ministers and divines preach it. The admonition to economise stares at one from large placards pasted on boardings. Retrenchment of expenditure is urged upon the Government and upon the householder.

The great reason assigned for the necessity of effecting economies is, that money must be made available for the prosecution of the war. The Prime Minister has told the public more than once that the nation is spending something like £5,000,000 (Rs. 75,000,000) a day. This huge sum has to be provided for out of taxation and loans. The people must save in order to pay the increased taxes and to buy war-loan and Exchequer and Treasury Bonds.

SILVER BULLETS.

His Majesty's Treasury and other agencies have designed ingenious advertising in order to urge Britons to subscribe to the war chest. The most effective advertisement that has come to my notice is a poster which shows crowns (five-shilling pieces) being contributed by civilians and converted into bullets to be used with deadly effect against the enemy. Another forceful placard shows a German soldier crushed under the weight of a five-shilling coin. In the advertisements that are now appearing in many newspapers to attract persons to invest in Exchequer Bonds, the following sentence used sometime ago by the Rt. Hon. Reginald McKenna, Chancellor of the Exchequer, is prominently displayed :—

The man, be he rich or poor, is little to be envied who at this supreme moment fails to bring forward his savings for the security of his country.

POOR MAN'S MONEY.

Special inducements are being offered to persuade the comparatively poor people to save money and to invest it in Exchequer Bonds. A committee was appointed to suggest measures, and many of their recommendations have been adopted. At present the Post Office is selling Bonds as low as £5 (Rs. 75), and a provision has been made whereby any one can deposit small amounts at a time towards buying the bond. Another attractive proposition made to the small investor is, that anyone who deposits 15*s.* 6*d.* will be given £1 at the end of five years, a handsome return, especially in view of the security of the investment. Facilities are offered by the Post Office for the safe custody of Bonds. Any person who does not possess Exchequer Bonds and War Loan stock above £200 is relieved of the obligation of paying income tax which, in view of the certainty of its being raised even higher than it is at present, is an item not to be lightly considered.

I understand from a financial authority that the Exchequer Bonds have proved a great success. A large number of men and women of limited means have invested in them. The wage-workers appear to be following this lead, attracted by the special inducements offered by the Treasury for their benefit.

Many financial authorities consider that the Exchequer should not float another loan, but should rely upon the sale of the Exchequer Bonds to supplement the revenue. Some of them suggest that some scheme of compulsion may be enforced, if the investments in such bonds do not meet the demands. Such opinion notwithstanding, there is a rumour afloat predicting an issue of a fresh loan.

THE BALANCE OF TRADE.

The curtailment of imports of foreign goods appears to be the one point on which all sorts and conditions of men are agreed. Liberals and Conservatives are citing figures to show that the balance of trade is very much against Britain, the imports greatly exceeding exports, and declare that the consumption of all articles of luxury imported from abroad must be stopped, and that

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of the necessaries of life imported from other lands should be reduced to the minimum, in order to relieve the pressure.

What is the net effect of the exhortations of Cabinet Ministers and economists to reduce the consumption of imported articles?

This is a question that I have asked myself many times, and to answer which I have made serious and painstaking inquiries, for there is ever present in India the problem of curtailing imports from abroad and supplying the demand for luxuries and necessities by home products. What do I find?

There is talk everywhere of the necessity of being economical, and there is much evidence that economy is actually being practiced. For instance, many persons are not using loaf or cube sugar at all, but are getting along with granulated or powdered sugar. I was very much impressed with this fact last week when I was taking tea with an Earl's daughter, and found that she was using granulated sugar—something unthinkable before the war, and demonstrating her fervent patriotism. I know of several families whose members do not use sugar in tea, and many others of my acquaintance get along with much less than they used in *ante-bellum* days. Such instances, which I cite from my personal knowledge, could be multiplied were I to draw upon the experience of other persons.

LUXURIES MUST GO.

The leaders of the nation, however, are far from satisfied with the amount of economies that are being exercised, and are urging every one to do without luxuries, and to economize on necessaries. Statistics show that further economies can be effected.

CONSUMPTION OF SUGAR.

Take the case of sugar for example. The statement recently made by the Royal Commission on the Sugar Supply, appointed at the outset of the war to insure the supply of sugar and to regulate its distribution and price, shows that the British have not exercised the requisite economy in using it. We read:

> In spite of the fact that since the beginning of the war the price of sugar has been never less than 50 per cent. above the normal, and is now practically double, there has been no considerable or general reduction in the amount consumed. It is, therefore, evident that further economies in its use can be effected, and the Commission desires to impress upon the public the urgency of the obligation to use every effort to effect such economies. It accordingly requests all classes to reduce their consumption not only of sugar as such, but also of jams, biscuits, sweetmeats, chocolate, and other goods of which sugar is an important constituent.

The Royal Commission on the Sugar Supply has intimated that:

> * * * the supplies that will be available for the current year will probably fall short of those imported in the year 1915 by 20 per cent. to 25 per cent.
>
> An equivalent reduction in consumption will therefore be necessary, and it is the hope of the Commission that all consumers alike will aim at restricting their use of sugar in that proportion.

MEAT-EATING.

I have asked a number of butchers, who mostly deal in imported meat, if the people are buying less of it because the prices are higher, and because everyone is preaching economy. The reply, in every case, has been in the negative. Some of the butchers have told me that never before have they sold so much meat. The reason they assign for this is that the workers, who alone use imported meat (the rich people consume native meat as far as possible) are receiving higher wages, especially those employed in munition factories. One or two of these butchers have been patriotic enough to deplore the fact that the working people were not saving their money against a rainy day.

On my mentioning the matter to a labour leader, I was told that it is only natural for the workers to eat well while they can, for, before the war, they did not earn enough to enable them to live decently.

HINTS FOR ECONOMY.

In spite of the efforts that the middle and upper classes have been making, their scale of living is still very high. That newspapers read by the rich should print, week after week, articles giving hints for economy, tells its own tale. Many of the suggestions seem to me to be impracticable, and some are actually ridiculous. My general feeling after reading such articles is that floundering attempts are being made to economize by opersons who have never before given much thought to such a thing and who do not see their way to give up their toy-dogs and other fashionable but expensive follies.

A walk through the streets which are lined on either side by drapery shops, where articles of feminine apparel are sold, and a tour of observation through some of these establishments make one wonder if the people are really economizing on dress, or if the shopkeepers do not have sense enough to take down expensive articles from their display windows, which nobody is buying.

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FUR IN FASHION.

I never saw so much fur shown in the shops as during this winter. There are any amount of fur coats to be had, and the women are having them, too. They say that fur is cheap, but I tell them that fur is never cheap, and my contention cannot be disproved. Women are not only wearing fur coats, but their dresses are profusely trimmed with fur—and the fur used for this purpose is high-priced. The curious coincidence is that, so far, we have had practically no winter. The days and nights have been spring-like, almost throughout the cold season.

A Member of Parliament said in a statement he made in the House of Commons some time ago that expensive lace handkerchiefs are hanging in the shop-windows in Regent Street. So they are, even to-day, and besides, many other high-priced articles that I could name had I the space to do so.

The shop-keepers grumble, and so do the dress-makers. Gold-smiths and silver-smiths also complain. In spite of it all, however, their business has not suffered the loss that a real national campaign for economy would have entailed.

What I have said must not be taken to indicate that no economies in respect of dress have been effected. Much evidence to the contrary is available. Dress-making and millinery are far from flourishing, and the business of drapers and clothiers has suffered some depression. Gold-smiths, silver-smiths, watch-makers, and the like, also, are not doing the business that they transacted before the war. Theatres, too, are affected.

PICTURE PALACES.

The cinematographs, or picture palaces, as they are called, are, however, prospering. They are thronged, especially in the afternoon and early evening. One of the most commodious, luxurious, cleanest, and most enterprising cinematographs in London is in my neighbourhood. It is known as "The Tower Cinema." I go to it occasionally, and always find it full to overflowing.

An agitation has been started to prohibit the importation of cinematograph films from America, or, at any rate, to subject them to an almost prohibitive tariff. Such an economy, which aims at taking away a cheap and, on the whole, a healthy form of amusement, does not appear to me to be a wise move. If enforced, it is likely to occasion a great hardship upon comparatively poor persons, who are unable to patronize the more expensive places of amusement.

GOVERNMENT ECONOMIES.

Turning from the subject of private to that of public economy, I may say that the Government has begun to move in the matter and is setting the example. The various departments are cutting down expenditure wherever they can. A Minister who presides over one of the smaller departments told me the other day that he had been able to reduce expenses by over £200,000.

The Government has closed museums and picture galleries with a few exceptions, and thereby has been able to save £50,000 a year. Many eminent persons protested against the closing of the museums and galleries. Newspapers and journals were full of letters urging upon the Government the advisability of desisting from taking such a step. A Deputation consisting of many well-known men waited upon the Prime Minister and begged him to reconsider the decision arrived at by the Cabinet. The delegates who spoke pointed out that only a small amount of money would be saved, at the expense of the public, to whom museums were "places of rest and reflection." Mr. Asquith was, however, firm, and justified himself by saying, in part:

> **Every pound that could be saved without serious detriment to the permanent interests of the country was a contribution which it was the duty of the Government not to neglect.**

MUNICIPAL ECONOMIES.

What I have said of the National Government is equally true of local bodies. Municipal Governments throughout the United Kingdom are curtailing expenditure and enforcing economy wherever they can. Unfortunately, such retrenchment means the stinting of money upon public improvements, and even on education. There appears to be no help for it, however. The war is occasioning an enormous expenditure, and it must be met, no matter what other public activities are starved.

The British give me the impression of being very much in earnest about economizing in every direction. Their earnestness and sincerity in this matter eloquently bespeaks the fact that they have the sagacity to take a correct measure of the situation, and the resourcefulness to devise measures to meet the exigencies of the times.

I wish we Indians could take a leaf out of the British book.

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The Hindu University at Benares : A Dialogue

BY "AN INDIAN I. C. S."

Pandit.—At last, there's the Hindu University at Benares set on its legs. If we cannot exactly sing *Nunc Dimittids*, at least a good beginning has been made, and they say a good beginning is half the battle won. We can congratulate ourselves on the work already done.

Vipra.—I have no intention of damping your feeling of thankfulness, but you know the famous saying attributed to Cæsar by Lucan: "Nothing can be said to have been done so long as anything remains to be done." Meanwhile if you have no objection I should like you to tell me what is the special feature in the Hindu University which makes you so keen about it.

P.—Why, you must be trying to make fun of me. I thought everybody knew that the Hindu University constitutes a new departure in education in India, or as some would put it, a return to the old conditions, and will open a new epoch in the history of our country, because it will put an end to the divorce between education and religion which has been allowed to continue for a long time.

V.—Please be more particular; generalities generally go wrong. No doubt, it is grand to put an end to the divorce between education and religion, but you can do it only by putting an end to the divorce between life and religion. What I want to know and what I am sure you can tell me is, how you mean to go about in making this new departure in education.

P.—Well, the details are not all settled, but our aim is to impart religious education so that our young men may no longer be indifferent to religion, and their character may receive the same training and discipline as their intellect.

V.—That is a grand thing indeed if it can be realised in practice.

P.—But why should you doubt it? Don't you know that we Hindus are the most spiritual people in the world, and can boast with justice of deeper and more continuous spiritual culture than any other nation in the world? You cannot surely be ignorant of the great spiritual achievements of our ancestors, and why should we, their descendants, who have kept unsullied the purity of their blood, be unable to walk in their footsteps?

V.—I yield to none in the admiration of our forefathers, but don't you think we build our hopes too much on their achievements? The wisdom of our ancestors, deep and broad as it was, is no substitute for present-day ignorance. I for one do not entertain much hope of any people who rest content with warming themselves at the ashes of ancient fires and shining by the borrowed lustre of the achievements of their ancestors. The difference between our wise forefathers and our foolish selves is so great that I sometimes doubt whether we are justified in basing any hopes of our future on their greatness. But we are wandering from the point, and you have not answered my question.

P.—What other answer do you want? Didn't I tell you that our aim was to impart religious education and so forth?

V.—Yes, but how are you going to do it? That's what I want to know.

P.—I have not got any syllabus with me, but we all know how education is imparted. We shall have the most eminent professors of divinity to teach religion and morality, and they will give our young men a correct notion of our religion, our Sanatana Dharma, so that they will no longer be ignorant of their religion.

V.—So, you think you can teach religion and morality just like science and mathematics, and that it is all a question of professors and lecture-rooms, in short a mere matter of money.

P.—Why not?

V.—I am surprised to hear that question. May I remind you of the Meno of Plato? In that dialogue Socrates made it very clear why virtue cannot be taught so easily as imagined; and religion which is virtue *plus* something, and at any rate cannot be less than virtue, will not prove less easy to teach than virtue. But probably you mean by religion religious doctrine and by morality moral maxims. These no doubt can be taught in the ordinary way.

P.—And are not these sufficient?

V.—Surely you do not mean to say that it is on account of want of knowledge of religious doctrine and moral maxims that our young men go wrong, and that you have only to tell them what is right and proper and they will do it. Let me tell you, mere erudition of any sort is merely a load of learned lumber and worse than useless, and mere theological erudition is worst of all.

P.—No doubt it is so, but do you know of any other method of imparting religious education?

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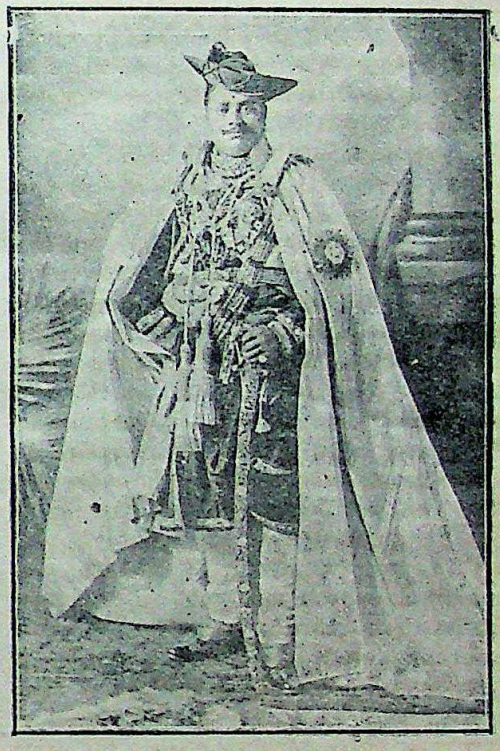
H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.
Chancellor of the Hindu University.



H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF GWALIOR.
Pro-Chancellor of the Hindu University.

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HON'BLE PUNDIT SUNDAR LAL.
Vice-Chancellor of the Hindu University.

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It is easy to criticise but how else can religion be taught? We cannot command success but can only do what lies in our power. We must therefore rest content with teaching religious doctrine and hope for the best.

V.—You ask me whether I know of any other method. I tell you there is one and only one method of imparting religious education. Religion must be lived before it can be taught; and we grown up people must make our life reflect the light of religion if we want our young men to seek for that light and to walk in it.

P.—Here are generalities with a vengeance, and those from the lips of one who does not like them. Please drop metaphor and confine yourself to the level ground. How are we to make our life reflect the light of religion?

V.—Before I answer your question I should like to know whether we mean the same thing when we speak of religion. What is your notion of religion?

P.—I have not got any cut-and-dried definition of religion. Let me know what is your idea of it.

V.—Stripped of all its excrescences, religion is in my opinion nothing but submission and obedience to what we believe to be the will of God; and a man can know the true doctrine only if he do His will. Do you agree?

P.—Oh yes, that will do as a working definition.

V.—Well then, if to fear God and do His commandments is the pith of religion, you must agree with me that, in whatever else we may disagree, there is no doubt that it is God's will that we should feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and shelter the wretched. There is no metaphor in this, nothing abstract, nothing beyond the meanest comprehension.

P.—I do not dispute it.

V.—Are we then fulfilling these primary commandments in our life? Do we not, on the other hand, make of gold and silver our God as Dante says, and strive to perform not the will of God but the will of Mammon? Is not our whole life a race unto that life which is death?

P.—I cannot deny it but you must make allowance for the weakness of human nature. The spirit is willing though the flesh is weak.

V.—Is the spirit really willing? I doubt it very much. I go further and ask you—whatever our own professions and practice may be—whether we really want our children to do God's will to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked and all the rest of it? Do we really wish our boys and girls to be taught to do this, drilled and disciplined to do this, to be examined with reference to this, declared to have passed or failed on this basis? Surely this would be an examination worth having, and of such examinations alone it cannot be said with justice that *perverse studere qui examinibus studeant.* But we look upon such an ideal as impracticable if not as actually foolish. We do not want our boys to give what they have to the poor and look only to the treasure in heaven—to "take stars for money." No, we want them to get on in the world, to get money—honestly if they can—but in any case to get it, to be well-established in the world, and to shun poverty as something worse than the deadliest of sins. Our exhortations to our sons are in the same sense though not in the same words as those employed by Boileau in his seventh satire: *Endurcis-toi le cœur; sois arabe, corsaire . . . Ne va point sottement faire le généreux; Engrasse-toi, mon fils, du suc des malheureux.*

P.—What do these words mean? I do not understand French very well.

V.—This is what they mean "Harden your heart; be an Arab, a pirate; never be so foolish as to do a generous action; fatten yourself, my son, at the expense of the unfortunate." We do not speak in this plain-spoken manner to our children but the sum and effect of what we say is the same. Don't you see that we incline not only our own hearts to covetousness but even the hearts of our children by our professions no less than by our practice? How then can you say that the spirit is willing?

P.—No doubt almost all of us grown-up people do work for wrong ends, but there are some who desire that their children should walk in the right way and should be taught to do so. Why should you object to it?

V.—I do not object to it, but I say it is a vain desire, and that it is the height of folly to expect that while we follow false images of good-*imagini di ben seguendo false*—our children would nevertheless take the narrow path that leads to heaven. The influence of example is nowhere more marked than in this—that, as George Herbert says, "in vice the copy still exceeds the pattern."

P.—There is a good deal in what you say, but you seem to ignore the potential virtue in man and the influence of careful and well-considered training on the character of young people. We are all fond of life and limb, and prefer comfort to discomfort, and yet how is it that millions of young men willingly and cheerfully enlist in the army and expose themselves to every risk for their country's sake, how even the soldiers of conscript armies after undergoing a short period

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of training acquire that soldierly spirit which subordinates self to the interest of all?

V.—You are now throwing new light on the subject, and I shall be glad if you develop your point of view.

P.—I cannot do better than read to you the following extract from the Infantry Training Manual issued by the British General Staff:—"The objects in view in developing a soldierly spirit are to help the soldier to bear fatigue, privation and danger cheerfully; to imbue him with a sense of honour; to give him confidence in his superiors and comrades; to increase his powers of initiative, of self-confidence and of self-restraint; to train him to obey orders, or to act in the absence of orders for the advantage of his regiment under all conditions; to produce such a high degree of courage and disregard of self that in the stress of battle he will use his brains and his weapons coolly and to the best advantage; to impress upon him that so long as he is physically capable of fighting, surrender to the enemy is a disgraceful act; and finally to teach him to act in combination with his comrades in order to defeat the enemy." Now this is a high enough ideal; in fact it is sufficient not merely for battles of the ordinary kind but also for the battle of life. And can it be denied that this high ideal is appreciably realised in actual practice? If then you can teach the true soldierly spirit to your soldiers, why can you not teach the same self-sacrificing spirit to your young men? If we take the same pains we shall achieve a similar success, and, please God, we shall try our best to take at least equal pains.

V.—Now you are talking to some purpose. The necessity of self-subjection for the sake of serving others, of supplanting the carnal root of selfishness by the spiritual seed of selflessness, of creating a longing for things that are pure and honest in order to kill the appetite for things that are evil and forbidden, and of teaching, on the one hand, the futility of thrift and the foolishness of accumulation, and on the other, the duty of spending and the economy of wise expenditure, has never yet been clearly recognized by those persons, whose duty it is to educate children in the home or in the school. Yet the need for these lessons is not less than the need for others; nor is the work of building up character laid on a sure foundation unless the spirit of gain is replaced by the spirit of service and the range of our education includes not only the task of enabling our young people to keep themselves unspotted from the world, but the duty of washing off the spots of the world also. And let me assure you, this is not to be done by lectures however eloquent or by professors however learned, but only by setting an example ourselves in our daily lives, or if that is not possible, at least by showing honour to the true and the good instead of the wealthy and the powerful.

P.—I cannot but agree with you, and let us hope, my friend, that the authorities of the Hindu University are not ignorant of these things. Meanwhile it is the duty of all of us to help them to the limit of our power in realising the bright expectations of all who are interested in the cause of true education. This talk of ours will not have been in vain if it has strengthened our purpose to do our very best in this noble cause.

JAPANESE WOMEN.

(Letters of a Japanese Scholar to an English Friend.)

BY MR. V. B. METTA.

MY DEAR WILSON,

Most Western men and women are taught to believe from their very childhood that the East is and has always been treating its women shamefully. Now, there can be no more ridiculous idea than this! Learn something more of the Orient before passing such a judgment on it.

The East has rightly felt through its imaginative instinct that woman must above everything else be the eternal guardian of human morality; and, therefore, the one and the only place where she can exercise her noblest influence is her home. 'Make your home happy,' thinks the Eastern woman, 'in order to make your nation good and great.'

You should not think, however, that this ideal has prevented our women from achieving greatness in other walks of life. Far from it. We have had a greater number of able queens on our

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throne than probably any other country in the world. In the Kamakura period, there were many Amazons in Japan, who used to fight against the strongest of our knights. Our Empress Jingo herself led a great army for the first conquest of Korea in pre-Buddhistic times. There have been many Japanese women, who have attained great distinction in the world of letters also. In fact, during one period of our history, the whole of our native literature was in the hands of women, whilst our men were devoting their time and energy to the study of the Chinese Classics. It was during that period that two of our greatest novels, called 'Genji Monogatari' and 'Makura-No-Zoshi' were written.

As the Western ideals of womanhood have been penetrating into Japan since the last fifty years, every Japanese, who loves his country and its old ideals, is justified in frankly expressing what he thinks of the atmosphere in which Western women are brought up.

Your ideas of chivalry are different from ours, —in that you admire mostly youth and physical beauty in women, while we respect women as women, whether they be young or old, beautiful or otherwise. These sensuous ideas of yours have been the cause of endless troubles to you in your domestic life. You talk with neurotic enthusiasm of your 'beloved' before marriage. But as soon as you are married, the poetry of your senses evaporates and indifference towards your wife follows. This 'indifference' leads highly-strung people like you Westerners to—polygamy. Yes—polygamy!—not open and legalised, as it is practised in many Eastern countries, but hidden from the eyes of the world and therefore very degrading!

All your modern art is meant to promote this immoral polygamy, by thrilling your nerves, exciting your senses, and making you feel sensually hungry and thirsty. What are your nude and half-nude pictures and statues meant for—if not to make you long for undesirable bodily pleasures? Most of your present-day music is not soothing and elevating as it ought to be. It is mentally and morally troubled. Your poets have done very little on the whole beyond apotheosizing the ephemeral sensations and feelings of lovers before marriage, unlike Eastern poets—who prefer to sing of the calm and ever-lastingly noble virtues of married men and women. And your prose-writers!—what are they doing at present? Are not some of them trying to justify prostitution from an artistic point of view?

Marriage is becoming less and less sacred in your eyes. You cut the nuptial bond, whenever you find it convenient to do so. The ideal of motherhood, the noblest ideal that a woman can cherish in this life, is naturally despised by women in societies such as yours; for, are they not educated for short-lived flirtations and courtships rather than for life-long duties of motherhood? O, how degraded must a woman be, who thinks lightly of the divine rights and duties of wifehood and motherhood!

To add to the fun of the comedy of your social life, the suffragette has now appeared amongst you. She wants to upset not only society, but Nature itself! She laughs at 'mere' man, who prepared the way for her advent. She calls him 'selfish,' 'brutal', and by a dozen other equally polite epithets. She declares her mission to be to introduce order in Western society. I do hope she will succeed for your sake; for, is not order badly wanted in your society? In one respect at least your suffragette is quite logical and clear-sighted. You people have been talking ceaselessly about the 'equality' (that vaguest of words!) of the sexes, and so she naturally comes forward now and says: 'Well, if we are your equals, let us also take part in every kind of work which you men are doing—be it social, moral, athletic, or political.'

To be quite frank, I, for one, do not want any Western influence in our domestic life. For what is the aim of life, the goal towards which every individual aspires? It is happiness. Now, have you succeeded to any appreciable extent in making yourselves happy?—No! On the contrary you have done everything to drive away enduring happiness from your midst. Your dramatic literature mirrors the wreck that you have made of your life. Compared with you, we Japanese are really happy. The East is conservative, because she knows herself, and the meaning of human life. After much thought and experience she has adopted and has been firmly keeping up her faith in those ideals, which tend to make the majority of human beings happy. The West is childish and mistakes 'change' for 'real progress. She destroys her ideals very soon after creating them. She cannot believe in anything altogether, and so she suffers without getting either happier or stronger through her sufferings.

Yours Sincerely,

J. OKAKURA.

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Robert Louis Stevenson: As Man and Author.*

BY K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

Romance bears to novel the same relation that poetry bears to prose. It satisfies the desire for something above and beyond the little world wherein we are cribbed, cabined, and confined, and lends to life an added grace and charm, and reveals the eternal meaning, purpose, and value of things. As Professor Saintsbury says: Romance is eternal while novel is transitory. Again, Mr. Raleigh points out: "Time and again, in the world's history, where East meets West, the spirit of romance has been born." Just as in the 16th and 17th centuries the drama overshadowed the novel as a literary form in English literature, in modern times the novel overshadows the drama. Even in the realm of the novel we see an evolution due to the busy life of modern times and the tyranny of journalism. The long novel has given place to the short story, and sensation-hunting, which is the life breath of journalism, has invaded the sacred sphere of art. The democratisation of literature and the influence of free circulating libraries have further influenced the evolution of the novel. In such an age it is refreshing to come across a real writer of romance who is at the same time a great literary genius.

Miss Amy Cruse has very well brought out in her work the great qualities of Stevenson as a man and as a writer. One observation by her is worth pondering over. She says at the very beginning of her work: "The history of English Literature on its biographical side serves to show how few of our great writers have come of a literary stock. In one instance after another the same story is repeated; a strong and virile race, following some active occupation, produces at a certain stage a man or woman who provides it with means of expression; and, though this is probably mere coincidence, the branch of the family thus distinguished has a way of soon afterwards dwindling and dying out." R. L. Stevenson had a sensitive and emotional nature. He says: "I seem to have been born with a sentiment of something moving in things of an infinite attraction and horror coupled." He had this "vivid, strenuous quality" all through his life. To him "facts mattered less always than feelings." Mr. Gosse says of him: "A child-like mirth leaped and danced in him; he seemed to skip upon the hills of life." His life itself was a romance. It is of interest to us to learn the following fact about one of his masterpieces:—"He saw in his sleep, he tells us, two of the most important scenes in history, and when he woke, although he was still very weak from a recent attack of hæmorrhage, he sat down and wrote, from the suggestion thus given, the story of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." He took also a keen interest in public affairs. He died in 1894. His *Requiem* is a wonderful poem, summing up his life—nay, all life, all worthy life—admirably.

> Under the wide and starry sky
> Dig the grave and let me lie
> Glad did I live and gladly die,
> And I laid me down with a will.
> This be the verse you grave for me;
> Here he lies where he longed to be;
> Home is the sailor, home from the sea,
> And the hunter home from the hill.

His range and versatility are wonderful. I do not propose to discuss his works in any detail here. "He wrote essays, plays, novels, short stories, lyrics and blank verses, fables, lay sermons, and prayers." His greatest charm as a writer is his "distinctive and finished style." He has defined literature as "words used to the best purpose, with no waste, but going tight round a subject." Conciseness, daintiness, exquisiteness of epithet, humour, and pathos distinguish his wonderful style. But even more than the charm of his style is the charm of his personality as revealed in his works. I shall conclude this all-too-brief sketch with the following precious words of Stevenson's in his *Memories and Portraits*:—"True romantic art, again, makes a romance of all things. It reaches into the highest abstraction of the ideal; it does not refuse the most pedestrian realism . . . Fiction is to the grown man what play is to the child; it is there that he changes the atmosphere and tenor of his life; and when the game so chimes with his fancy that he can join in it with all his heart, when it pleases him with every turn, when he loves to recall it and dwells upon its recollection with entire delight, fiction is called romance."

*Robert Louis Stevenson. By Amy Cruse. ["Heroes of All Time" Series:] George G. Harrap & Co., London.

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SCIENCE AND INDUSTRIES.*

BY DR. M. SRINIVASA RAU, M.A., M.D., ETC.

(Director of Public Health Institute and Sanitary Commissioner, Mysore State, Bangalore.)

INDIA is and has been an agricultural country. Whatever industries there might have been in the past, they have now become moribund if not extinct, through causes which are well known to every one and which consequently need not be enumerated. Great Britain has the reputation of being chiefly an industrial country. Agriculture is very much in the background. The land does not produce enough to feed even a portion of the population. Much of the food-stuffs including meat, eggs, butter and milk has to be imported. In times of peace, industrial occupations took the foremost place, and the people and the Government felt confident that whatever food materials they required they could purchase from other countries. But the captains of industry used to fight shy of anything which savoured of science, especially pure science and research work. The highly educated Government officials and capitalists were more or less ignorant of science. It was for many of them an unknown and mysterious region into which they preferred not to penetrate. The satirist of the future will point out that it required a European war of unparalleled magnitude to bring about the official recognition of the bearing of science upon industry.

What do we find in Germany? There the Government and the people are fully alive to the value of developing both agriculture and industries on scientific lines. During the last 16 months of the war, the Germans have been able to feed themselves and their army though no foodstuffs reach them from outside. They have proved the world that they are capable of manufacturing all the munitions they want for the carrying on of this stupendous struggle. German industries have prospered and the manufacture of many important commercial substances has become the monopoly of the Germans. This is pre-eminently so in the case of chemical industries. The reason is that the Germans appreciate the value of research more than the English. In Germany research work is absolutely indispensable for the ordinary degree of any University. Every aspirant for a science degree is trained in general methods of research. In later life he is able to tackle the many problems that may present themselves for solutions with confidence of success.

The British manufacturer develops his particular industry on so-called "practical" lines. He is satisfied with manufacturing articles which depend upon a market already existing. The Germans realised the folly of the view and their methods superseded those of the British. Scientific supervision and investigation are in the forefront of the German system. Industries were built up which could never have been started under the English regime. Many industrially useful articles were, in the scientific sense, created and then introduced to the public. The older methods of improving existing manufactures by imperial methods gave place to the new system. Thus the British manufacturer was confronted with the German scientific industrialist, who was working for a new era where profits would be large and developments world-wide. To give a single instance:—The manufacture of large quantities of ammonium nitrate, and nitric acid from synthetic ammonia prepared from the nitrogen of the air, has made Germany not only independent of outside supplies of nitrates but has enabled it to command the world markets.

The English now realise the lagging behind in scientific development may mean a possible loss of supremacy in time of war and of dislocation of home industries in consequence of the lack of materials produced only in countries with which England is now engaged in war. The discovery of aniline dyes was the result of the researches of an English chemist. The scientists as well as the industrialists of Great Britain failed to realise the immense possibilities of the development of a discovery by one of themselves. The scientist in England has come to believe that the application of any scientific discovery to anything of commercial value is beneath the dignity of science. He is apparently content with work having only an "academic value." The stolid English capitalist and manufacturer did not perceive that there was any money in the business which was moreover new to them. But the shrewd Germans at once took advantage of the idea and with lavish State aid built up an industry which has been able to supply the whole world with aniline dyes and which defied any competition. In consequence, England and other countries find themselves helpless and many industries are in danger of closing their works. One and a half million of workmen are more or less dependent in England

* A paper submitted to the Indian Industrial Conference.

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alone upon the continuance of the dyeing industry. The British Government have at last opened their eyes to the seriousness of the situation and realised, too late, the consequences of their apathy towards pure scientific research work. The Government, in addition to a loan of one million pounds towards the capital of a company formed for the manufacture of dyestuffs, has undertaken to make a grant to the company for a period of ten years of £100,000 for the specific purpose of experimental and laboratory work. Chemical research has thus been officially recognised and endowed as an essential factor in solving national industrial problems. The colour industry in England has been crippled during the last thirty years. This is due to the fact that the manufacturers did not realise the true value of employing research chemists in their works. The Farbwerke of Meister, Lucius and Brunung was organised in Germany in 1862 by 2 chemists and 2 merchants with a staff of 5 workmen, one clerk, one chemist, and an engine of 3 horse-power. In 1912, the same firm employed 7,680 workmen, 374 foremen, 307 chemists and 74 higher technical scientists. 13·8 million marcks were paid out as salaries, bonuses and wages. 11,000 different substances were manufactured, and the steam-engine had 30,000 horse-power. To take away the German dye-business built on such a colossal foundation must necessarily be an extremely difficult task. In 1912, the capital of dyeing industries came to £8,000,000 paying a dividend of 22 per cent. The German works have long ago written off the cost of their plant.

Some time ago the English newspapers were full of the glowing opportunities which were said to be at the very doors of British industrialists and manufacturers. These were given the gratuitous advice to take over the numerous industries in which Germany and Austria had a prominent part or a monopoly. To judge from the newspaper correspondence, not a few of the English public seem to think that all that will be required is to subscribe the capital, erect the necessary plant and go full steam ahead forthwith. Such people will have to learn that if they want new industries, they must get into touch with pure science; that if a nation says in effect: "What is the good of research," it will be answered in a most distasteful manner by some other nation which is more enlightened.

Even with the British Government at its back, the newly formed company cannot produce in England the innumerable aniline dyes at a moment's notice. The German company had the foresight to employ research chemists of eminence, paid them handsome salaries, did not ask them to work with the sole aim of producing any particular substance and did not constantly worry them with demands for tangible and paying results. The chemists were thus practically given a free hand to engage in any research that pleased them and that suited their talents. The consequence was that one substance after another was produced from the laboratories. When the directors were satisfied that any particular dye could be put on the market in paying quantities, they added it to their commercial products leaving the chemists free to engage in further research. This policy of trusting to science and its devotees has been amply justified by its results. Merck's chemicals have a word-wide reputation. Grubler's dyes have attained to a similar position. Kahlbaum's chemical reagents have been adopted as standards by all analytical chemists. Witte's peptone drove all others from the market and English bacteriologists are now trying to find a substitute for the same or profess to dispense with it altogether.

Chemically pure sulphuric acid has to come from Germany. All finer kinds of glass for preparation of lenses for microscopes, telescopes and other scientific apparatus were to be had only in Germany. How can England, notwithstanding all its wealth, scientific knowledge and enterprise, hope to produce at a moment's notice all these substances for which it was content to depend upon Germany till now? Germany has had a long start of over 50 years in the scientific race, and it is almost impossible for the other nations to overtake her in the immediate future. Only slow and painstaking research work carried out constantly and without any idea of immediate gain can enable England to come up to her rival in course of time. In spite of the immense economic loss which Germany is sustaining during the continuance of the war if peace were declared to-morrow, the German industrialist will immediately set about his work of production and flood the world's markets with all the substances, in the supply of which he practically holds a monopoly. How can England and the Allies hope to prevent this from happening? The cry now in England is, that the capital is fighting shy of enlarging the industrial works. Within the last 30 years, the British are said to have used their surplus capital in promoting various industries abroad. The idea is prevalent that the British cannot produce goods so cheaply, or sell them so profitably, as their

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German rivals. This is believed to be due to the fact of the German having the combined advantages of protection and free trade; comparatively light taxes *plus* protection against foreign competition in his own country and a free market in Britain, while the British has had to submit to excessive taxation without protection in Great Britain, and his goods have had to carry the handicapping weight of foreign tariff. Without enlarging further on this possibly controversial question, the fact remains that the British industrialist has had to contend against the disadvantage of not having enlisted science in his aid. He is satisfied with what is spoken of as "practical experience," and has little or no love for science.

To improve this lamentable state of affairs, the British Science Guild was formed a few years ago and has since its inception been pointing out that the Germans have brought all the products of science into the commercial contest they have waged against England. It has also been urging that similar methods should be adopted in British manufactures. The object of the Guild is not so much the acquisition of new knowledge as the appreciation of its value and the necessity of employing scientific methods in all departments of the national executive. Lord Haldane, the first President of the British Science Guild, said in 1905:—

"I believe that things will not be right until we have a scientific corps under a permanent commitee, just as the defence committee is under the Prime Minister to-day. I mean a body that will not consist mainly of officials of the ordinary kind but of the most eminent men of science who will be put upon the footing on which they deserve to be placed and are recognised as a body of men who will be at the elbow of the Department and can organise the scientific work of the State. I hope that if we get to this position, the example of a Government adopting science will be followed by the Municipalities, as I believe it is going to be followed by our manufacturers." The pleadings of the British Science Guild apparently fell on deaf ears and a European war nine years later was necessary to galvanise into activity the auditory nerve of the British Nation. The British Government have come to recognise that the promotion of research is one of the duties of the State and have now established a permanent organisation for the promotion of industrial and scientific research There are plenty of scientific workers in England but their work has to be co-ordinated and applied to practical needs. Even the carrying of war to a successful issue depends upon scientific workers. Germany has put all the resources and inventions of her scientific men into the war irrespective of right or wrong. In England, the scientific man who had anything to do with war inventions was snubbed and discouraged. Even the merits of his discoveries for peaceful purpose were deprecated. As Sir Ronald Ross says: "Had we as a nation done more to organise research we should probably have already been in a position to utilise this kind of genius to its utmost. But stupidity always punishes itself."

The British Government have appointed an Advisory Council as scientific advisers to all Government departments concerned with or interested in scientific research, the Advisory Council, with the co-operation of various scientific societies, will consider the applications of science to industry and will seek to enlist the interest of the manufacturers. The Council will also advise the Board of Education as to the steps to be taken for increasing the supply of workers competent to undertake scientific research. When obliged to seek scientfic advice the British manufacturer turns rather to those who have technical experience than to men of pure science engaged in research work. This is proposed to be obviated by the Advisory Council linking up the scientist with some specific industry as is the case in Germany.

Seeing that our chief industry is agriculture, the Government of India is doing the right thing in organising the Agricultural Department on scientific lines. Promotion of research has been recognised as one of the duties of the State. If anything more is to be said at all, it is that the number of workers is short of the real need of the country. We want more agricultural chemists, mycologists, entomologists, and more research institutes and experimental farms in various parts of India. The Imperial and Provincial Departments of Agriculture have done much and are doing more every year for the improvement of agriculture. But the people are so conservative that the effect is hardly perceptible as yet.

When we turn to industries proper, we find the outlook neither bright nor hopeful. A wave of industrialism is passing over India and there is much loose talk about starting new industries. Occasional whispers are heard about "capturing" German trade, whatever that may mean. When a new industry is proposed to be started, the discussion centres round political or economic questions. The vital principle of scientific control has been subordinated or even left out of consideration altogether. The general idea seems to be that all that is necessary, is to subscribe a certain amount of capital, secure Government aid and appoint a board of business directors. The industry is expected to spring into existence at once and to be ready to cope with all emergencies. When the expected dividends do not come, a feeling of disappointment arises, all interest in the industry flags

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and the whole business collapses. Many concerns do not even pass beyond the stage of the publication of the prospectus. All this is because the promoters of an industry are persons without any business or scientific training. No real experts are consulted, no scientific opinion is obtained and things are left to drift and settle themselves as best as they can. Can it be any wonder then that most of the companies floated for this or that industry fail, as they are bound to fail?

The weaving industry in India is suffering much for want of adequate amount of dyes which used to come from Germany. The declaration of war has put a stop to the supply, and the weavers are turning to the dyes which their forefathers were employing. India is rich in a number of vegetable dyes, which may be utilised during the period of the war. But with the fate of the indigo industry before our eyes, who can advise the Indian to go in for improving the manufacture of vegetable dyes? The moment the war is over, the German aniline dyes will drive all the competitors out of the arena. Even England has not been able to stand independent of German dyes, much less supply the needs of India. The question of improving vegetable dyes may therefore be laid aside as impracticable. Much was heard some time ago about the manufacture of oil from the large amount of cotton seed available in this country. Most of it is exported to other lands where the oil is extracted and the by-products are made use of in various ways. Would it not be well before promoting a local company to experiment on the following point? How many varieties of cotton seed are available? What percentage of oil does each variety yield? Whether any relation exists between the amount of oil and cotton fibre, and if so, what that relation is? What is the composition of the cake produced from pressing the various kinds of cotton seed? Whether it would be more advantageous to use the cake as food for cattle or as manure for land? In what proportions is the latter to be used? These and numerous other points require to be worked out before any company manufacturing oil from cotton seed can hope to pay dividends. It is not the principal product only of any industry that will pay, but the utilisation without waste of all bye-products that will help to swell the profits. During the distillation of coal for the manufacture of illuminating gas, coal-tar is formed as one of the bye-products. From this single substance are produced on fractional distillation the following:— Benzol, toluol, carbolic acid, cresols, naphthalein, and anthracene. All these are valuable commercial substances, and numerous other chemicals can be prepared from them. For instance, benzol readily yields aniline from which many beautiful dyes can be manufactured.

There are numerous plants in India which have great reputation for possessing medicinal properties. The Ayurvedic practitioners speak of a good number of medicinal plants, the pharmaceutical preparations from which are said to have specific curative powers in particular diseases. Many such plants cannot now be identified. The descriptions found in ancient Sanskrit works are so obscure that we cannot be certain to what particular plant they refer. Indian addendum to the British Pharmacopœia contains a few Indian drugs but many more are awaiting identification and investigation. This offers a wide field for co-operation between science and industry. A company formed to exploit the Indian drugs must have the scientific co-operation of a chemist, a physiologist, a bacteriologist, and a physician The chemist would isolate the active principles of plants, studying their physical and chemical properties. The physiologist would conduct experiments on animals studying the action of drugs on the various organs and tissues of the animal body. The bacteriologist would test their action on various bacteria. When the mass of facts collected by the chemist, the bacteriologist, and the physiologist is sufficient to justify the administration of any drug to man, the physician comes in and administers the drug and its preparations in suitable cases. When all these conditions are satisfied, the drug will naturally secure a recognised position in the Pharmacopœia, and those that manage the business side of the company will place the substance on the market to the best advantage. Large wholesale firms of chemists and druggists in Germany, and to a smaller extent in England, have their own chemical, physiological, bacteriological and pharmacological laboratories attached to their own works and employ whole-time scientists to carry on investigations. To the "practical man," who has an eye on whether research is returning value for money spent upon it, all this will appear to be quite unnecessary. Unfortunately also, official criticism always likes to take its cue from the "practical man." Yet in the very nature of things, research work must remain not merely unappreciated by, but unintelligible to, the "practical man."

Another promising industry is the manufacture

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of glass. It requires the co-operation of science just as much as the pharmaceutical industry. The raw materials required are quartz, sand, sodium carbonate, lime, red lead and oxides of manganese, nickel, cobalt, zinc, arsenic, etc. Investigation is necessary as to the composition of various sands available to determine which of them are most suitable. Any company formed for the manufacture of glass must be able to prepare all the sodium carbonate it requires. This again means scientific help. The other raw materials need as much scientific investigation as those above mentioned. Research chemists should be employed to determine the composition of the glass manufactured and to suggest any desirable modifications for the preparation of glass suited for various purposes. It will be within the recollection of many of us that a glass manufacturing company formed in Madras came to grief within a very short time of its commencing work. Whatever other causes there may have been for the failure of this enterprise, the neglect of the promoters to call in the aid of Science must have been one of them. Last Christmas there was an exhibition of some glass-ware in Madras by an Indian company, which was expected to supply all that Austria was doing before the war broke out. We hear very little of the activities of this company which may, for all we know, be in a state of suspended animation. Sending a few Indians to Japan to learn the process of glass manufacture will not bring a new industry into existence nor will it materially help any companies that may be already struggling in the field. Manufacture in small quantities of inferior glass from materials, the composition of which is unknown, will never be a paying concern. Unless the highest scientific talent is brought to bear on all aspects of the subject, the manufacture of glass will not advance beyond the amateurish stage.

All that has been said above with regard to glass will apply with equal force to the manufacture of soaps The raw materials are here in plenty but unless the industry is carried on with the aid of scientific workers, prospects of success will be remote.

If industries are to flourish in India, it can only be by affording to them a firm foundation based on scientific investigation. There is hardly any industry worth the name, into which science does not enter and which cannot be improved by the adoption of scientific methods. The example of what Germany has been able to achieve by trusting to scientific research work, ought to be a sufficient stimulus to the Government of India, and to the Governments of Feudatory States, to induce them to deal with established and nascent Indian industries in a similar spirit.

A LITTLE KNOWN PART OF INDIA.

BY MR. FRANK NOYCE, I.C.S.

COLONEL Shakespear has done a useful piece of work in compiling this history* of a little known part of India, with which a long connexion with the Assam Military Police has given him an intimate acquaintance. It is a great pity that he is not the possessor of a more attractive style.

As Mr. Burn remarked in an article published in the *Hindustan Review* some years ago, the history of Assam possesses a special interest for several reasons, one of the chief of which is that there is probably no part of India in which the gradual spread of Hinduism and the decay or transformation of primitive tribal beliefs can be traced so completely as here. Assam has perhaps a greater wealth of historical records of real value than any other part of India. These are the "buranjis" of the Ahoms, the latest comers and the most powerful of the peoples of Assam. The word "buranji," as Mr. Burn explains, means "a store that teaches the ignorant." The "buranjis" commence from the early part of the thirteenth century and are written in the Pali character on oblong strips in book form. They have been kept up to date by the priests and leading families.

The history of Assam down to the advent of British rule is mainly the history of the struggle for domination of the three great tribes, the Kacharis, Kocches and the Ahoms, varied in its later stages by the incursions of the Muhammadans. The Kacharis reached the height of their power in 1230, the Kocches in 1560, and the Ahoms in 1700. The Kacharis and the Kocches (whose

*History of Upper Assam, Upper Burmah and North Eastern Frontier, by L. W. Shakespear, Colonel, 2nd Gurkhas: London, Macmillan and Co.

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name survives in Cooch Behar which represents all that is left of the once powerful Kocch kingdom) were the aboriginal inhabitants of Assam, whilst the Ahoms were non-Buddhist Shans who moved west from Upper Burma in the early part of the thirteenth century and rapidly extended their power at the expense of the Kacharis. The Ahoms first came into conflict with the Muhammadans in 1401, but neither this nor the Muhammadan invasion of 1527 which, according to Mr. Burn, is the first Muhammadan invasion recorded in the "buranjis," could have been Moghul incursions, as stated by Colonel Shakespear, for it was not until 1538 that Humayun conquered Bengal only to lose it again almost immediately. The dynasty of Iliyas Shan was on the throne of Bengal in 1401, whilst that of Husain Shah, an Arab Saiyid, occupied it at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was during the invasion of 1527, that the Ahoms used firearms for the first time. By 1662, when the most formidable of the Muhammadan invasions, that under Mir Jumla, occurred, they had become proficient in the art of forging iron for cannon and of making powder and had attained some skill in the use of firearms. Mir Jumla's invasion opened brilliantly, only to end in disaster the following year when he retired defeated rather by weather and disease than by the Ahom forces. He died just before reaching Dacca. Ahom territory was finally freed from the Muhammadans by Gadadhar Sing, who reigned from 1681 to 1696 and succeeded in obtaining a treaty which fixed the Manas river as the western boundary of Assam. Gadadhar Sing was succeeded by the greatest of all the Ahom monarchs, Rudra Sing, who, during a reign of eighteen years, annexed the territories of the Jaintias and Kacharis, subdued the neighbouring hill-tribes, improved communications, established an extensive trade with Tibet and started schools for Brahmans. The seeds of decay of the Ahom dominion had, however, already been sown. Although the Ahom dynasty had become Hindu nearly a century earlier, Pratap Sing having been converted about 1613, it was not until the reign of Rudra Sing that Hinduism became the religion of the country. The result was a steady deterioration in the physique of the people, for under the new regime the use of meat and strong drinks was forbidden and, in a climate like that of Assam, the break with old habits could hardly fail to have a disastrous effect. Decay was hastened by sectarian troubles. The prolonged persecution of the Moamarias, a Vaishnavite sect, culminated in 1769 in a rebellion in which the royalist forces were defeated and the king and the greater part of his nobility put to death. The first appearance of the English in Assam was in 1792, when the British lent the Raja, Gaurinath Sing, troops under Captain Welch to assist him in dealing with the Moamarias. Welch was entirely successful in his immediate purpose but Sir John Shore, who had succeeded Lord Cornwallis, faithful to the policy of non-intervention which then held the field, recalled him to Bengal. He left very reluctantly and his anticipations that his departure would be followed by chaos in Assam were speedily fulfilled. The next king, Chandrakant, having no hope of help from the British turned to the Burmese. His allies became his masters and once in his territory he could not get them out of it. They ravaged Assam from end to end. An invasion of British territory was threatened. The British had no option but to oppose the invaders and, in 1826, they were driven over the Assam border. The work of restoring order and of consolidation had then to be undertaken. The history of Assam proper after its completion is one of peaceful development, the most striking feature of which was the wonderful progress of the tea industry, to which Colonel Shakespear might perhaps have devoted more space.

From the history of Assam proper, Colonel Shakespear passes to the history of the frontier tribes, both of the Assamese and Burmese borderland. Recent punitive expeditions and exploration parties have made the names of these, especially of the Abors, Mishmis, and Hkamptis familiar outside Assam. Here there are no "buranjis," and such history as the tribes have, is mainly the history of punitive expeditions which, in Colonel Skakespear's opinion, have not at any rate until quite recent times been particularly successful in achieving their purpose. His views on the policy, which should have been followed, are somewhat obscure but he apparently thinks that the objects of the military expeditions could have been better secured by a battalion of military police with backing of a company or two of Gurkha regulars.

Intermingled with the history of the frontier tribes there is much information concerning their manners and customs, gleaned by Colonel Shakespear during his service on the frontier. This part of the book has the personal touch and is therefore of the greatest interest and value. Illustrated as it is by excellent photographs of the different types of the tribes met with in the borderland and of their buildings, it should be specially welcome to all students of anthropology.

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The Educative Influence of Sanskrit*

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR. HARA PRASAD SHASTRI.

A VERY distinguished Indian gentleman, during the middle of the last century, gave pithily the effect of English and Sanskrit education: 'Sanskrit education closes the eyes and English education opens them.' As the gentleman who uttered this is revered all over India as an educationist, as a scholar, as a philanthropist and as a reformer, my first object would be to examine his dictum with care to see how far he was correct.

I believe that in the middle of the nineteenth century he had a justification in making such a remark. The extent, the variety, the depth, and the influence of Sanskrit literature was little known at his time. He saw Pandits studying Sanskrit grammar for years, memorising *Kosas* and bestowing years and years of hard labour on a few treatises either of philosophy or law; while students of English colleges were mastering not only the idioms of a difficult foreign language, but studying the mysteries of Nature in science and mathematics, and of man in the past, in the present and in the future, in a few years. One may suppose that what the English scholars gain in extension, the Sanskrit scholars gain in depth. But life being short, it is a poor consolation to acquire depth at so much sacrifice of time and trouble.

But a change has come over the spirit of education in sixty years. In 1876, while distributing prizes to the successful students of the Sanskrit College of Calcutta, Sir Richard Temple, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, said :—

'The education of a Hindu gentleman can never be said to be complete without a thorough mastery of Sanskrit language and literature.' He said so at a time when the operations in the search of Sanskrit manuscripts had but just begun. These operations all over India for the last fifty years have revealed the whole literature on a great variety of subjects, both secular and religious. Sanskrit is no longer regarded as a religious and priestly literature alone. The secular branches of this literature are drawing the admiration of the savants of Europe and America; and new discoveries are constantly being made. After conducting the operations in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in various parts of India for thirty years, I can confidently affirm that the Sanskrit literature reflects life in ancient India in all its aspects; and it records the achievements of a great nation in all its departments of life.

I will dilate on these departments of life later on, but in passing I should remark that Sir Richard Temple, had he been alive now, would have dropped the word 'Hindu' from his remarks made in 1876, and would have said that the education of no gentleman would be complete without a thorough mastery of the Sanskrit language and literature; and my revered old friend would have retracted his caustic remark, seeing that Sanskrit education also can open the eyes as fully as English education.

WONDERFUL CONTINUITY.

M. Taine, the French *savant*, in giving reasons for undertaking to write a history of English literature, says that he was attracted to it by its wonderful continuity; other literatures of Europe have their breaks, gaps and chasms; but English literature has none, from Chaucer down to the present day, that is, for five hundred years. If Taine considers a continuity for five hundred years a wonderful continuity, what would he have said if he knew that the Sanskrit literature had no break at least from 1500 B.C. to the present day? He would have certainly said, it is seven times at least more wonderful. Max Muller indeed said that Sanskrit went to sleep for seven centuries from the rise of Buddhism in the IVth century B.C. to the rise of the Gupta Empire in the IVth century A.D. He seems to have been misled by the official language used in inscriptions, which in B.C. and in early A.D. was wholly in Sanskritic Prakrita, and became Sanskrit from the IVth century downwards. His theory has not taken root amongst scholars, as scores of the finest of fine Sanskrit works are products of the period when he thought 'Sanskrit went to sleep.' Can there be any doubt that Patanjali wrote his Mahabhasya in the reign of Pushyamitra, for whom he officiated in the horse sacrifice in the beginning of the second century B.C.? Is there any doubt that, Kautilya, who wrote his great work on Economics, was the minister of Chandragupta, and therefore, a contemporary of Alexander the Great? Can there be a doubt that the illustrious dramatist, Bhasa, who is spoken of so appreciably by no less a personage than Kalidasa, is quoted by Kautilya, and, therefore, belongs to a period anterior to him? Can there be any doubt that Kohala, Sandilya, Dhurtita and

* Paper read at the Central Hindu College, Benares, recently under the chairmanship of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

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Vatsya, the voluminous compilers of the great work on Dramaturgy, in which Bharata appears as one of the interlocutors, flourished in the second century B.C.? Did not Asvaghosa, the *Guru* of the great Emperor Kaniska; Nagarjuna, the illustrious founder of the Mahayana School of Buddhism, and his still more illustrious pupils, Aryadeva and Maitreya Natha, cast lustre on the first, second and third centuries after Christ? This long continuity of Sanskrit literature appears to be still more wonderful, when you take into consideration the revolutions, political and religious, social and economic, racial and educational, that have swept over the face of India during these long centuries. When retarded in one province, Sanskrit literature flourished in the rest of the provinces; when the north felt the pressure of foreign invasion, the Sanskrit literature flourished in the south and in the east. Thus the continuity of the literature was never broken, though Indian life was distracted in various parts in various times. Take the 13th century of the Christian era, when all the kingdoms of Northern India were swept away by the invasion of the sturdy mountaineers of Afghanistan, and the entire Hindu society there was convulsed by a revolution the like of which the world has never seen. Even at such a time Sanskrit literature flourished exuberantly amongst the followers of the Jaina religion in Guzarat and Malwa, amongst the immediate followers of Madhavacharya in Western India, amongst the immediate disciples of Ramanuja in Southern India, and amongst the Srottriya Brahmanas in Mithila. The next century saw the over-running of the whole of India by the Moghuls and Pathans, but it saw at the same time the rise of men like Madhavacharya in Karnata, Vedantadesika in Dravida, Candesvara in Mithila, and a host of great writers in Orissa.

THE EDUCATIVE EFFECT.

Does not this wonderful continuity have a wonderful effect? It strengthens imagination, it produces a sense of pride and nobility, and it gives an idea of permanence, the value of which can scarcely be over-rated. Its philological value is immense. It begins with the first simple utterances of a wondering humanity and ends with the complex and extremely complicated expressions of the modern Naiyayikas. Its linguistic value is equally great. It shows how the colloquial languages of the different parts of India have changed century by century, while the classical language remains the same—immune from all changes, like a mighty mountain in the midst of flowing streams and changeful forests. It also gives a history of development of thought from the element worship of the early Aryans to the boldest speculations about the origin of the world and the final destiny of humanity.

THE MAGNIFICENT VOLUME.

The volume of the Sanskrit literature alone, if you do not take into consideration the various literatures of the Sanskrit language, namely, the mixed Sanskrit, the Pali, Daksinatya, the Maharastra, the Sauraseni, the Magadhi, the Jaina, Prakrta, the Apabhransa languages and the various stages of the modern vernaculars, is extensive and magnificent. The volume of Sanskrit works exceeds the volume of Latin and Greek literatures put together cent per cent. In 1891, Theodore Aufrecht published his first monumental work—the first volume of his *Catalogus Catalogorum* and it enumerates over 30,000 of individual works. He published two more volumes before his death and added the names of 10,000 more works to our knowledge. But the number is not yet exhausted. Every corner of India is giving us the names of unknown old works in Sanskrit by scores, nay, we are getting such names even from the remotest corners of Asia. The sands on Taklamakan and Gobi deserts have recently opened out an immense amount of buried treasure of Sanskrit literature. China, Japan, Korea, Tibet, and Mongolia are also contributing their share in adding to our knowledge of this voluminous literature. Yet one of our great savants, Pundarika, whom the Buddhists of India considered to have been an incarnation of Avalokitesvara, says in one of his works that Rome, the Nile Provinces, Persia, Cina, Mahacina, had their share of Sanskrit literature and Sanskrit culture. If again we look from another point of view, we are struck with astonishment to find how the hundreds of languages and thousands of dialects from Madagascar to Formosa, nay even beyond these limits, have been materially influenced by loans from Sanskrit language and literature.

The above will give my hearers some idea of the magnificent extent of Sanskrit literature, but it is not still exhausted and it shows no signs of exhaustion. Vast tracts of countries and numberless private collections still remain to be surveyed before one can pronounce that Sanskrit literature goes so far and no further. If we dive again into this literature itself, we find that we are only getting the latest results of activity in a particular branch of science or art—all previous works on the subject having passed into complete

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oblivion—as instances in point—Panini speaks of fifteen different schools of grammar that preceded him—Kautilya in his Arthasastra speaks of ten different schools of Economics that preceded him —Kohala in his Natyasastra also speaks of various schools of dramaturgy, each having Sutras, Bhasyas, Vartikas, Niruktas, Samgrahas and Karikas of its own—even Vatsayana in his Kamasuttra speaks not only of his predecessors in the entire Sastra, but also of his predecessors in each of the seven *adhikaranas* into which it is divided. Take any Sanskrit work in the Suttra form either Srauta or Grhya, either Darsana or Alamkara; either Vyakarana or Chandah; and you will be confronted with a large number of authors and works which it quotes either in support of its own ideas or for the purpose of refutation.

INFINITE VARIETY.

I have spoken of the wonderful continuity and the magnificent volume of Sanskrit literature, *i.e.*, its extension in time and space. I will now examine its contents and show its astonishing variety. There is a baseless misconception—current both in Europe and in India—that Sanskrit contains only the religious literature of the Hindus. As I have said before, the state of Sanskrit education in the 18th and 19th centuries to a very great extent gave colour to this misconception in India; and the first awakening in Sanskrit in the beginning of the 19th century, and a very limited number of Sanskrit works known there, can easily account for the misconception in Europe. But the gradual unfolding of the vast extent of Sanskrit literature during the 19th and the early part of this century has done much to dispel this cloud of misconception. It is now well known that Sanskrit literature contains not only the religious literature of the Brahmanas but also of the Buddhists and the Jainas—not to speak of other religions which have perished after doing their mission of good in India. That the religious life of India, nay, of the whole of Southern and Eastern Asia, has been profoundly influenced by Sanskrit and will continue to be so influenced for centuries and millenniums to come —goes without saying; and therefore the educative value of Sanskrit in moulding the life and character of millions is simply incalculable.

But we are not here to speak only of religious influence, because that is very well known and need not be expatiated upon. Therefore, I will confine myself to the beneficial secular influence, which Sanskrit may exert on its votaries; and for that purpose I shall have to enumerate the vast number of branches into which that secular literature divides itself.

A. ECONOMICS.

I take up the science of Economics, first, because it is generally believed that our ancestors never cultivated this branch of study, and because also it is believed that it was the European who first discovered the science and developed it in a wonderful way in the course of the last two centuries. It is a well known fact that sciences in India are broadly divided into four parts: (1) Dharma, (2) Artha, (3) Kama and (4) Moksha. The first three being secular and the last religious. Of the first three again, the second, Arthasastra, is secular *par excellence*. But a great writer of antiquity, while expatiating on all these three and their literature, distinctly said that the literature of Arthasastra is very poor owing to the unwillingness of all successful men in the world to give out the secrets of their success in life. Yet centuries before him, at least, one extensive work was written and it has been recently discovered. A perusal of Kautilya's Arthasastra reveals the facts, that it was the last encyclopædic compilation of the entire Sastra; that it contains the quintessence of ideas developed by ten different schools of thought that preceded the author who flourished at the end of the 4th century B.C. From this fact, we may infer that in such remote antiquity men were not unwilling to impart the knowledge of the secret of their success to others and that Indians were then an imperial and progressive people. Kautilya's Arthasastra deals comprehensively with political economy, political philosophy, politics, the art of war, military organization, the art of government, administration of justice and of finance, commerce, industries, trade, mining and so on—in short, all human concerns controlled by the State. No big work in domestic economy has yet come to our hands, but the fourth book of Vatsayana's Kamasutra, entitled "Bharyyadhikarana," gives a charming picture of the domestic arrangements in ancient India. It defines the duties of the Bharyya or housewife. It tells us how stores are to be kept, how the establishment is to be governed, how the kitchen is to be regulated, how the kitchen-garden is to be planted, how the seeds are to be kept, and in what relation the housewife is to stand to the other members of the household. Agriculture and horticulture are represented in Sanskrit literature by short treatises and chapters in such encyclopædic work as the Vrihat Samhita of Varamihira. In our law works, we often get hints that these

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branches have more extensive literatures than have come down to us. No work on Cattle-breeding has come down, but the fact that breeding of horses and elephants is reflected in big works raises the presumption that cattle-breeding was not neglected by the Sanskrit authors. The names of Pala-Kapya, as the author of Hasti-sastra and of Salihottra, as the author of Asva-sastra, are well known and a perusal of their works shows with what care and intense interest ancient Indian sages studied the habits, the temper, the feeding, the breeding, the peculiarities, the maladies (and their cures) of these animals. Cookery—both vegetarian and otherwise—is represented by a number of works in which the nutritive properties of fruits, roots, barks, leaves, stalks, flowers, seeds, eatable herbs, have been carefully recorded as well as the properties of meats of various animals and fish.

B. SCIENCE.

Our knowledge of exact Science proceeds from either observation or experiment; and it was long held that though the Indians did something by observation, experiments were absolutely unknown to them. Mathematics is a science proceeding from observation, and of the civilized races of antiquity Indians were the best in Mathematics. In Arithmetic, they invented the decimal system after giving trial to various other systems, as is evidenced by their arithmetical tables and by the system of letter-numerals, so often found in ancient manuscripts and ancient inscriptions. In Algebra, the Hindu method of solving quadratic equations has been adopted by Europeans with certain modifications. They were acquainted with many of the properties of angles and thus they made a fair progress in Trigonometry. In Egypt, the floods of the Nile necessitated the keeping of a record of the measurement of fields, a fact which gave rise to the sciences of Geometry and Mensuration. The same science developed in India from a novel source. The Indians were very fond of sacrifices; and the construction of altars, generally of burnt-bricks, gave them occasion to treat of geometrical figures and their measurement from which arose geometry and mensuration of India. Astronomy in its elementary form was required in India for determining the time of sacrifices. Their intercourse with the Greeks and other foreign nations in the early centuries of Christianity gave them an impetus to astronomical studies; and in course of time they discovered the diurnal motion of the earth, the fact that earth remains self-poised in space, that it is a globe, and that it attracts smaller bodies to it,—thus foreshadowing the great discoveries of modern Europe. They even constructed astronomical instruments of great accuracy and precision.

The notion that Indians had no experimental knowledge is set at nought by the great progress they made in the science of Medicine. Such progress cannot be the result of observation only; but of observation under circumstances regulated by forethought. They examined the medicinal properties of numerous wild herbs all over India, some of them growing only in the inaccessible parts of the Himalayas. They neutralised the evil effect of one herb by the infusion of another, and thus they invented the art of mixing scores of medicinal objects into pills, oils, and ghee. Could all this be done without experiment, by simple observation? There is one instance at least on record, in which they resorted even to vivisection. So early as the period when their Brahmanas were written, *i.e.*, about 1000 B.C., the Indians knew the number, shape and position of all the bones in the human body, and they knew the nerves and organs of animals which they used in sacrifice. This shows that they were experts in Osteology and Anatomy even at such an early time. Their cleverness in surgery is evidenced by the numerous instruments they used in operating on human bodies. There are works to show that they treated of the diseases of children, the diseases of old men, the diseases of women, especially when they were under expectation—as special branches of Medical Science. Latterly they learnt even the art of using metals and minerals in the prepartion of their medicines. This means a knowledge of Chemistry, and my friend, Dr. P. C. Ray, has shown in two elaborate Volumes what progress they made in Experimental Chemistry—especially in the various perparations they made from mercury. Whoever studies the Vaisesika System of Philosophy and even the mnemonic verses as the Karkiavali or Bhasa-parichheda is really struck to find that it contains so little of metaphysics and so much of physical science. Elaborating on this striking feature of the Vaisesika System and of its Atomic Theory, Dr. Sil has shown that the Indians were not behindhand in theories of Physics, Optics and Acoustics and other branches of material science in which modern Europe has done so much.

The wonderful improvement in machinery in ancient India is exemplified in two stories given in the commentary by Chandrakirtti on Aryadwas Chatuhsatika. Aryadeva belonged to the third, and Chandrakirtti to the sixth, century

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A.D. The stories are :—

(I) There was a Parasara or machine manufacturer, who requested a Bhikshu to live with him during the rainy season when the Bhikshus cannot go out begging. The Bhikshu remained on the first floor of a house well looked after by the Parasara. At the end of the period of Vassa, when the Bhikshu went to bid him adieu, the Parasara wanted to give him a large sum of money as his wages. The Bhikshu said : " Hallo ! I have done nothing to justify accepting wages." The man said, you were on the first floor, the ground-floor contained machinery which was worked by the pressure exerted by your body in whichever position you kept it either sitting, reclining, standing or walking. The working of the machinery has within the time you were there produced an immense number of *phalas*, and you are justified in accepting wages for exerting pressure.

The second story runs thus :—

A Bhikshu went to Kamboja and lived under the protection of a Parasara. In the morning the Bhikshu wanted to go a-begging. The Parasara said the beggars are considered as very low in Kamboja, so you go in the usual way without uttering a word. He went through the principal thoroughfare of the city without saying anything. The Parasara had many rivals, and they thought that he had sent a new machinery to outrival them. So they immediately prepared another machine in the shape of a man. It could walk, stretch out hands and even wink and move the eyelids. They sent this new machine-man towards the same Parasara's office. He at once knew what they meant and came out and praised them for their skill ; but he said, "my machine can speak, yours cannot," and he bid the Bhikshu speak and he uttered the usual Ashish of a Bhikshu and then he nonplused his rivals.

These stories will show what improvements they made in science in ancient India.

C. FINE ARTS.

The Fine Arts are said to be sixty-four. But sixty-four is a traditional number. I have seen several lists of sixty-four Fine Arts. One list is called the list of Pancaliki, but we are not concerned with it here. The other is called the Mulakala divided into Vastukala, Dyutakala, Sayanakala, etc. There is another list of sixty-four Kalas called the Aupayikikala ; but the commentator says that the real number of Kalas is five hundred and eighteen. Unfortunately, however, he does not enumerate them. I presume that all the sixty-four Aupayikikalas had their literature, as a large number of them have many works devoted to them—and these are well known. For instance, music has an extensive literature. Bhubanananda Kavikanthabharana of Bengal, a contemporary of Sher Shah, in his encyclopædic work of all the eighteen sciences of the Hindus, devotes a book on Music and enumerates all the authors from the remotest antiquity to his own times ; and these count by scores. Dancing is treated of by Kohala in his comprehensive work on the Natyasastra in several chapters. He explains Karanas, Angaharas and Nrtya, *i.e.*, simple motions, complex motions, and dancing. Dasarupaka, too, distinguishes *Nrtya and Nrittya*. According to the notions of Kohala, acting preceded dance, and his work on Natyasastra, which, I believe, was compiled in the 2nd century B.C., treats of the whole of the histrionic art in all its details. He says that before him there were schools of Dramatic Art, each school having their Suttras, Bhasyas, Varttikas, Niruktas, Samgrahas and Karikas. Our idea was that Bharata was the only writer on the subject, but Kohala introduces him only as an interlocutor and puts the whole Sastra in his mouth. In this work Kohala and his collaborators give us an elaborate treatise on dancing, erection of the three forms of the stage, the divine, the imperial and the private—the paraboloid, rectangular and the triangular—measuring 108, 64, and 32 cubits in length, the history of the Dramatic Art, the feelings displayed in dramas, the construction of the plot, its division into different parts, selection of actors, the effect of success, music, the metres to be used in drama, the languages employed by the actors representing different strata of society and so on. There are two dicta in this work to which I wish to draw special attention—one is that the feelings displayed in dramas have an infinite variety, and that whatever is useful in life is useful in drama.

No work on Painting is yet known, but paintings as old as the 2nd century B.C. have come down to us. This is of course under an exceptional circumstance—in a cave in an inaccessible part of the country. But we have excellent paintings of the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th centuries—some in cave temples, some on walls, and some on palm-leaf MSS. Indian sculpture is an admiration of the whole world, some of them go back to the time of Buddha himself. Though in the western part of India, Indian sculpture was in a great measure influenced by the Hellenic art, competent critics have pronounced that India developed its own schools. In architecture too

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though developing their own schools, the Indians were not slow in adopting foreign models. There were minor arts, such as painting of the teeth and the limbs, shampooing, temple-decorations with rice and flours, flower-beds, dyeing of cloths, sewing, toy-making, ornamental work on gold, silver and jewellery.

D. HISTORY AND KINDRED SUBJECTS.

The reproach that Sanskrit literature has no history is not so well deserved as it is generally supposed to be. Many of the Mahapuranas have chapters on the successive dynasties of the Kings reigning in India. But they are written almost in the same words in all of them, the only difference being that, at the end, some go a little longer than others. From this it has been supposed that originally there was one Purana, and that like the Saxon chronicle of England, it underwent modifications in different royal and monastic libraries at different times, the chronology portion of a Purana stopping at the period when the Purana was copied. If it is so, it gives a clue not only to the dynastic history of India, but also to the time when the Puranas were composed. How the epigraphic records are helping in the construction of ancient Indian history is well known. But we are not to depend on these meagre sources for the history of India during the entire period. From the beginning of the 7th century, we often have regular histories written by contemporary authors. The earliest of these is the history of Harsavardhan, the last known Emperor of the whole of Northern India. Since then, other works have been written in various forms, sometimes in the form of poems as the Navasahasankacharita and Navavikramankacharita, sometimes in the form of works in double *entendre* verses such as the Dvyasrayakosa and Ramacharita, sometimes in the form of panegyrics as the Gaudavaha, sometimes in the form of regular history as Prithvirajacharita and the Rajatarangini. It is hoped and expected that a more vigorous search may bring to light many more works of this nature.

It may not be out of place to mention here of a regular gazetteer of India, prepared three hundred years ago, at Patna, under the patronage of a Chowhan jagirdar of the Emperors of Delhi, by Pandit Jagamohan. What is curious is that the author quotes a number of his predecessors in the same line of work. One of these has come down to us, namely, the Brahmakhanda of the Bhavisyapurana. A good deal of historical and geographical information may be gleaned from these works. So the reproach that we have no regular history in Sanskrit is, as I have said before, not so well deserved as it is generally supposed to be.

E. PHILOSOPHY.

The traditional number of Indian systems of Philosophy is six. But the earliest author of the history of Sanskrit Philosophy, who flourished in the 5th century A.D., says that there are two claimants for a place among the six. The next author, who is supposed to be Sankaracharya himself, enumerates two or three more. I have found many different enumerations of the six among the Buddhists, Jaina and Brahmanical writers, and the whole thing has been set at rest by Madhvacharya in the 14th century by counting the number as sixteen, though as a southerner he omits the two Saiva schools of Kashmir and puts the schools of Buddhist philosophy into one. With the Indians the systems of Philosophy were not merely an intellectual feat, an effort to penetrate into the mysteries of the world and its creation—but a living, supernatural or rather a divine influence, guiding the whole course of life and action in this world and the next. That is the reason why they cultivated it with such fervent enthusiasm and tried to realize it in their life. It was with them a psychological experiment, and they all wanted to have an exact science of life. These systems are not all metaphysical though each aimed at some metaphysical end, for instance, the Vaisesika is mainly composed of theories of Physical Science, the Nyaya of Logic, the Mimamsa of the interpretation of sacred texts, and the Yoga of the Occult Science. The highest metaphysical speculations are reached in the monism of Sankar and the Nihilism of the Mahayanists. The Mahayanists may also be credited with the highest ideas of ethical philosophy.

POETRY AND DRAMA.

No race of men living in society can be without poetry of some sort to enliven the toils and miseries to which human nature is cursed. But different races in the world cultivated poetry in different ways. The Mahomedan world, for instance, is averse to dramas. Some are intellectually so poor or otherwise so deeply engaged that they cannot enjoy the exquisite delight of epics, some are poor in music, some are averse to metre and would rather read large volumes of novels than twenty pages of poetry. But ancient India was gifted with the faculty of enjoying poetry in the comprehensive sense of the term: poetry in verse, poetry in prose, poetry in art,

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and poetry in everything. Thus they have given the world an exquisite popular epic like the Ramayana, an exquisite traditional epic like Mahabharata, an exquisite artistic epic like Raghuvamsa, some of the most exquisite dramas in the world, some of the finest lyrics, some fine epigrams and an immense amount of one-verse poems, bundled into groups of eight, ten, hundred, seven hundred and so on. While leaving the subject of Poetry I cannot help giving a tribute to the genius which conceived an epic like the Raghuvamsa. It is unique in the world. Epic always means one or two or, say, a few leading figures from the start to finish. But in this poem, the leading figures are always vanishing and yet there is a unity of purpose, a unity of action, and moral unity, the like of which is not to be found anywhere else. The action rises gradually step by step to pyramidic height and again descends by slow gradation. Kalidasa was perfectly aware that he was bringing down the highest of the high personality of Vishnu to the world, and for him and to him he assigns the central cantos of the poem. The vanishing personalities in the beginning and at the end represent the perfection of one or two of the highest moral qualities, while the central personality represents the climax of perfection of infinite goodness, *i.e.*, the combination of all moral excellences put together. No one approached his subject with greater trembling and greater awe, and no one achieved greater success, than our immortal Kalidasa.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A literature, to be effective and complete, must reflect the entire life and action of a race. If there is any truth in this maxim, that truth has been completely realized in Sanskrit literature. Never in ancient world and even in mediæval world before the manufacture of paper, and the invention of printing, was a literature so thoroughly representative of the race as the Sanskrit literature in India. Even the art of thieving has a literature. It has two different traditions or successions of teachers, one given by Bhasa in his Avimaraka and another, though different but more lengthy, by Sudraka in his Mrchhakatika. When we read them, we thought that it was a mere fancy. Would anyone care to put the art of stealing into writing? We were, however, agreeably surprised when an actual work on Chaurasastra was discovered. It was a thief's pocket-book on palm leaf, six inches long and about an inch and a half broad—giving many secret chemical preparations, many incantations and many hints to avoid difficulties. Another curiosity is a work on the art of hawking, which gives the life-history of the various kinds of hawks, the method of taming them and using them in sport. There are works on the Game of Chess and many other Indoor and Outdoor Games, but I will not take up the time of the audience by an enumeration of these curiosities in literature—they are not fit for occasions like this.

Now comes the question of the educative effect of this varied literature. Anything that strikes the imagination, and keeps it spell-bound, imperceptibly softens the mind and moulds it to a better purpose. If so, then this literature with its wonderful continuity, immense volume, and its infinite variety, has a strong claim to mould the characters of its admirers. The literature is accessible through Sanskrit which is acquired with some difficulty. Therefore, it is quite possible to keep aside the works which are likely to affect the mind unfavourably—a thing impossible in the literatures of living languages. In fact, what remains of this ancient literature is pure gold, the dross and alloy having disappeared during the revolutions of long centuries. As a means of intellectual training its value is very great; if less, less only than the scientific training of modern times. As an instrument of moral training it has a unique importance—as we see only the highest precepts in all their purity and away from the imperfect teachers of these precepts. In the department of æsthetics, its position is unrivalled, for the models to study are as perfect as is possible with the imperfection of humanity. We have up till now greatly underrated the beneficial influence of Sanskrit literature owing to our ignorance of its extent, variety and worth—but with our advancing knowledge, our admiration for it has not only increased but is gradually becoming unqualified, and it is admiration which trains, which moulds, which purifies life and imparts a grace and a charm to it, the value of which cannot be over-rated.

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MODERN BENGALI PAINTERS

BY MR. K. V. RAMASAWMI, B.A.

SOUTH INDIA has never had any indigenous school of painting except perhaps a very feeble one that flourished at Tanjore in the 18th and 19th centuries. Many a splendid craft, combining use and beauty, have flourished within the walls of its cities. It has attained unapproachable heights of excellence and grandeur in sculpture. Innumerable cathedrals and shrines testify to its supreme genius for architecture. But the art of painting has had little or no development. The reasons for this, we believe, are to be found in the peculiar character and circumstances of the Tamil race. The Tamil race, with its dire religious earnestness and piety, with its prodigious instincts for labour, has found its expression in high-built cathedral and well-wrought image. Its monuments have been temples reared with the labour of years, and bronzes and statues wrought and moulded with incessant labour and industry.

Devoid though we are of any great traditions of painting, we have been watching with great interest and admiration the rise of the new school of painters in the sister province of Bengal, some of whose works were recently exhibited in Madras. The rise and achievements of this school are now matter of history. It was in the closing years of the last century when Mr. E. B. Havell was making a collection of old Indian paintings for the Calcutta Art Gallery, that Sj. Abanindra Nath Tagore, then fresh from the study of Sanskrit and Persian literature and moved by strange artistic impulses, set himself to study those paintings of the old masters. Encouraged by Mr. Havell, he began to revive in paintings of his own the old traditions and methods. He soon became the head and inspiration of a great school of young and enthusiastic artists. More than twenty years have elapsed and great and striking work has been done by this school. Exhibitions of their work have been held in Paris and in London, and have evoked considerable appreciation from the art-critics of the West. This is the first time, however, that Madras has had the good fortune of seeing the paintings of this new school.

The great value of this new school lies in its perfectly national character, in its adoption of national methods and subjects. These artists have one and all of them set themselves to interpreting Indian life and Indian ideals. Their technique and methods too are mainly based on the older schools of our country. Though one may see here and there some traces of European and Japanese influence, the small band of Bengali artists have succeeded remarkably in getting back not only the technique but also the spirit of our ancient painters. In the present Exhibition were brought together a large number of the paintings of these artists; and a close study of some of the more prominent among them will throw considerable light on the school and its work.

A most important group of paintings in the collection are those of Sj. Nanda Lal Bose. The fame of Sj. Nanda Lal Bose is already well-established as one of the greatest painters of the new school alike for depth and artistic skill and for quantity of production. His *Sati*, with its passionate burden of devotion, his *Dance of Siva*, with its strange rhythm and mystic force, his *Yudhishtira's Ascent to Heaven*, with its solitary and awful grandeur, have long been recognised as supreme works of genius. In the present Exhibition are to be found a number of other paintings of this artist which are on a level with his past productions.

The first is *The Brother of Rama*. The episode itself is a remarkable one in the story of the ancient epic. Bharatha, hearing of Rama's exile, follows him into the forest and there, falling at his feet, implores him long and passionately to come and rule in his just and holy right. At last finding Rama firm and unshakable in his resolve, Bharatha begs of him his sandals and takes them proposing to rule in their name. "Henceforth," says the Ramayana, "wearing bark and matted locks and dressed in the guise of an ascetic, the heroic Bharatha dwelt in Nandigrama with his forces; and having consigned all rule unto the sandals, Bharatha himself held the umbrella and the *chowri* over them." The figure of Bharatha is drawn in large and majestic proportions. He sits in an attitude of reverent worship, holding the umbrella over the sandals, which are placed up above on the throne. His whole frame is instinct with a deep and mystic sorrow, which has passed into and tinged his very eyelids and hands. The picture however is no mere translation of an old story: it is a true painter's vision. The sorrow of Bharatha that sits here worshipping the feet of the "true king and noble brother" is not a mere brother's or patriot's; one sees in that saintly face traces also of a profound grief at an unrighteous world,

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where "all grows to seed and things rank and gross possess it." The colour of the painting is a soft dark blue which is wonderfully in unison with its spirit of sorrow.

Two other paintings by the same hand are also worthy of study. The one is a painting of *Sujata*. Sujata, childless daughter of the village-headman, rose early in the morning, milked the best cows belonging to her father and with this milk went to worship the tree-god of the village. Now on that very morning Buddha had completed his long fast and was resting under the tree. Sujata saw his glorious form and offered him the milk prepared for the gods. Buddha accepted it gratefully and granted her the boon of motherhood. Another is that of *Uma* who, finding her beauty of no avail, undergoes severe penance in order to win the love of the Divine Anchorite. The burden of both the paintings is the same. Both Sujata and Uma are full of a deep longing and prayer, the one seeking for the boon of motherhood, the other for love which is woman's fulfilment. In both the paintings is revealed a power wrought of austerity, and prayer and penance. Nanda Lal Bose's work, always tinged with a certain sadness, has however in the representation of these two austere, martyr-like souls of the ancient world, invested them with a more than usual degree of spiritual woe and severity.

Another artist, whose subjects are drawn from the same source of religion and mythology, and who has attained an equal depth and power in the treatment of them, is Sj Sailendra Nath Dey. There are three such paintings in the present collection, one dealing with the story of *Sindhu*, another *Shiva's Wedding*, and the third, a remarkable outline picture of Rama's farewell to Kaucalya. The first painting is full of beauty and deep pathos. The story is well known, how Sindhu, the only son of old infirm parents, was, while filling his pitcher one evening in the Sarayu, suddenly killed by Dasaratha and the latter thereby incurred the curse that deprived him of his Rama. In the foreground is to be seen Sindhu, a fine, stalwart, well-built youth, carrying on his shoulder a *dholi* bearing his two blind old parents. The figures of the two aged parents are drawn with exquisite skill and feeling. They are full of an expressible pathos and sorrow, vividly recalling to our minds the touching simile of the ancient poet "like unto birds with their wings severed." Beyond flows the Sarayu and a little higher is seen the rising moon. The pale twilight and the hushed stream seem already to hint of the coming tragedy.

Shiva's Wedding is equally characteristic. The whole figure of Siva moves with a serenity and mystic grace for a parellel to which one should go to the paintings of Ajanta or the sculptures of Borobudur.

The most remarkable work of this painter is however *The Departure of Rama*. If nothing else had come to us of this school but this single drawing, it would be enough to establish the greatness of this school. It is full of beauty of line and remarkable composition. Its exquisite perfection and grace recall the fine curves and chiselled beauty of some of our own bronzes. We have here a supreme moment in the epic story. Kaucalya, profoundly perturbed at the news of Rama's departure to the forest, begs him long and with tears, to desist from his exile and to stay and console her: but finding him determined upon obeying his father's behests, at last "that best of women, Kaucalya, with broad eyes, subduing her sorrow, propitiated the gods with flowers and hymns and began to offer oblations unto the fire with the help of Brahmins for the welfare of Rama." This is the scene represented. Kaucalya is seated before the holy fire; but her grief is rendered in a way more poignant than words could do. Before her stands Rama with his head bent and palms joined. Already over his bent head there seems to breathe the mother's benediction. "May all the gods protect thee when thou shalt repair unto the woods. May the mountains, oceans, heaven, earth, air and all things, moveable and immoveable, planets and stars, day and night and evening, protect thee."

Among the remaining groups of paintings, those of Sj. Samarendra Nath Gupta form one of the most charming and beautiful. His paintings are all excellent examples of fine colour-schemes, harmonious and most decorative in arrangement of colour. They can be best seen in *The Holi Festival* and *The Spring*. Apart from colour, these pictures are full of delicacy and feeling. Two other paintings, *The Moths* and *The Broken String*, are brilliant studies in artificial light effect. *The Moths* especially is a striking one. It contains an inset, a patch of blue sky with stars. It is poetic, though perhaps conscious, symbolism, that, while contemplating the little world of moths, thus suddenly reveals the great world of stars above.

The paintings of Sj. Charu Chandra Roy are as beautifully coloured as those of Sj. S. Gupta. Their content however is of greater interest,

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Their motifs are drawn from contemporary Bengali life and as such afford wonderful glimpses into some of its most tender aspects. *The Guest* is full of a bashful surprise and solicitude. A more remarkable study is *The Mother*. In the mild glow of the household lamp, sits a woman gently holding her child to her breast, her face full of an earnest abstraction and tenderness. The whole figure is gathered up into one supreme act of motherly love and solicitude Such paintings as these are sealed with absolute insight and sympathy.

We may here note two paintings by Sj. S. N. Dey, some of whose other paintings have been studied in an earlier part of this paper. *The Return from the Fair* and *The Milkmaids* represent homely scenes of Bengali life; but those scenes are seen here transfigured by love into things of supreme beauty and interest. The children in the first painting are drawn with remarkable sincerity and truth. The women in both the paintings are full of a naive charm and delicacy. The colouring of these pictures is done in the frank brilliant manner of the ancient painters. Pure simple colours are used depending for their effect on mass and juxtaposition.

The interesting series of sketches by Sj. Gogonendra Nath Tagore dealing with the life of the great Bengali reformer, Shri Chaitanya, deserve some study. The crowded events of the reformer's life are here vividly told with a good deal of breadth and technical skill. Some of these pictures however lack in suggestiveness, one or two being even indefinite and vague. *At Vishnupada Gaya* is however full of feeling and artistically good. *The End*, based upon a well-known legend, is a clever piece of art.

We have reserved to the end the most remarkable group of animal and cloud studies by Sj. Abanindra Nath Tagore, which have evoked great admiration among those who saw them. They are all highly original and full of a rare harmony of colour and of feeling. The exquisite charm and suggestiveness of these sketches can hardly be described in words. Old Indian art contains few bird or cloud studies. Sj. Abanindra Nath Tagore, the revered leader of the movement, has in these studies made a most beautiful and important beginning in this new branch of painting.

Before concluding, we would draw attention to one or two features of this new school of painters. The early work of this school, especially of Sj. Abanindra Nath Tagore and Nanda Lal Bose, has lain chiefly in religious and mythological subjects. This is perhaps partly due to the special influences that were brought to bear on the two painters. The one, fresh from the study of the courtly paintings of the Moghuls, and the other, imbued with the spirit and mysticism of the Ajanta paintings, naturally sought their inspiration in the great episodes of our religion and history. Even apart from these special influences, one may realise how these painters should be attracted by those old ideals and themes, which are such an integral part of our culture and traditions. Every age will interpret these old national ideals anew and find in the old stories of devotion, of self-sacrifice and martyrdom, new food for reflection or for solace. Considered in that light, these mythological and religious paintings of the Bengali artists are a valuable contribution to the art of our country. They have not merely rendered these old subjects with technical skill and accuracy. They have invested them with a new inwardness and life.

Leaving the work of these painters, we see however in the work of the younger artists the beginnings of a new and interesting folk-art. In *The worship of the Little Girl as Goddess*, *The Holi Festival*, *The Mother*, *The Return from the Fair*, *The Spring*, *The Milkmaids*, we have some of the most beautiful scenes and aspects of Bengali life rendered with great delicacy and truth and feeling. They wonderfully reveal to us that inner world of Bengali life with its piety, its tenderness, its lyrical joy and charm. Herein may be seen the beginnings of a true national art deriving its motifs from the life and religion of the people around it. Such folk-art has a great future. Born of folk-life and folk-thought, it may in its turn shed its influence back on that life and that thought and give them a newer depth and perfection.

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LORD HARDINGE'S VICEROYALTY.

SPEAKING from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 29th March 1909, the late Mr. Gokhale said of the late Lord Minto :—

My Lord, among the many great men who have held office as Governor-General in this country, there are three names which the people cherish above all others—the names of Bentinck, Canning, and Ripon. I venture to predict, both as a student of Indian history and as one who has taken some part, however humble in the public life of the country for the last twenty years, that it is in the company of these Viceroys, that your Lordship's name will go down to posterity in India.

Had Mr. Gokhale lived to-day, one need have no doubt as to the place he would have assigned to Lord Hardinge, in the illustrious rôle of the Viceroys whom he mentioned. But, it must be added that, thanks to the rapid rate of progress in this country during the last decade or two, the problems which Lord Hardinge has had to face were almost unprecedented. And it is a great tribute to Lord Hardinge's largeness of heart, breadth of outlook, and whole-hearted sympathy with the aspiration of the people of this country, that he has solved these problems to the great satisfaction of the Indian community. After all, it is not the particular act of a Viceroy so much as the guiding spirit of his policy which counts in the evolution of Indian polity ; judged from that stand-point, Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty will mark the first great step of India in the path of self-government.

After the announcement of his appointment as Viceroy of India, a banquet was given on the night of the 20th October 1910, at the Savoy Hotel, London, by the County of Kent to Lord Hardinge. In replying to the toast of his health, he said :—

There are certain obvious principles which it must be the duty of every responsible administrator to follow. Mr. Montagu, the Under-Secretary of State for India, in his very able speech on the Indian Budget, wound up by quoting an extract of a letter from the great Sir R. Peel to my grandfather on his appointment to the post of Governor-General of India, and in his concluding remarks proffered advice to me in the same sense. You will, I am sure, pardon me if I repeat this short and interesting quotation : "If," wrote Sir R. Peel, "you can keep peace, reduce expenses, extend commerce, and strengthen our hold on India by confidence in our justice and kindness and wisdom, you will be received here on your return with acclamations a thousand times louder and a welcome infinitely more cordial than if you had a dozen victories to boast of." (*Cheers.*) These were wise words and as true and applicable now as they were when written more than sixty years ago. I have laid them to heart, but had Sir Robert lived now during this period of transition in India when some of the old landmarks are being removed to give a wider scope to the intelligence and intellectual ability of our Indian fellow-subjects, he would, I think, have given some additional advice, possibly on the following lines : "That the new Viceroy should watch over with the utmost care and vigilance and do his utmost to consolidate the beneficent and far-reaching scheme of Reforms introduced by Lord Morley and Lord Minto—(*cheers*)—for associating the people of India more closely with the management of their own affairs." He might also have added that the Viceroy should strain every nerve to conciliate all races, classes and creeds. My Lords and Gentlemen, it will be my humble duty honestly to endeavour to follow the precepts so clearly laid down by Sir R. Peel and those that I have had the temerity to suggest as likely additions had that eminent statesman lived in our day, and in pursuing this course I shall be fortified by the profound sympathy and regard that I entertain and have always entertained for our Indian fellow-subjects and by my earnest desire to contribute at least something to their material welfare and development. (*Cheers.*)

Speaking of Lord Minto's administration, he said that it would always become memorable as a landmark in the era of Reform, and that Lord Minto would bequeath to him a new regime already in force, though still young in development. He said that it would be his task to foster this young plant with tender care, and at the same time to see that the word, 'Government' was synonymous with peace, order, and security.

As usual, on arrival in India, His Excellency had to receive and to reply to numerous addresses and deputations. And all the replies are characterised by a warmth of affection for India and an earnest desire to promote the well-being of the people. Take this reply to the Bombay Municipal Address :—

Times have changed since then, when the appointment of an Indian servant to be a Deputy Magistrate was regarded as a remarkable concession and innovation ; but the present and future are rife with problems of a more complex nature and more difficult character than those of the past. It shall be my aim to face this with courage and sympathy and to maintain the policy initiated by Lord Minto.

In reply to another Address, he said :—

If India will extend to me the same kindly feelings which I have for her, I shall go forward on my way in hope and confidence.

Almost at the beginning of his Viceroyalty, Lord Hardinge was pleased to receive a deputation from the Indian National Congress, in happy contrast to the action of one of his predecessors. His Lordship referred to the growing demand for political power :—

To any student of the history of this country during the past 100 years it must be clearly evident that it has been the aim of England to promote the material welfare

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and happiness of the Indian people; and the prosperity and progress that are visible on all sides are indisputable proofs that that policy has been attended by a considerable measure of success. To the material advancement of the Indian people has now been added a large measure of political concession in the expansion of the Legislative Councils on a wider representative basis, and in the appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of Local Governments as also of the Council of the Secretary of State, thus giving them a larger share in the management of public affairs. These reforms are still in their infancy and require careful consolidation. It will be my constant endeavour to maintain a jealous watch over them and to see that the object for which they were instituted is attained.

The greater part of the year 1911, His Excellency was very busy planning and superintending the arrangements for Their Majesties' reception. But, far more important, His Excellency was trying his best to undo the evil effects of Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal. The despatch in which the Government of India recommended the momentous changes, which were announced at Delhi by His Majesty the King-Emperor, is an important constitutional document and marks a definite advance in the progress of India towards a higher political status. Perhaps the most important passage in the despatch is what follows :—

It is certain that in the course of time, the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country will have to be satisfied, and the question will be how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government until at last India would consist of a number of administrations autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment, ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern. In order that this consummation may be attained, it is essential that the Supreme Government should not be associated with any particular provincial government. The removal of the Government of India from Calcutta is, therefore, a measure which will, in our opinion, materially facilitate the growth of local self-government on sound and safe lines.

None can dispute that this document marks a definite advance so far as it goes. The document is also valuable because it recognises the potency of popular agitation against the Partition of Bengal.

No doubt sentiment has played a considerable part in the opposition offered by the Bengalis, and, in saying this, we by no means wish to under-rate the importance which should be attached to sentiment even if it be exaggerated. It is, however, no longer a matter of mere sentiment, but, rather, since the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, one of undeniable reality. In pre-reform-scheme days the non-official element in these Councils was small. The representation of the people has now been carried a long step forward, and in the Legislative Councils of both the Provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal, the Bengalis find themselves in a minority, being outnumbered in the one by Beharis and Ooriyas, and in the other by the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal and the inhabitants of Assam. As matters now stand, the Bengalis can never exercise in either province that influence to which they consider themselves entitled by reason of their numbers, wealth and culture. This is a substantial grievance which will be all the more keenly felt in the course of time, as the representative character of the Legislative Councils increases and with it the influence which these assemblies exercise upon the conduct of public affairs. There is therefore only too much reason to fear that, instead of dying down, the bitterness of feeling will become more and more acute.

Lord Crewe, the then Secretary of State for India, rose to the occasion and sent a reply approving of the proposed administrative changes :—

Regarding it as a whole, and appreciating the balance sought to be maintained between the different races, classes and interests likely to be affected, I cannot recall in history nor can I picture in any portion of the civilised world, as it now exists, a series of administrative changes of so wide a scope, culminating in the transfer of the main seat of Government carried out, as I believe the future will prove, with so little detriment to any class of the community, while satisfying the historical sense of millions, aiding the general work of Government and removing the deeply felt grievance of many.

The King Emperor and the Queen Empress arrived at Bombay on the 2nd December 1911. From there they proceeded to Delhi, where in the most magnificent Durbar ever held in India, the Coronation was proclaimed, and various boons including an annual grant of 50 lakhs of rupees for popular education were announced. At the same ceremony, His Majesty announced the transfer of the Capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi; the re-union of the two Bengals under a Governor-in Council; the formation of a new Lieutenant-Governorship for Behar, Chota-Nagpur and Orissa, and the restoration of Assam to the charge of a Chief Commissioner. On December 14, a review of 60,000 British and Indian troops was held, and on the 15th Their Majesties each laid a foundation-stone of the new capital. From Delhi the King went to Nepal, and the Queen to Agra and Rajputana, afterwards meeting at Bankipore and going to Calcutta. Thence they returned to Bombay and sailed for England on the 10th January 1912.

On the eve of his departure from India, His Majesty sent the following message to Mr. Asquith on the success of his Indian tour :—

From all sources, private and public, I gather that my highest hopes have been realised and that the success of our visit has exceeded all expectations. . . . . All

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classes, races, and creeds have united in receiving us with unmistakable signs of enthusiasm and affection.

In March 1912, a committee of experts was appointed to advise the Government of India as to the site of the New Capital. Temporary buildings were erected to accommodate the Government, and on December 23, the State entry into Delhi was made by the Viceroy. This ceremony was marred by an attempt on His Excellency's life as he passed down the Chandni Chowk. The bomb thrown from a house killed an attendant behind the howdah in which the Viceroy was sitting, seriously wounded Lord Hardinge, but left Lady Hardinge unscathed. The courage displayed by Their Excellencies was unsurpassed and elicited the admiration of all; but in spite of the offer of large rewards, the assassin was not caught.

On the following day Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson read a reply on His Excellency's behalf to an address presented by the non-official members of the Supreme Legislative Council, in the course of which he observed :—

You have alluded to the King-Emperor's message of hope. May I add one of faith. I have faith in India. I have faith in her future and I have faith in her people. It is the solemn duty of Government to promote the best interests of India and her people, and under divine guidance we shall not falter in this course.

His Excellency the Viceroy inaugurated the opening of the second term of the Reformed Council before a large and brilliant gathering on the 27th January 1913. The spacious Council Chamber in the temporary Secretariat was packed to the full with Civil and Military officials and their wives and the leading citizens of Delhi. The Members also attended in large numbers.

Punctually at 11, the proceedings began with the swearing in of the Members, Sir G. F. Wilson presiding. This hardly over, the Viceroy, who had his right arm in a sling and looked aged and pale, entered the Council Chamber at 11-30 and received a most splendid and enthusiastic ovation from the members of the Council, in which visitors in the galleries participated, and took his seat amidst loud and prolonged cheers. He spoke clearly, and every word of his opening address, which was long and eloquent, was clearly heard throughout the crowded house, a deep impression being made on all present :—

In my desire for kindly intercourse with the people and accessibility to them, I have always discouraged excessive precautions, and I trusted myself and Lady Hardinge more to the care of the people than to that of the Police. If it was an error, it is an error that I am proud of, and I believe it may yet prove not to have been an entirely mistaken confidence, for out of evil good may come. Is it too much to hope that the storm of public indignation evoked at the outrage may give Indian terrorists cause for sensible and humane reflection and repentance? It is difficult to believe that these individuals are a class apart, and that they do not belong to the communities and mix with their fellow-beings. Are they really susceptible to no influence and no advice? Have they no contact with moderate and wiser men? Still, whatever I may feel on the subject of the crime itself, I only wish to assure you and the whole of India that this incident will in no sense influence my attitude. I will pursue without faltering the same policy in the future as during the past two years, and I will not waver a hair's breadth from that course.

Educational schemes claimed a large place in public attention during 1912 and 1913. In fact, one of the most beneficent results of H. E. Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty will be the impetus given to the spread of education in the land. Lord Hardinge's enthusiasm for education, especially for higher education, is unbounded. We have seen already that one of the Royal boons announced at Delhi was a recurring grant of Rs. 50 lakhs for education. Replying to a Deputation about the Dacca University, His Excellency said :—

I share the view of those thoughtful Indian gentlemen who see in *the action of the new Universities the greatest of boons which the Government can give India, namely, the diffusion of higher education.*

He concluded this striking address with an appeal, which is as much needed to-day as it was when it was uttered :—

I am hopeful that the large issues of educational policy, on which the future of India so greatly depends, will be viewed with a wide outlook, *and apart from personal or political interests* and in asking for your help and co-operation in the great task, I feel sure that my appeal will not be in vain.

On the 16th March 1912, His Excellency delivered the Convocation Address of the Calcutta University and began it thus :—

. . . We are not blind to the good work which the existing Universities have done in their day. We are justly proud of their achievements. But we cannot be insensible to the change that has come throughout the atmosphere. Distance has been reduced by improved communications; centres of population have grown up pulsating and throbbing with new aspirations. The old dividing barriers are breaking down, and we feel the need for greater union and closer co-operation. We want to develop an identity and a character of our own. The modern Universities of Europe have well been described as the nurseries and workshops of intellectual life. We want all that this description implies in India.

His Excellency the Viceroy opened the Hamidia Library, at Bhopal, on the 5th December 1912, and in the course of his speech, he said :—

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. . . . . Among the manifold cares which occupy my attention there is none that is nearer my heart than the desire that, during my tenure of office, the basis of Primary Education may be so widened *that the elementary knowledge may gradually become the birthright of the poorest of the land.*

In the course of his enthusiastic speech at the laying of the foundation-stone of the Hindu University at Benares, in February 1916, Lord Hardinge observed :—

The charge is frequently brought against the Government that they are too eager for quality, and too ready to ignore the demand for quantity, and comparisons are made *that do not lack force* between the number of Universities in England, America and other countries and the number available to the 300 millions of India. Nevertheless, it is the declared policy of the Government of India to do all within their power and within their means to multiply the number of Universities throughout India, realising, as we do, that the greatest boon the Government can give to India is the diffusion of higher education through the creation of new Universities. Many, many more are needed, but the new Universities to be established at Dacca, Benares and Bankipore, soon to be followed, I hope, by Universities in Burma and Central Provinces, may be regarded as steps taken in the right direction.

And it was in these glowing terms that His Excellency referred to the ideal which the Hindu University has set before itself :

You hope in the not far distant future to see preserved and fostered all that is best in Hindu ideas of life and thought, all that is noblest of Hindu religion and tradition, culture and civilisation, and grafted upon that tree, healthy and strong in its own natural soil, you hope to see growing in it and of it all that is good and great of Western science, industry and art, so that your young men may go forth not only inspired with pure and noble ideals, but also equipped for the development of their mother-country along the more material lines of progress and prosperity.

In the year 1912, a Royal Commission, under the Presidency of Lord Islington, was appointed to inquire into the public services of India. Though Indians generally have given up any hopes they may have had as to the benefits likely to result to India as the outcome of the labours of the Commission, still the volume of evidence collected by the Commission will always be valuable if it be published. In 1912, again, a Committee was appointed, under the Chairmanship of Field-Marshal Lord Nicholson, to inquire into military policy and expenditure in India. In 1913, a Royal Commission was appointed under the Chairmanship of Mr. Austen Chamberlain to investigate and report on certain questions relating to Indian finance and currency, which had for some years been much discussed, particularly in India.

In the North-East of India, an expedition, under General Bomer, was despatched against the Abors for the punishment of the murder of Mr. Noel Williamson.

In August 1913, the demolition of a lavatory attached to a mosque in Cawnpore gave rise to considerable feeling among Indian Mussulmans, and a riot in Cawnpore led to heavy loss of life. Of those present at the riot, 106 were put on trial, but subsequently released by the Viceroy before the case reached the Sessions, and His Excellency was able to settle the mosque difficulty by a compromise that was acceptable to the local and other Mussulmans :

The Cawnpore mosque incident will not easily be forgotten. An unfortunate collision had taken place between the people and the local authorities. Several lives had been lost. The feelings of a whole community had been wounded. It needed great strength and courage, and greater sympathy to apply the balm to the wounds which had unfortunately been inflicted. Lord Hardinge did apply the balm. The result was that widespread feelings of grief and resentment gave way to gratitude.

In October 1913, it was announced that General Sir Beauchamp Duff had been appointed to succeed Sir O'Moore Creagh as Commander-in Chief. There were special reasons for the nomination of Sir Beauchamp Duff, who, as Adjutant-General in India and Chief of Staff during Lord Kitchener's term, gave proof of his thorough knowledge of Indian conditions and his exceptional powers as a Military administrator.

The position of Indians in South Africa had for some time been causing deep concern in India. This is not the place to go into that question. Their position has been somewhat mended. But much more remains to be done before they can be said to possess the rights of British citizenship. But the whole question of the unrestricted right of immigration of Indians into South Africa, as into other parts of the Empire, still remains to be settled. But the little that has been achieved is not a little due to the efforts of the large-hearted and sympathetic statesman, whom India was privileged to have as her Viceroy at a time when the struggle took a very keen form. In the latter part of 1913, considerable feeling was aroused in India by the ill-treatment of Indian passive resisters in South Africa.

About this time, His Excellency was on a visit to Madras and made a memorable speech vindicating the position of the passive resisters in South Africa, which has earned for him the undying

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gratitude of Indians all over the country. The Viceroy said :—

Recently your compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands by organising what is called passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious and unjust, an opinion which we who watch their struggles from afar cannot but share. They have violated, as they intended to violate, those laws, with full knowledge of the penalties involved, and ready with all courage and patience to endure those penalties. In all this they have the sympathy of India—deep and burning—and not only of India, but of all those who, like myself, without being Indians themselves, have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country. But the most recent developments have taken a very serious turn, and we have seen the widest publicity given to allegations that this movement of passive resistance has been dealt with by measures which would not for a moment be tolerated in any country that claims to call itself civilised. These allegations have been met by a categorical denial from the responsible Government of South Africa, though even their denial contains admissions which do not seem to me to indicate that the Union Government have exercised a very wise discretion in some of the steps which they have adopted.

Presiding over a meeting at Madras, the Lord Bishop of Madras said :—

The Viceroy's speech has been condemned as undiplomatic. But there is a time for all things. For many years, the Government of India have tried patiently to secure justice for the Indians in South Africa by diplomatic methods, and they have failed. And now that matters have been brought to a dangerous crisis and all India is ablaze with a firy indignation, the time has come to put aside the soft phrases of diplomacy, to call a spade a spade, and to tell the politicians of South Africa plainly how their action in this matter is regarded in India. We are deeply grateful to His Excellency that he has done this and has come forward at a critical time *as the spokesman and representative of the Indian people.*

Rioting by Indians in Natal was followed by the appointment by the Union Government of a Committee of Inquiry, at which the Government of India was represented by Sir Benjamin Robertson. The Report of the Commission afforded the basis of a settlement, commonly regarded as equitable so far as it goes.

On the 8th September 1914, the Viceroy referred to the passing of the Indian Relief Bill in South Africa in the following terms :—

If the new law does not satisfy every Indian aspiration, it certainly removes the principal sufferings from which Indians for many years have been suffering.

At the same meeting His Excellency referred to a far more comprehensive question—the right of immigration of Indians into British Colonies in general—on a basis of mutual reciprocity.

In July 1914, the death of Lady Hardinge, wife of the Viceroy, took place in London after an operation. The courage she had displayed at Delhi, when the Viceroy was wounded by a bomb, and the sympathetic and active interest she had displayed in the women and children of India, had endeared her to all classes. Her death was widely mourned in India, and her memory is perpetuated by The Lady Hardinge Women's Medical College. In reply to the countless messages of sympathy which His Excellency received, he said :—

In her, I have lost a truly devoted wife and a most noble helpmate, and the people of India have lost a very loving friend. She loved India, and the people of India, the women and children, the suffering and the poor. None can realise how much. Though gone to her eternal home, her love for India will, I know, remain and bring its blessing from above.

The declaration of War in August 1914, was followed in India by an unprecedented declaration of loyalty on all sides, and the numerous offers of personal help or service made by the chiefs and peoples aroused in England a feeling of intense gratitude. A military force numbering some 200,000 was sent from India to Europe and East Africa within a short time of the outbreak of hostilities.

One of the most gratifying features of this war, so far as India is concerned, is the despatch of Indian troops to fight in Europe against the Germans. The exact part which Lord Hardinge played in bringing about this will probably never be known. But it is an open secret that His Excellency was largely instrumental in getting the Indian troops despatched. At the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 8th September 1914, the Viceroy referred in these terms to the despatch of Indian troops :—

The fact that the Government of India are in a position to help the Mother-Country by the despatch of such a large portion of our armed forces is a supreme mark of my absolute confidence in the fidelity of our troops and in the loyalty of the Indian people. I trust that this may be fully recognised in England and abroad. . . . . If it was with confidence and pride that I was able to offer to His Majesty the finest and largest military force of British and Indian troops for service in Europe that has ever left the shores of India, I am confident that the honour of this land and of the British Empire may be safely entrusted to our brave soldiers, and that they will acquit themselves nobly and ever maintain their high traditions of military chivalry and courage. . . . . There is, I believe, nothing like comradeship in arms before the enemy and joint participation in the dangers and hardships of war, to level all distinctions, to inspire mutual respect, and to foster friendships. This I regard as the bright side of the despatch of our troops to Europe and of the heavy material sacrifices that are being made by India for the sake of the Empire.

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I cannot help feeling that, as a consequence, better relations will be promoted amongst the component parts of the British Empire, many misunderstandings will be removed, and outstanding grievances will be settled in an amicable and generous manner. In this sense, out of evil good may come to India, and this is the desire of all.

About the middle of the year 1914, leading Indians initiated a movement for requesting the authorities to grant an extension of the term of Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty. Influential meetings were held in different parts of the country praying for the extension, and the leading Indian newspapers gave their cordial approval to the proposal. In June 1915, His Excellency the Viceroy issued the following statement :—

The Secretary of State has asked me to give publicity to the following announcement made by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons :—

"Under normal circumstances, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst's term of office as Viceroy and Governor-General of India would have terminated in November next, but His Majesty's Government, recognising the great services which Lord Hardinge has rendered to India, and desiring to retain the advantage of his experience during the coming winter, have requested him to remain until the end of March next. Lord Hardinge has readily consented to comply with our wishes, and the King has been pleased to approve the arrangement. I am glad of the opportunity to express my sense of the public spirit which, in spite of the great strain of his labours and in face of heavy private sorrows, has led Lord Hardinge to place his service unreservedly at our disposal."

While fulfilling the wishes of the Secretary of State in making public this announcement, I desire to say that while in the critical times through which the Empire is passing, I feel that it is my bounden duty to fall in with the wishes of His Majesty's Government, whatever they may be, it is with no light heart that I have agreed to this prolongation of the onerous responsibilities that fall to a Viceroy's lot, but I do not forget that many of the Ruling Chiefs of India and many Bodies, representatives of communities and interests, have given expression to a wish that the tenure of my office should be extended, and the feeling that I have of the friendly confidence of so many gives me courage to continue to fulfil my duties to the best of my ability and for the welfare of India and her people.

In spite of the war, the year 1915 was one of comparative peace and order in India. A continuous effort was maintained in all parts of India to keep the troops at the front and the wounded on their return well supplied with 'comforts,' and the princes and people of India contributed very handsomely to the various war and relief funds. The monsoon was of a favourable character, and, though at one time famine appeared to be inevitable in Guzarat and Kathiawar, late rains saved the situation. A bill was passed in the Imperial Legislative Council, which gave power to the Governor-General in Council to issue regulations to insure the safety of the country and was modelled, with notable exceptions, on the Defence of the Realm Act. In connection with the war, the Viceroy made a journey up the Persian Gulf visiting the oil works at Abadan, Basra, Shaiha, and Kurna. On his return, he visited Muscat, where there had been fighting.

There were several fights on the North-West frontier during the year, but the tribesmen never succeeded in penetrating far into British territory. In September 1914, the return of a number of Sikh emigrants from British Columbia was the occasion of a riot at Budge-Budge. The Lahore Conspiracy Case was the sequel, and in that case a Special Commission sentenced 24 persons to death, 27 to transportation for life, and 6 to terms of imprisonment. Of the death sentences, 16 were subsequently committed to transportation for life. One may see in this, the hand of Lord Hardinge and, although as usual he was blamed for having lowered British prestige, the result showed that the prestige had increased instead of suffering any diminution.

In the early part of 1915, the House of Lords adopted a Resolution advising the King to withhold his Royal assent during the continuance of war from the Draft Proclamation creating an Executive Council for the United Provinces. This elicited wide-spread criticism in India, the Viceroy being the most important of those who condemned the House of Lords for their act. Lord Hardinge said at a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council :—

It may seem to you, as it does to me, a matter of serious concern that it should be within the power of a small body of Peers, who perhaps hardly realise the rate of progress made in this country during the past few years to throw out a proposition put by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government before Parliament with the full approbation of Indian public opinion. It seems clear to me under the circumstances that modification of the law, by which such procedure is possible, is absolutely essential and I trust this will be recognised by His Majesty's Government.

It will be interesting to note that nearly every Province of India has cause to be thankful to Lord Hardinge for the advance made by it in the direction of popular Government. During his time the Central Provinces and Assam have been given Legislative Councils, and in addition to its Executive Council, Behar has had a Legislative Council with an elective majority and a High Court, and is soon to have a University. And if the just demand of the Punjab for a chartered High Court has not been satisfied, we know

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where to locate the responsibility for the disappointment. The Province is all the same grateful to Lord Hardinge to whom it owed the wise recommendation in that behalf.

An important political event during the year 1915, was the acceptance by the Viceroy of a resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council, asking that India should be represented at the Imperial Conference. This has been received favourably in the Colonies. Indians are grateful to His Excellency for having helped India in some measure to occupy her place in the Empire, *viz.*, as an equal partner and not as a mere trusted dependant.

The Viceroy opened the new Patna High Court on the 3rd February 1916. And in declaring the Court open, he said :—

> It is, therefore, my peculiar privilege to stand alone among those who have represented the Crown in the Indian Empire presiding at the opening ceremony of a building which is to house a new chartered High Court. This is particularly gratifying to me as it permits me to witness the final steps. I may say "the placing of the coping stone of a great administrative reform which I am happy to say has been brought to its fruition before the close of my term of office and which I believe to be full of hope and promise for the future and tending towards the steady and progressive development of India in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of her people. . . . . .
>
> The noble edifice of our great Empire is founded on justice and cemented with mercy and I am proud to think that during my Vicëroyalty this fresh contribution to its stability has been completed and to feel that I am here to-day to bear witness to it. With my most earnest wishes that the labours of this Court may be inspired with wisdom, justice and mercy, I will now proceed to open the building.

In consonance with his high ideals of Government, His Excellency has followed a policy of trust and co-operation in his relations with the Feudatory States and Ruling Chiefs of India. The result has been more than justified in the magnificent rally of the Princes of India to the Empire's flag during this war. On the 26th February 1916, His Excellency performed the ceremony of investing the Maharaja of Jodhpur with ruling powers. In the course of a speech on that occasion, he said :—

> In the critical times through which we have passed since this terrible war began, the moral and national support given by the princes and chiefs of India have been of incalculable value. They took the lead in asserting their enthusiastic loyalty to the King-Emperor both by word and deed. Many of them, including the gallant veteran warrior who to-day will resign his post as Regent of Jodhpur and the young prince who will relieve him of his charge, have served with His Majesty's armies in the field and all with one accord have offered their personal services and lavished their resources in support of the noble cause which Great Britain has espoused. The services rendered by the ruling princes of India have received the warm appreciation of the King Emperor, and their devotion and loyalty to the Crown and the person of His Majesty. are landmarks in the history of India that can never be effaced.

And, in reply to the toast of his health at the United Service Club Dinner, at Simla, the Viceroy uttered these memorable words :—

> Let it be realised that great as has been England's mission in the past, she has a far more glorious task to fulfil in the future in encouraging and guiding the political self-development of the people. The goal to which India may attain is still distant and there may be many vicissitudes in her path, but I look forward with confidence to a time when, strengthened by character and self-respect and bound by ties of affection and gratitude, India may be regarded as a true friend of the Empire and not merely as a trusty dependent. The day for the complete fulfilment of this ideal is not yet; but it is to this distant vista that the British official should turn his eyes; and he must grasp the fact that it is by his future success in this direction that British prestige and efficiency will be judged.

How hard His Excellency has tried to act up to this great ideal is a matter of current history. But almost the last act of his benificent Viceroyalty has endeared him all the more to the people of India. The problem of indentured labour has for some time past elicited his most anxious care, and his courageous utterances and solicitous actions on behalf of the Indian emigrants abroad are well known to the readers of these foregoing pages. But no half measures on this obnoxious question would satisfy the Indian public. Accordingly, to the infinite rejoicing of the country, when at a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on March 20, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved a Resolution for the abolition of the system of indentured labour, His Excellency on behalf of the Government of India and with the sanction of the Secretary of State announced his decision to accept the motion which, to quote his own words, would pave the way for the "eventual abolition" of the indentured system. This crowning act of his is not the least of his title to the gratitude of India.

Lord Hardinge throughout his Viceroyalty has been actuated by a sincere desire to understand the aims and aspirations of the people of India as voiced forth from time to time by their representatives in the press, on the platform, and in the debates and discussions in the Imperial Legislative Council. It has been a matter for sincere congratulation that the relations between the Viceroy

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and the representatives of the people were most cordial. The All-India Address presented to him at Delhi, on the 25th March, assigned to him his rightful place in the roll of the illustrious Viceroys of India :—

We salute you as the greatest Viceroy since the days of Lord Ripon. We recall with grief the terrible ordeals you have passed through in the performance of your arduous duties. The quick and deep sympathy of a nation followed Your Excellency in those troubles and tribulations. While we feel assured that you will continue to take an abiding interest in the people of this ancient land whom you have loved and served so well, we deeply regret that you are leaving us and that Your Excellency's official connection with India, which will form such a bright chapter in her history, will soon cease. May your days be long and prosperous, and may the Giver of All Good shower upon you and yours His choicest blessings.

After receiving the All-India Address, at Delhi, Lord Hardinge proceeded to Bombay and, on the 4th of April, laid down his high office and embarked for home. The reception in Bombay was magnificent. It recalls the tremendous demonstrations of enthusiasm that accompanied the parting of another great Viceroy, the late Lord Ripon, two and thirty years ago. Princes and peoples alike gathered together in Bombay to offer a fitting farewell to the retiring Viceroy. The University of Bombay conferred upon Lord Hardinge the Honorary Degree of LL.D. in recognition of his great services for the cause of Education in India. A special Convocation was held for the purpose, and H. E. Lord Willingdon, the Chancellor of the Bombay University, and Dr. Mackichan, the Vice-Chancellor, delivered eulogistic addresses. Lord Hardinge in reply spoke characteristically with a last message to the student community, for whom he has done so much in his Viceroyalty Dr. Mackichan's eloquent reference to a similar Degree conferred on the late Marquis of Ripon was received with great ovation. Lord Hardinge was visibly touched by these demonstrations of affection and solicitude. It is yet too early to measure the beneficence of his great Viceroyalty, but the future historian can judge the value of his work in the light of the spirit in which he served India. At the Garden Party, Lord Hardinge said :—

If his verdict is at all favourable to me, and if he should cast about for some explanation of any small success I may have had as Viceroy, I will give him this hint : "I have trusted India, I have believed in India, I have hoped with India, I have feared with India, I have wept with India, I have rejoiced with India, and in a word I have identified myself with India." India's response has been a wonderful revelation to me, and sometimes I feel as if she had in return confided her very heart to my keeping.

With such kind memories Lord Hardinge may still be expected to take interest in Indian affairs and help the cause of progress in India in the Councils of the Empire. His Lordship's interest on behalf of the Indian people, we are glad to be assured, will still continue. For as he said :—

I often feel that when I return to England one of my chief endeavours should be to make the British public appreciate the pace at which India is developing both socially and politically, and that it is vain and useless to regard India from the standpoint of what India was ten years ago. When I look back upon the past 5½ years, I am struck by the fact how much bigger India looms in the world than before, how she has grown in stature and in wisdom, and how her political progress and social regeneration have advanced and are already bearing fruit with the prospects of an abundant harvest. The Morley-Minto reforms, in conceding to Indian politicians a larger share in the control of their own affairs, have opened a door to political progress that can never be closed so long as the advance is made on sure and safe lines. That the situation has immensely improved through the closer co-operation of the Government and the people is undeniable, and nowhere is this more appreciable than in Bombay, and there is no reason why, with moderation and responsive sympathy, this improvement should not be maintained. But it must be recognised that India cannot and will not remain stationary, and that it is the task of the Imperial Government to guide her development and to help her to attain her just and legitimate aspirations.

H. E. LORD HARDINGE

A SKETCH OF

His Life and His Viceroyalty.

This is a timely addition to the well-known "Friends of India" Series published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., of Madras. The sketch is an up-to-date account of Lord Hardinge's life and career with special reference to his distinguished tenure of Viceroyalty in India. It opens with a brief *resume* of his august ancestry and his thirty years' diplomatic achievements. Then begins chronologically a detailed review of his five and a half years of Indian Viceroyalty, interspersed with choice selections culled from his own utterances both in the Council Chamber and outside. The sketch is thus not only the biography of one of the foremost of English statesmen who ever came to rule India, but is an epitome of the political history of India in what may be called the most stirring times in the history of the British Empire. Almost every aspect of Indian or Imperial politics is passed under review. The change of capital, provincial autonomy, university education, indentured labour, reciprocity with the colonies, and all the inevitable results of the War—and the new angle of vision relating to India and the Empire—these and other important aspects of current history are treated with some measure of completeness as indispensable adjuncts of Lord Hardinge's career in India.

Price : Annas Four.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty St., Madras.

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THE POETRY OF MR. JOSEPH SALDANHA

BY MR. A. L. PINTO, B.A.

THE West Coast with its mythology, peculiar customs and manners and with its wild scenery of mountain, river and forest has been the birth-place of many a poet who has enriched vernacular literature and been the delight of generations of Indian readers. It was therefore peculiarly appropriate that one of the few poets in India who have as yet sung in English should belong to that coast.

Mr. Saldanha was born some forty three years ago at Honovar, North Canara District, where his father was a Sub-Judge. Carefully educated, he became proficient in three languages—English, Canarese, and Mahratti,—and it is said that he could write both poetry and prose in all these languages with facility. Although he studied Canarese up to the F. A., he took up Sanskrit for the B.A , and got through that examination without difficulty. He passed the Matriculation as well as these examinations from the St. Aloysius College, Mangalore, which is justly proud of such a distinguished alumnus.

Mr. Saldanha's knowledge of the literature of the vernaculars and of the classical Sanskrit must have infused his poetry with that undefinable element which stamped it with genius and gave him a niche in the Indian poetical firmament.

His first appearance in a Madras journal was, I believe, in the *Young Men's Miscellany* (now defunct) in which he published the poem called "Krishna Kumari." This was in June 1893. I extract a few stanzas :—

A chieftain claimed her hand, and endeavoured to enforce his demands by threats, but her father rather than yield her to him preferred her to die.

Fair as a lotus when it falls
Upon the lake's blue water,
She shone within the palace walls,
Oodeypore's Chief's own daughter.
A maiden of such tender grace
As blest the eyes that saw her,
Nature alone that form could trace,
No human hand could draw her.
The frantic father heard her sighs
To him he could not yield her ;
In death the only remedy lies,
He said "I cannot shield her.
Dear as the apple of mine eye
I've loved my only daughter,
And I would rather see her die
Than give her him thus sought her."
And lo ! a deadly draught he sent
To blast his fairest blossom,
Ah, how the cruel action rent
That father's kindly bosom.
Yet must the price of love be paid,
And must his words not alter,
Of death she should not be afraid,
Disgrace shall not assault her.
And like a Rajput bold and true,
She drank the fatal chalice,
And stanched with death the feud that grew
From out her claimant's malice.
And all the maids of Rajastan
With tears enshrined her ashes,
Love reigns supreme in every man,
And down all passions crashes.

It would be seen that in spite of some immaturity of style and defect of phrase, Mr. Saldanha had already fairly mastered the difficult art of versifying and showed distinct promise. He was then studying in the College Department of the St. Aloysius College, Mangalore. The passing of examinations was a great trial to him and his free spirit chafed under the restrictions imposed by the rigid examination system that then prevailed. His feelings found vent in a parody of Hamlet, which I quote at some length ; for although it does not claim any poetical merit, it strikes a chord which will find a sympathetic echo in the heart of many a genuine schoolboy :—

To appear or not to appear—that is the question
Whether it is better in the end to suffer
The berthless fate of youth unqualified
Or to break one's head over hard atrocious text-books
And by long cramming get through—to pass,
To get a post—no more, and by a post to—end
The headache and the thousand natural pains
That students are heir to—'tis a compensation
Eagerly to be asked. To pass—to get a post
To get a post—perchance there's the rub
For while we wait what vacancies may come
When we have once put in our "humble petitions"
Must give us work—there is the respect
That makes calamity of so long study ;
For who would bear the hardness of the times
The head clerk's wrong, the officer's remarks
The pangs of slow promotion, the peon's delay
The insolence of "old hands" and the abuse
That patient merit of the unpassed takes
When he himself might his quietus have
By sitting at home.

He first made his mark as a poet with his welcome verses to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Wenlock when they visited the St. Aloysius College, Mangalore. His deep patriotism and intense religious fervour combined to render these verses memorable among those of his community and college, who were present on the occasion of the gubernatorial visit :—

Who be ye strangers sitting midst us here
When gentle nature bids her children rest ?
Why is this hour with song and music blest,
Why dost this scene so gaily deckt appear ?

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Yes, well we know you guests of rarest note
And worth in you our littleness can grace
As does your presence now this humble place
Where love has led your steps from realms remote,
And we are sons of sires that bled of old
For fatherland when Freedom's cause arose,
United by the cause that holds us close,
The bond of one belief in one true fold.
Wherein our fathers first by Francis taught,
The holy Francis of eternal fame,
On Goa's shores that still with hallowed claim
Safeguard his long and wondrous sleep were brought;
And with us come to hail you here to-night
The rising race with Learning's flag in hand
And guided by a God-devoted band
That teach them how to win life's double fight.
Then welcome whilst without the torches gleam,
And ancient faith within burns brighter still,
The light your presence sheds amongst us will
Through coming years within our mem'ries beam.

This effort was so successful that ever afterwards he was the unquestioned "Poet Laureate" of the College and never failed to satisfy the demand for "occasional verses," which the many College gatherings and festivities required of him; and when in the fulness of time the Mangalore Magazine was founded as the organ of his *alma mater*, he became a faithful and valued contributor to it. He once competed for a prize offered by Mr. Quinn, who was then the Editor of the *Indian Journal of Education*, for the best paraphrase of *Tennyson's Crossing the Bar*. Mr. Saldanha did not win the prize, but his effort which was in poetry was considered the next best (*proxima accessit*). His paraphrase was a poem in itself, and the writer had the privilege of reciting it at a social gathering at the Presidency College in 1894, arranged by the Editor of this esteemed *Review*, then Secretary of the Presidency College Literary Society. The late Dr. Satthianadhan, Professor of Philosophy, who was present at the recitation, was so struck with the deep poetic and religious spirit running through the paraphrase that, with Mr. Saldanha's permission, he had it printed in the *Christian Patriot*. I may be permitted to quote a few lines from this paraphrase which, I am sure, will give the reader an idea of its pure poetical inspiration:

When the sun of life is setting, and the star of hope shines bright,
In the dim and transient twilight heralding the approach of night,
May I hear the timely warning of my Pilot bid me sail
O'er death's dark and dreadful river to the far off silent vale,
And as draw I near the ocean beating on the distant shore,
May no wave there dash against me, not a single billow roar.

* * * *

Fainter, fainter grows the twilight giving place to night's dark fall,
But before it shall I hear my Pilot's clear and timely call,
Bidding me to quit the shores of life with all my heart holds dear,
For the unknown land of silence where no human joys appear,
May no anxious pangs assail my soul at that departing hour,
Willing let me cross the ocean trusting in my Pilot's power.

One great attribute of his genius was his skill in versification. He has tried many forms of metre, and he achieved astonishing success in them all. His sonnet on Tennyson is worth quoting:

Receive on yon Elysian shores, great Bard,
This late, yet loving tribute of the East,
Whose mind still on the cherished thought shall feast,
That thou didst have for her a kind regard.
Thou silent, yet solicitous, didst guard
Her interests, and lovedst to hear her sons
Had learnt to grasp the hallowed truth that runs
Through thy sweet songs with gentle flow unmarred.
O deathless singer, wherefore should we mourn,
Since death is life of greater bliss to thee;
Thou bad'st us grieve not, when thou shoudst be borne
In perfect calm o'er life's most troubled sea;
But still to comfort us, thus far forlorn,
Thou speak'st through tongues of immortality.

There is a haunting melody in the acrostic in blank verse on the late Bishop Nicholas Maria Pagani, of Mangalore, a few lines of which are quoted below:

Night sad and sudden has with cruel calm
In the yet unborn twilight of life's day
Closed o'er thee to fill with grief and gloom
Hearts that did love and homes that e'er did bless
One who was all love and blessing unto them.
Like a fond mother that with partial mind
Admires the imperfect virtues of her child,
Seeking to find no faults therein that else
Might mar her joy, thou to thy dear flock wert
A shepherd the most mild that wielded staff.

His general outlook on life was sad, but the merit of his poetry did not suffer by this, for it need hardly be explained that the "sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought":

They gave him gold and made him sing, sing for their delight,
And he sang loud and he sang low,
And many a note on his pipe did blow
Till they laughed for joy at the melody's flow,
But the joy with the song took flight.
Then they followed him in lonely ways, where he sate and mused, apart
Alone on the side of a desolate mound,
Where wood notes wove their magic of sound,
And he sang of the grief that his soul had found,
But the song—it still sings in their heart.

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Again :—

I looked on her—the touch of grief
Had made her half divine,
She sought from earthly things relief,
Her heart had grown a shrine,
Where heavenly thoughts like pilgrims pure
Their constant vigils kept;
Whilst like a saint in death serene,
Her passions slept.
But as the bow that hangs on high,
When rain and sunshine meet,
A brief bright wonder in the sky,
For loving gaze too sweet,
So in her heart where sorrow dwelt,
With bliss of dreams divine,
At times the earthly thrill she felt,
As pure as fine.

His lines on the death of a dear sister are exquisitely sweet:

Not e' en thy last adieu, alas, my dear,
Could distance let me hear,
Not e' en a kiss upon thy sweet cold brow
Could I bestow
But on thy death-bed stretched didst thou appear
In dream so sadly clear
That in my sleep I wept the bitter woe
I did not know.
Perhaps ' twas but mine angel that gave sign
That the last thoughts of thine
Dwelt on thy distant brother as they turn'd
With love that burn'd
To husband, children, her that e'er shall pine,
Dear mother thine and mine,
Who vainly for thy last embraces yearn'd
When far she learn'd
The doom that dealt despairing pangs of grief,
That is without relief,
Ah me! a maddening voidness holds my soul
In depth of dole,
But thou, O dearest one whose days were brief
As those of flower and leaf,
Has sailed the sea where sorrow's waters roll,
And reached thy goal.
The earth will ring again with voice of bird,
All nature will be stirred,
But oh! for thy sweet innocents and me,
And friends that be,
And mother dear and husband fond be heard
From thee no cheering word,
Till in God's Heaven, from sin and sorrow free,
We come to thee.

He has also his lighter mood when his verses have a quick movement which is in keeping with the subject dealt with, *vide* his song of the journals, from which I extract the following opening stanzas:

North and South and East and West,
Speed we over land and sea,
Nurslings curst and nurslings blest,
Thought and Type's prompt progeny.
Man alive! Read and thrive,
Clear the chaff and store the grain,
While through time, in prose and rhyme,
Sounds the world its marching strain.

Dead behind us lies the Past.
Still his secrets we declare,
Oft the horoscope we cast,
Of the Future dark or fair,
Wisdom's cheer and Folly's sneer,
Poet's fit and Patriot's rage,
Statesman's right and soldier's might,
All are printed in our page.

He has laid the Roman Catholic community of Mangalore under a deep debt of gratitude by editing the "Christian Puran," a poetic history of the Bible in archaic Konkani, by the Revd. Father Stephens, an English Jesuit, who flourished in India at the time of Shakespeare. His elaborate preface to that work is a monument of deep erudition and ripe scholarship, for which he is entitled to undying fame among his countrymen. Dr. Casartelli, the Orientalist, contributed a highly eulogistic critique of it to the *Manchester Guardian*. Major Kirtikar, I.M.S., also an Orientialist, wrote very appreciatively of his work. Mr. Saldanha also translated into English verse portions of the Puran. An extract is appended, as it may interest the general reader :—

BIRTH OF CHRIST.

(Part II, Chapter, 7)

'Twas near the middle of the night,
Lost in her thoughts as deep as bright,
Seemed she that soon must prove her right,
As mother of her God

Forespent the wild clouds' showering mood
All clear again the heavens stood
And myriad stars rained down a flood
Of light that shone abroad.

To tend the hour that must behold
Whom did the Virgin's womb enfold,
The moon bedecked with purest gold
Yearned wistful with her host
* * *

And angel bands on high amazed
To think that he the Lord they praised
Would come to earth, expectant gazed
To see how He would shew.
* * *

Hymning the grand and hallow'd night,
They kept their watch of love and light,
Nor till the Saviour bless'd their sight
Was hushed their song of praise.

Hail glorious night! whose splendours gleam
Brighter than any sun could dream,
The Lord of Day in vain would beam
His rays at such an hour.

To-day the Son of God doth shed
The light of righteousness; and fled
Is all the darkness sin hath spread
Before His heavenly power.

A good Sanskrit scholar, he is an ardent admirer of Kalidas, whom he compares to Shakespeare in a couple of sonnets. He may be

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pardoned if, like a true son of India, he gives the pride of place to the Indian poet:

KALIDAS.

Shakespeare of Ind they call thee, they who sway
Our land but their own bard they do not name
So after thee, regardless of thy claim
To that proud honour, for as the sun's ray
Lights first the east and on its upward way,
Becoming broader, sets the west aflame,
Even so, great genius to the east first came,
And sought the west but at a later day.
Should we, great maker, urge thy injured right,
And bid our rulers soon repair the wrong,
"No," answers he, "fools may for titles fight,
To wisdom's train no titles e'er belong;
Shakespeare and Kalidas both used their might
To please the world, not for the fame of song."

SHAKESPEARE.

And can we love thee less, or less admire
Thy magic world, O Britains' Bard Supreme!
Or ingrate-like, through country' pride, esteem
Thy pleasure-planned life conquest less entire?
No, no, thy spell-bound beings all conspire
To bring their god the praise none else can dream,
On life's vast ocean falls thy fancy's gleam
Nor from its light can time or space retire.
We love thee still and midst the stars that shine
In Ind's poetic firmament we place
Thy honoured self; that centre thou canst grace
And that as guest for ever shall be thine;
In thee the rulers and the ruled shall trace
A common joy wherein they all combine.

The *Irish Monthly*, a literary journal of Dublin, published some of Mr. Saldanha's poems. The *Thrush*, a periodical devoted entirely to the publication of "new poetry," printed a few of his translations in verse of Sanskrit poems. One of them was found worthy of a musical setting by a well-known composer in London and of being sung in the Æolian Hall, London. The late Sir Alfred Austin in a letter to Mr. Saldanha spoke of the pleasure given him by a perusal of his "graceful verses".

Extremely sensitive to public criticism, Mr. Saldanha has never yet made up his mind to bring out a volume of his verses although urged to do so by many of his friends. Some time back he retired from the Professorship of English at the St. Aloysius College, Mangalore, the duties of which he had carried out with remarkable distinction, and he now lives the life of a recluse in a house on the slope of College Hill commanding the beautiful scenery of Mangalore, the "world forgetting" it is true, but I am sure, not "by the world forgot".

THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

BETTER late than never. The Government of India have at last awakened to the necessity of an enquiry into the industrial possibilities of this country. At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held at Delhi, on March 21st, the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah moved "that this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council to appoint a committee of officials and non-officials to consider and report what measures should be adopted for the growth and development of industries in India." In the course of his speech the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim suggested that the following may suitably form the principal subjects to be referred for the consideration of the proposed Committee:—

(1) Whether representation should be made to the Home authorities through the Secretary of State for securing to the Government of India full fiscal autonomy specially in reference to Import, Export and Excise duties.

(2) Whether (*a*) Protection (*b*) Granting of Bounties and Subsidies (*c*) Guaranteeing certain rates of interest on capital invested in approved industries, should be availed of in such cases and for such time as may be deemed necessary.

(3) Whether a special expert staff should be maintained to carry on research work and institute detailed enquiries into the possibility of successfully initiating, and establishing, new industries in India and to supply expert advice for the development of existing industries.

(4) What means should be employed for securing a sufficient supply of skilled labour.

(5) What special railway facilities in the matter of fares and otherwise are needed.

(6) Whether any special measures are necessary to attract capital and secure banking facilities.

Sir Ibrahim, in suggesting these points for inquiry and report, made a very exhaustive speech detailing the various means by which other Governments have developed the resources of their respective States. Sir Ibrahim rightly urged that the first step in the direction of industrial reform was "fiscal freedom for India." He said:

It appears to me, however, that unless the hands of the Imperial Government are free in fiscal matters the results will not be adequate. If the Government of India were free to adopt measures solely in the interests of the people of this country without any restrictions or limitations in fiscal matters, our industrial development would be in a fair way of successful accomplishment. India wants fiscal autonomy as the first step towards her

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industrial regeneration and if Indian public opinion is to have any weight in the determination of this question we ought to get it at once.

The Hon'ble member only pleaded for what other civilised Governments have done. The Indian Government should take a direct hand in co-operating with and helping the development of, the industries in India.

If Japan and Germany have succeeded within a short period of about 40 years to reach a foremost position as a manufacturing country amongst the nations of the world, by the joint co-operation of Government and people, there appears to be no reason why India with all its natural advantages should not reach an equal, if not a higher standard. For many of their manufacturing industries both Japan and Germany are obliged to depend upon imported raw materials. If, in spite of this drawback, they have successfully accomplished their aim there appears no reason why India should not be able, with the cordial and whole-hearted support of her Government, to achieve success with all the necessary raw materials available on the spot.

Then followed a lively debate in which all the non-official members took part and warmly supported Sir Ibrahim's resolution. Sir G. M. Chitnavis asked for an urgent and definite move forward. The Hon. Mr. Dadabhai pointed out that the conservation of present industries is more important than the creation of new ones; the Hon. Mr. Bannerjee gave eloquent testimony to the dominant note that Government should no more retain a position of isolation but should participate freely and actively in the industrial development of the country. Pandit M. Malaviya complained that there had been no subject in which less had been done, though much had been said than in the question of Indian industries. The Hon. Mr. C. E. Low combated the despondent view of some of the previous speakers and preached a robuster, and more cheerful, faith of confidence and hope.

Sir William Clark, on behalf of the Government, announced that upon the recommendation of the Government of India, His Majesty's Government had approved of the appointment not of a mere Committee but of a more important body—a Commission, whose duty it will be to consider and report upon the possibility of the further industrial development of this country. The Commission is to be presided over by Sir Thomas Holland, the late Director of the Geological Survey of India, who will be assisted by seven or eight members of whom three are Indians. So far, we understand that Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Sir Rajendranath Mukherji and Sir Dorab Tata, representing the three great communities of India, will be Members of the body. We are surprised that Madras has no representative on the Commission. The Hon. Mr. Low, now Secretary in the Commerce and Industry Department of the Government of India, will join the Commission early. We are glad that such well-known men as Sir Horace Plunkett and Mr. Hopkinson will serve on the Commission The terms of reference to the Commission are as follows :—

They will be instructed to examine and report upon possibilities of further industrial development in India and to submit their recommendations with special reference to the following questions (a) whether new openings for the profitable employment of Indian capital in commerce and industry can be indicated and (b) whether, and, if so, in what manner Government can usefully give direct encouragement to industrial development (1) by rendering technical advice more freely available, (2) by the demonstration of the practical possibility on a commercial scale of particular industries, (3) by affording directly, or indirectly, financial assistance to industrial enterprises, or (4) by way of other means with the existing fiscal policy of the Government of India

It will be noticed that in framing the terms of reference no mention is made of the fiscal policy of the Government of India. The Commission will not enquire into the most important items of the question of Tariffs and the authority of the Government of India in regard to the regulation of foreign commerce. This is deplorable indeed. As has been so pertinently pointed out, it is acting the play of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. But the Hon. Mr. Clark, in justifying the course adopted by the Imperial Government, put in the usual plea that at a time like this it was not politic to raise the question of fiscal freedom for India. The war in Europe is brought in to serve every insupportable plea. He warned the Council against regarding protection or indeed any other measure as in itself a panacea for all industrial ills. He explained that the fiscal relations between Great Britain and the Empire including India would have to be revised, and that fiscal questions could not be taken up with propriety during the war. It would also be difficult, he said, to find a committee capable of going into local industrial matters and of revising the entire fiscal relations between England and India. As a practical measure it was better, in his opinion, in the interests of the industrial development of India, that the enquiry should be confined to what could be dealt with effectively. He looked forward to the day of adjustment with evident enthusiasm and called on the country to await the end of the war :—

The Prime Minister has categorically stated in the House of Commons that if any action affecting economic

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relations after the war is contemplated as a result of that Conference (at Paris) the Government of India and the Governments of the Dominions would all be consulted before definite action is taken. That does not look as if it was proposed to neglect India after the war. It is clear that the same pronouncement must affect the question of protection, which has also formed a large part of the speeches to which we have listened to-day, since the question of any important modification in our fiscal system is manifestly inseparable from the question of the fiscal relationships of the parts of the Empire and of the rest of the world. We can all, I think, appreciate the objections to raising in war time a question which affects India's relations, not only with the United Kingdom, but also, with foreign countries. In a sense, protection is a very live issue in India, since it is an issue in which all classes take a vigorous interest and on which most educated Indians hold strong opinions, but in view of this pronouncement by the British Government it is not an issue which can be taken up at the moment, nor, as Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson said when we discussed the same subject three years ago, is it a question on which the Government of India are in a position to declare a policy of their own. Their policy is, and must be, the policy of His Majesty's Government.

This is just what makes the condition of Indian industries so deplorable. The perversity of the notion that the economic policy of this country should be so adjusted as to serve the interests of the manufacturers of Lancashire is at the bottom of all our economic woes. The Hon. Mr. Clark justly pointed out that it is of "immense importance, alike to India herself and to the Empire, that Indians should take a large share in the industrial development of their country." This is by no means possible if the fiscal policy of this country is made to serve the interest of foreign merchants. Very rightly therefore are the non-official members and those interested in the development of Indian industries, vexed at this limitation in the scope of the Commission's enquiry. It is to be hoped, however, that this unnecessary restriction will be removed, so that the work of the Commission's enquiry may not be hampered in any way and that fruitful results may follow the findings of such an important body.

INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY.

BY MR. G. K. GADGIL, BAR.-AT-LAW.

(*Secretary, "Indian Women's University."*)

THE Indian Women's University movement is making satisfactory progress. Several workers, who were moving about in different parts of India to enlist sympathy and support for the movement, have now returned.

(*b*) Class voters consisting of graduates...				760
(*c*) Class voters			...	490
Number of donors paying or promising to pay Rs.	1,000	...	...	2
Do.	do.	500	...	...	18
Do.	do.	400	...	...	1
Do.	do.	300	...	...	50
Do.	do.	150	...	...	13

It is necessary to refer in this progress report to one or two objections that are raised against certain points in the scheme. They were urged by people who had shown the fullest sympathy for the scheme, accepted its fundamental principles and become members of the Indian Women's University by giving it pecuniary support. It is but fair to these good friends of the cause that their doubts should be removed and their misunderstanding properly cleared up.

It is said that the Hindu Widows' Home Association has obtained an unduly large representation in the constitution of the University. Out of the sixty Fellows who would constitute the Senate of the University, thirty or fully one-half are to be elected by that Association, and this is believed to be unjust to the two other electorates. It is, however, necessary to remember that the idea of the Indian Women's University was first taken up by the Hindu Widows' Home Association. At that time it was difficult to know what amount of support it would receive from the outside public. The H. W. H. Association had a membership of about 400 strong, while it was expected that the promoters of the idea would be able to secure about 250 members of the (*b*) class. The response which has been received is altogether beyond the fondest hopes of the promoters, and they are quite ready and willing to plead guilty to the charge of having underestimated the amount of support likely to be received by the movement. But at present nothing can be done.

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The first Senate of the University is being constituted, and in less than two months from to-day it will enter upon its duties. One of the questions, which the Senate will have to take up for consideration, will be the proportion of members to be elected by the different electorates in view of the very large number of those that have enrolled their names as members of the (*b*) electorate. It may as well be stated here that the Provisional Committee is already thinking of formulating definite suitable alterations in the present constitution of the Senate, so as to make a more equitable distribution of representation among the different classes of voters.

Another point that it will be the duty of the Provisional Committee to urge upon their attention is the necessity of giving some kind of special representation to persons who have made substantial contributions to the funds of the University. Under present conditions such people will have to be enrolled as electors only of the (c) class and thus although their sympathy with the cause might be great, and although they might show it by large donations, they would have only the smallest representation on the University. It would, therefore, be advisable to institute a fourth electorate of such persons who may be called *patrons*. What their qualifying contributions should be, and what representation should be given to them, are points which can now be settled only by the Senate when it is constituted.

A good deal of opposition exists in certain quarters to the Women's University being named 'Indian' instead of 'Maharashtra.' As to the aims of the promoters it must be stated that they actually started with the name 'Maharashtra Women's University.' Later on when a deputation headed by Prof. Karve visited Benares at the time of the inauguration of the Hindu University, some friends from other parts of India, who would be numbered among the leaders of thought in their provinces, represented to them that the cause would be served better if the name were changed and made of wider significance. It would take very long indeed before each province had its own University. Till then the work done at Poona would be useful elsewhere, and the Women's University at Poona would serve as a central organization to which new or existing institutions might simply affiliate themselves. The courses of study would be the same, the standard of merit uniform and the method of examination identical. The different vernaculars of the different provinces would not present an insuperable difficulty. Text-books might be written on the same lines and the same examination papers would be set at different centres. There were the views of men who had given serious thought to the problem, and at their pressing invitation the Deputation accepted the suggestion and persuaded the Hindu Widows' Home Association to adopt it. It will thus be seen that in taking the name "Indian," the promoters are not trying to gratify an unlegitimate ambition but are merely helping the cause of the higher education of women in other provinces. It is intended to sketch an outline of a suitable plan of female education for the whole of India, of which the 'Maharashtra' section only will be worked out in detail at Poona, while the other provinces will do their parts in due course.

The Provisional Committee feels that the time for criticism is now gone by. The idea of the University has taken definite shape, has evoked large sympathy, and has secured enthusiastic support. The Committee is engaged in framing a course of studies for the consideration of the Senate. The draft curriculum would be sent round to the members of the Senate and other sympathisers of the movement in a short time, and all helpful criticism and suggestions would be placed before the Senate for consideration. In the meanwhile, the question of funds is as urgent as ever. The burden of a heavy responsibility weighs down upon the minds of the promoters. Although it has been lightened by the cordial reception given to the idea, they will consider themselves free from the responsibility only when the Maharashtra Women's College at Hingne Budruk—the first institution to be affiliated to the University—begins its work in right earnest and attains a position in no way inferior to that of the colleges of older foundation. This, too, will come in time—how soon it would depend upon the enthusiasm of the supporters of the movement and the sacrifices they are prepared to make for its success.

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THE MYSORE UNIVERSITY.

WE congratulate His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, and his active and progressive Dewan, on the establishment of an independent University for the State. In fact one of the leading features of recent times is the impetus given to educational problems. The Government of Lord Hardinge, it is generally known, "declared in favour of the formation of smaller Universities and, especially, of new local teaching and residential Universities within each of the Provinces, in harmony with the best modern opinion as to the right road to educational efficiency." In pursuance of this policy the Universities of Dacca, Patna, and Benares have already come into being. Others are on the anvil: a provincial University for Behar and similar institutions at Nagpur and Rangoon and Aligarh. Now the scheme for a Women's University is forging ahead. It is therefore fitting that such an advanced State as Mysore, with her exceptional advantages, should have the benefit of a separate University.

The provisional scheme for the proposed University of Mysore is now published for general information, and suggestions calculated to enhance the usefulness of the scheme are invited from the public interested in the State University. The official draft explains that, during the last few years, "the desire for a separate University for Mysore has been growing in intensity, and the Mysore Representative Assembly has given expression to the wishes of the people in this respect with no uncertain voice. It is felt that the full advantages of University education can only be realised by a local University which takes into account the special circumstances and wants of the State and which embodies at the same time some of the special features of the more modern institutions of this class." The rapid progress which the State has attained in recent years justifies its aspiration for a separate University. The Mysore State, with an area of 30,000 square miles and a population of 6 millions, "has a distinctive homogeneous character" with a single language as its almost exclusive vernacular. It has already a "good and orderly system of instruction" in the various departments of knowledge, and has even gone beyond British India in the introduction of what may be called, in the words of the Hon. Mr. Sharp, "a modified system of compulsion." It possesses besides, an independent organisation in almost all departments of education except that of collegiate instruction, and a local University, it can hardly be denied, will raise the general level of culture and serve the interests of the State even more efficiently.

Nor are immediate facilities wanting in the State to begin the work of this great experiment. A sum of Rs. 7,75,000 has been sanctioned, which will be distributed over the different needs of buildings, staff and hostel. Besides, Mysore and Bangalore are no mean centres of learning already. There are 14 high schools with about 2,705 students, and the two first grade colleges of the State have close on 800 students on their rolls with perfect equipment alike for literature and science. These colleges will hereafter play an important part under the new scheme. Thus the Mysore University will be a federation of two colleges under a common Government with headquarters at Mysore, the capital of the State. Here will be located the faculties of arts, languages, history and economics, philosophy, and teaching. The Central College, Bangalore, will be identified, as at present, with mathematics and the sciences. English and the Vernaculars will be common to both the institutions. Both colleges will be under the executive control of the Vice-Chancellor and the Council. The boards of studies for English and the Vernaculars will be common to both centres, the other boards being associated with the colleges where the respective subjects are taught.

But the special features of the new University call for some comments, and we are glad that the proposals are alike modest and practical. For one thing, the cry that the vernaculars have been neglected under the present curriculum has gone a great way in shaping the policy of the Mysore University. Kanarese and Hindustani, the vernaculars, are here made compulsory throughout the three years' course. The special encouragement given to Persian and Sanskrit will be highly valued in these days when enthusiasm for research and revival forms a characteristic note in modern Indian thought.

Another important change is in the direction of a rational study of a simplified English course. It seems that philological and antiquarian knowledge will not be much insisted on, nor a minute study of all the known and unknown authors of English literature. In our opinion this is the chief merit of the Mysore scheme.

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A third feature of the new University is what Lord Hardinge has so often pleaded for in all his educational pronouncements. The essential need of a University life, as understood in England and so fruitfully realised at Oxford and Cambridge in particular, is the development of social and corporate life, and it is gratifying to note that the Mysore University Scheme provides facilities for the growth of such a life. It is found impossible at present to fulfil the ideal of a Unitary University for the whole State but the two centres, one at Mysore, and the other at Bangalore, will each be made as complete as possible regarding the equipments that are so necessary for a University life.

Another important innovation is the recognition of the need of technical and scientific education, and the M A. and the M. Sc. courses with their research scholarships will be a distinct and valuable feature of the University. We are glad that an efficient Teachers' College within the University area, is proposed to be established. It is encouraging to learn that the Mysore University is making an adequate beginning in the direction of specialisation in the various branches of knowledge. It is good that only a limited number of Faculties are established to begin with; and we hope, as time and progress go hand in hand, that measures will be taken to equip the University with the Faculties of Law, Medicine, Engineering, Commerce and Agriculture, thus keeping pace with the march of the times.

But the equipment of a modern University on up-to-date models is a very costly thing. Recognising this the Government of Mysore have made adequate provision for large outlays. From the tables and schedules attached to the draft, we understand that the cost of already existing buildings, the fresh advances, and the various grants altogether, make a capitalised total value of Rs. 100 lakhs. With the progress that Mysore has made in recent times in the general level of culture and well-being among the citizens, and with the large resources at the service of this advanced State, there is no doubt that the University will be a marked success. We learn that the administration of the affairs of the University will be vested in the Council and Senate, and we are happy that the enlightened Maharaja of Mysore, the first Chancellor, will be the highest authority in the University. Under the wise and beneficent direction of His Highness, we wish a prosperous and useful career for this, the latest born of Indian Universities.

H. E. LORD CHELMSFORD.

WE offer a most cordial welcome to H. E. Lord Chelmsford, the new Viceroy and Governor-General of India. For over six months India has been anxious that Lord Hardinge's successor should be a nobleman of equal gifts of sympathy and statesmanship and many names were rumoured as possible recipients of the Viceroyalty of India—the greatest office in the gift of the British Crown. In many respects Lord Chelmsford's appointment is unique. His Excellency is the first Australian Governor to come out as Viceroy of India and the only Viceroy who has served in India previous to his appointment. Lord Chelmsford's antecedents are by no means negligible. He has been Governor of two Self-governing Colonies and has displayed sound judgment and sympathy at a constitutional crisis in the Commonwealth. He has served faithfully at the London County Council, a body distinguished for capacity and knowledge in the direction of administrative efficiency. Thus Lord Chelmsford's acquaintance with the Self-governing Colonies of Australia, combined with his interest in Municipal and Educational problems, will, it is hoped, be of considerable value in the new India that is being forged under our eyes amidst all the clash of arms in four continents. His Excellency will have ample opportunities for the exercise of those gifts of imagination and sympathy, which have made his illustrious predecessor such a popular Viceroy of India.

Frederic John Napier Thesiger, third Baron Chelmsford was born on the 12th August 1868, and is thus only forty-seven years of age. His grandfather, the first Baron, was Lord High Chancellor in 1858-59, and his father Frederick Augustus, who came to the title in 1878, had early distinguished himself as a soldier, serving as a General with the Army in the Crimea, in India and elsewhere. The present Lord Chelmsford was educated at Winchester College, and then at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took his B. A. and M. A. degrees succesively. From 1892 to 1899, he was a Fellow of All Saints College, Oxford.

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The English papers generally speak highly of his interest in sport. In the field of athletics he excelled in cricket and played in the 'Varsity Cricket Eleven from 1888 to 1890. He was in his College career President of the Junior Common Room—the highest social honour among the collegians. In 1894, he married the Hon. Frances Charlotte Guest, the daughter of the late Lord Wimborne. (Lord and Lady Chelmsford have six children: four daughters, the eldest of whom is now serving as a Red Cross Nurse in France, and two sons, the elder of whom, the Hon. Frederic Ivor Thesiger, is now twenty years of age and is a subaltern in a cavalry regiment). In 1900, Lord Chelmsford became a member of the London School Board, and in 1904 a member of the London County Council. The next year he was appointed Governor of Queensland, a post he relinquished in 1909, to take up the Governorship of New South Wales. In January 1910, Lord Chelmsford acted as Governor-General of Australia during the absence of Lord Dudley. He then returned Home in 1913, took up once more his London County Council work and was made an Alderman. While in Queensland he was created a K. C. M. G. and in New South Wales a G. C. M. G. He is now Chancellor of the Order and a Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Lord Chemsford has always taken a keen interest in volunteering and held a commission in the 4th Battalion of the Dorset Regiment. In 1902, he was promoted to a captaincy and with that rank he came out to India with his regiment soon after the outbreak of the war. During the last Christmas week he was in Calcutta as the guest of Lord Carmichael, who was Governor of Victoria when Lord Chelmsford was in New South Wales. Later, before the departure of Lord Hardinge, Lord Chelmsford stayed at the Viceregal Lodge and embarked for London before the Royal warrant appointing him to the Viceregal throne was published. Lord Chelmsford came back to Bombay and took charge of the Viceroyalty of India on the 4th of April.

One of the first things His Excellency did on the assumption of his high office was to visit Calcutta, the old capital, where a warm welcome awaited him. The Calcutta Corporation for the first time had to welcome the Viceroy as a mere visitor and not as a resident, and their regret at such a necessity was too much to be concealed. His Excellency made a frank speech with a judicious reference to the theory of the settled fact in regard to the change of capital and also impressed on his hearers, that though Calcutta was by far the most important city in the Empire on account of its political antecedents and commercial enterprise, still the Viceroy's interest was too wide to permit of the engagement to stay in the City of Palaces for any definite period in the year. "India is a vast place and my responsibilities extend to the whole of it," said His Excellency, "and it is my ambition to travel widely and frequently." Indeed, Lord Chelmsford has taken charge from one of the most brilliant and successful Viceroys of recent times, and the responsibilities of his high office demand merits of head and heart of no mean order.

Moreover His Excellency has witnessed all the demonstrations of affection and regard for the outgoing Viceroy, and we are happy to note that the new Viceroy will continue the beneficent policy of Lord Hardinge in the administration of this great Empire. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford said in reply to an Address of Welcome in Bombay:—

> I was privileged to watch the work and win the friendship of His Excellency Lord Hardinge who lays down his office to-day. Lord Hardinge has won to an unprecedented degree the confidence, the respect, nay, I would say the affection of the peoples of India, and he has set a hard task before his successor. Continuity is, however, in my opinion a cardinal principle of policy when one man succeeds another, and so far as possible I shall deem it my duty and privilege to carry on Lord Hardinge's work where he has left it.

May His Excellency walk in the steps of his illustrious predecessor is the prayer of all India

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SHAKESPEARE'S TERCENTENARY.

In connection with the tercentenary of Shakespeare which falls this month, the following sonnet from the pen of J. B. O'Hara in the columns of the Chambers' Journal may be read with interest:—

While evermore the pride of Shakespeare's name
Is one with England's, so shall, living, shine
The rose-red radiance of the light divine
That quickened with the day of Shelley's fame,
Third of the sons the island races claim
As England's glory, while she sets for sign
Of deathless lineage on Song's starry shrine
The lights that no far dawn of time shall shame.
All winged visions of the lightning brain,
Splendours of thought, fed on life's burning tears,
And exaltation of Song's meteor flight,
All unimaginable dreams of pain
And passion in the paradise love years
Were thine, imperishable Son of Light.

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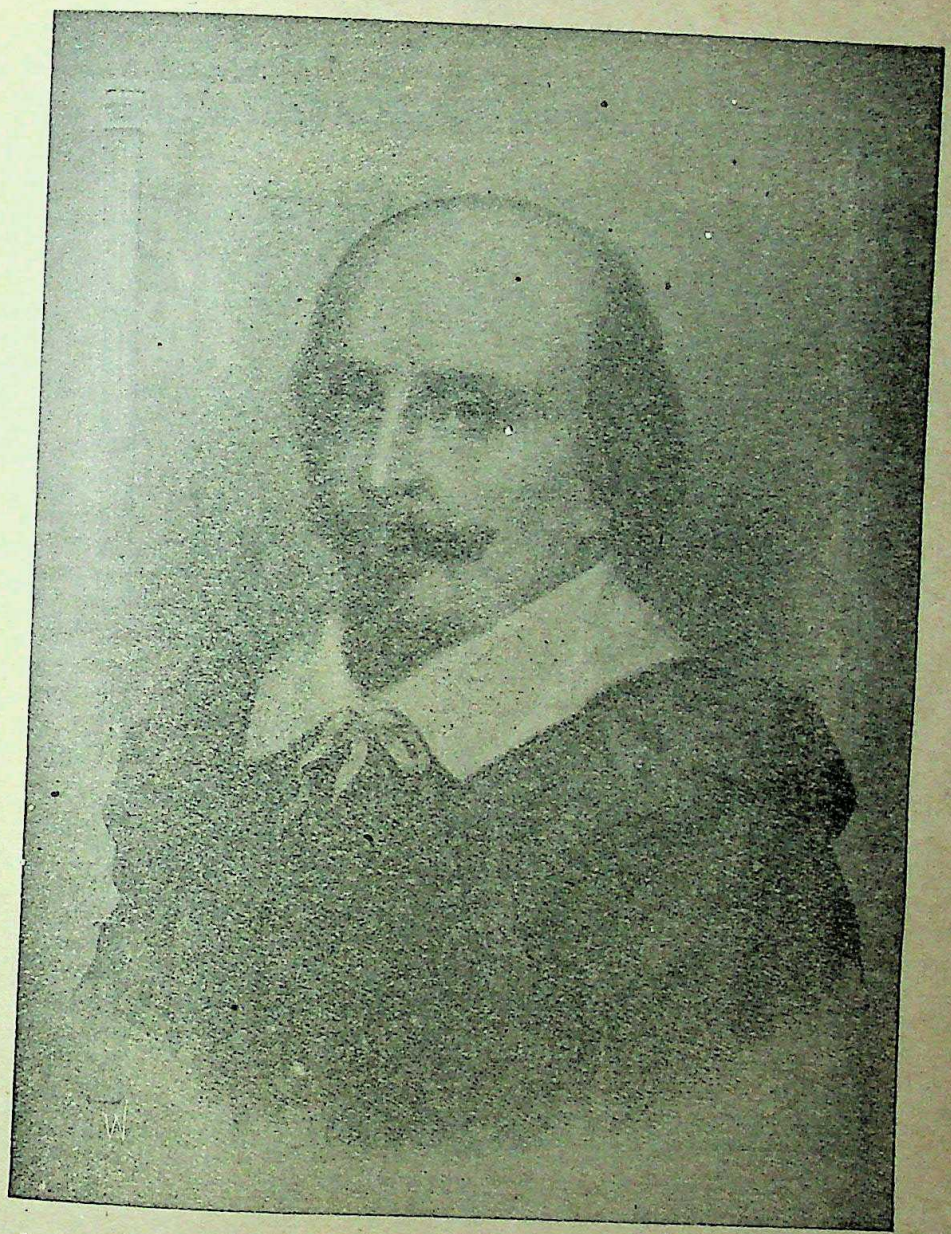

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE—1564-1616.

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G. SUBRAHMANIA IYER.

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THE LATE MR. G. SUBRAHMANIA IYER.

NOT only in the Presidency of Madras but throughout India will the news of the passing away of Mr. G. Subrahmania Iyer, the well-known Editor of the *Hindu* and the veteran publicist, be received with deepest feelings of regret. His sudden death on Tuesday the 18th came as a surprise to the public. Indeed, Mr. Iyer had been incapacitated from taking an active part in the public life of his country during the last half a dozen years and more, but from time to time his beneficent influence was felt through the Press, championing the cause of freedom and justice with the same fervour and zeal that characterised his earlier days. Mr. Iyer was almost the father of public life in this part of India, and as has been said more than once, to him South India owes what little of political activity it has. His death so soon after that of Mr. Gokhale, and Sir P. M. Mehta, removes from our midst one of the veteran leaders of this country.

Only a little over two years ago, Mr. Iyer celebrated his sixtieth birth day when he was the recipient of many a message of congratulations. And scarcely fifteen months have passed by since a grateful friend presented a life size oil painting of the leader to be hung up on the walls of the Madras Mahajana Sabha. The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee who unveiled the portrait paid a glowing tribute of admiration to the meritorious services of Mr. Subrahmania Iyer and his forty years' public work on behalf of his countrymen. Mr. Subrahmania Iyer first rose to eminence as a distinguished educationist in Madras. In 1878, he drifted into journalism and became the Editor of the *Hindu*, which he started with the aid of two of his well-known compeers. One of the founders of the National Congress, he moved the first Resolution in the first Congress at Bombay in 1885. He gave evidence before the Public Service Commission of 1888. The founder of the Madras Mahajana Sabha, he was unanimously chosen to give evidence before the Welby Commission in 1897. During the Diamond Jubilee of Empress Victoria, he was in England with Messrs. Bannerjea, Gokhale, and Wacha, lecturing on behalf of the British Congress committee. Recognizing the need of economic study, he began the *Uniited India* in 1902, and conducted that journal wi h brilliant success. He was besides one of the founders of the Madras Social Reform Association and was a fearless champion of progressive ideas in social matters. His interest in the industrial and scientific advancement of India was evident from his intimate connection with the National Fund, which he was managing with conspicuous ability. Above all, his insistence on Vernacular Education, and his interest in the masses, embodied themselves in the *Swadeshamitran* since 1882. Mr. Iyer knew that national life to be complete must be many-sided, and he continued to render his services in various ways. Latterly his health began to fail. His motives were misunderstood by the Government. At the time of his arrest in 1908, the *Indian Review* put in a word of warning against such ill-advised measures of the Government. We wrote: "There is great danger in not distinguishing between rebels and honest, though perhaps strong critics of the measures of Government. It has to be remembered that not all critics are unfriendly and that in politics as in private life the sycophant is in the long run a greater enemy to the party he is seeking to befriend than the outspoken and caustic critic who criticises but to secure the best interest of the party who chafes under adverse criticisim." Mr. Iyer, it need hardly be said, belonged to the latter type of critics; and with reference to the proceedings against him, we pointed out that the "tendency to strong language in a naturally vigorous writer was more temperamental than an index of his animus towards society or Government." But his outspoken utterances were mistaken for libels, and he was compelled to choose a quieter life. Such a quiet life was made inevitable also by a peculiarly chronic and gruesome disease, of which he was a victim in the latter years of his life. But whatever the mistakes of the Government regarding his character and his services, the people held him in high esteem as the hero of a hundred battles, and no name is more honoured in Madras than that of Mr. G. Subrahmania Iyer, publicist, journalist, orator and social reformer. For well-nigh a quarter of a century he was the leader of public life in this part of India, and it is no wonder that his loss is so keenly felt by his countrymen in remembrance of all his achievements and his services in the palmy days of his public career.

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SOCIAL LIFE IN SOUTH INDIA.

BY MR. K. R. SITARAMAN, B.A.

THE works of Mr. Madhaviah are well known, and have been read with mixed feelings by his countrymen. Some of his smaller skits on certain aspects of Indian social life have commanded ready appreciation on all hands. In the work* before us, the author has made an ambitious attempt to break new ground by weaving a story round the life of a Brahmin lady, who is said to have flourished in the latter half of the 18th century in the Tanjore district. We are familiar with the manner in which the author delights to depict some of the venial excrescences of modern life, without making any allowance in the least for the bright spots in the systems dissected by him. We may be pardoned for suggesting that a similar search-light directed against communities of people elsewhere, and knots of individuals other than the much-maligned Brahmin community of Southern India—to which the author himself, strange defiler of his own nest, belongs—will bring to light an equal, if not greater, number of ills and weaknesses to which human flesh is heir in all times and climes. The picture of a Brahmin girl, forced into matrimony with an elderly widower against her will, and then escaping narrowly from being burnt alive as a *Sati*, from which fate she is rescued by a sturdy Englishman, who subsequently lures her to become his mistress, going through a fraudulent form of marriage, having already a wife in England at the time; the final scene of this strange eventful history culminating in a second widowhood, in which she embraces Christianity "with much emotion," does not seem calculated to arouse any genuine sympathy for the author's "heroine." One is unfortunately left with the impression that the 'heroine' belongs more or less to that class of individuals who are neither a loss to one fold nor a gain to the other. We do not know that we are particularly narrow-minded or subject to hide-bound prejudices, but our feeling is one of distinct repulsion against most of the incidents, comments, characterisations, portraitures, and opinions, presented in the book before us. It is difficult to discuss or even to refer to these at any length, but we may perhaps instance a few of them, such as the undesirable descriptions of the criminal passion entertained by a step-son to his stepmother, the gross and inhuman cruelties to which the heroine is made the victim, and last, though not least, the wholly inexcusable dissertation on the philosophy of the revealed religion and the suggested supposed defects of Hinduism. We do not intend to suggest that the above are not proper subjects for ventilation, but our objection is against the wholly unjustifiable manner in which these matters have been treated, and the absolute want of necessity for introducing the same into the story from any point of view. We are the more pained to make these observations, as we are fully aware that the author is capable of doing good work, if he essays to do it, without riding some of his inartistic and distasteful hobbies—the chief of which is an obsession to present his countrymen in the worst and most ignoble light, quite without justification. Reviling the present generation is bad enough, but in this book, the author lets his imagination run riot on the supposed sins and weaknesses of the people of two centuries ago in a manner which sets one's teeth on edge. Knowing the author and his talents as we do, we can only express our genuine surprise and sorrow that he should have been at such pains to produce a book, whose merit, as a work of art, is an unsuccessful attempt to produce a very inferior and commonplace imitation of Colonel Meadows Taylor's "Seetha," without the redeeming features of that author's brilliant style and plot, and without even his occasional sympathy with Indian thought and character. Altogether, in our opinion, the book is as mischievous in its conception as it is distinctly amateurish in its execution. It is hoped that the author will avoid further productions of this kind, and turn his attention, as he well can, to the sympathetic portraiture of the larger issues of life

* CLARINDA: A historical novel. By Mr. A. Madhaviah. Sold by G. A. Vaidyaraman & Co., Kondi Chetty Street, Madras.

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for which there is great need at the present day.

The Kusika stories, of which the second series* is before us, can hardly be said to maintain the high level reached by the first series, which were mostly unexceptionable in thought and language. The later developments of the author's cynicism, and his passion for the lurid painting of obsolete beliefs and practices, have landed him in many a painful dissertation, which can only produce a wholly distorted conception of our domestic life in the minds of Western readers. The generation, to which the author belongs, was one peculiarly subject to intellectual vicissitudes. Signs are not wanting at the present day to show that most of the vascillations and difficulties of even ten years ago are fast vanishing, and no useful purpose seems to be gained by the needless pillorying of the amiable defects and weaknesses of the weakest and worst members of one's society. We can imagine the quarters, where the mischievous pen-pictures before us will be seized with avidity as faithful representations "from within" of Indian life, but though we have long been inured to the malicious caricatures of Indian life, which missionaries and globe-trotters, with their own axes to grind, have inflicted on their unsuspecting brethren, it is rather a nerve-shattering experience to find these Herods out-heroded by one of our own geniuses. We do not hold a brief for the Brahmin community, which is well able to take care of itself, having survived the vicissitudes and onslaughts of ages, nor do we wish to see the perpetuation of acknowledged evils in our social usages, but surely no conceivable good purpose is served by dilating in disproportionate and inflamed language on the dark side of the picture alone without a ray of illumination on the brighter aspects of our thoughts and activities. One is tempted to refer in this connection to the works of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Ghosal, Sister Nivedita and Rabindranath Tagore, which furnish such a brilliant contrast to the petty and pitiful sketches of Mr. Madhaviah, who can find nothing noble or elevating in Indian life or aspirations. We are inclined to think that wife-beating Santamurthis, men who religiously take a cup of 'bovril' specially on 'Shradda-days,' people who resort to "atrocious tactics" to secure votes at elections, *et hoc genus omne*, have their counterparts in every community under the sun. Humanity after all is the same everywhere, and character does not depend on the colour of the skin. It is tarred everywhere with the same brush for good and evil alike. We do not know that in these days when the whole civilized world is drawn together against a common danger to the peaceful evolution and progress of mankind, anyone can seriously assert that East is East and is ever accursed, and the essence of divinity is to be sought for only in the West. The painful spectacle of the utter break-down of Western ideals of life and standards of "Kultur" ought to be an eye-opener to those who would fain pin their faith whole-heartedly to Western ideals of individual or communal life. And after all, is it not still a vexed question whether these same standards of life and social practices have turned out devout consummations for good? The highest thought even in the West is hardly unanimous on the point.

All that we plead for is only for a little charity even in judging our own kith and kin, and for a broader vision of the deeper realities and responsiblities, and the subtler issues of life, sincerely believing as we do that national development along right and sane lines ultimately rests on the conscious efforts of individuals to hold fast wholeheartedly to the verities of existence, undeterred by the weaknesses and peccadillos of undeveloped entities. One of the greatest of the world's living philosophers, Mr. H. G. Wells, has well summed up in characteristic style the work of a "pure rebel" in the following words :—

A rebel is a nuisance. He is always a bit of a lout. Any fool can do rebel's work, and smash and spoil. When one has to rebel, when there is no more decent or human method, then rebel and have done with it. But to flourish about it, as though it was something gaudy and glorious, is to show an imbecile's outlook on life. Life is to be, and do, and make and cherish: not to spoil, insult, defy and embitter. If you must rebel, be clean and direct about it. Decide upon the things you won't stand, and don't stand them. If things there are that hamper your life, get rid of them. But as quietly and decently as you can. Don't spoil life for other people. Don't regard your insurmountable objection to this or that oppression as the heroic justification for any malicious mischief that the ancestral monkey still lingering in our composition puts into your head. Everybody has an occasional craving for spiteful destruction. It is Atavism. It is not the last divine birth of the human spirit.

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* "*Short Stories.*" By Kusika. Second Series. Sold by G. A. Vaidyaraman & Co., Kondi Chetty Street, Madras. Price As. 8.

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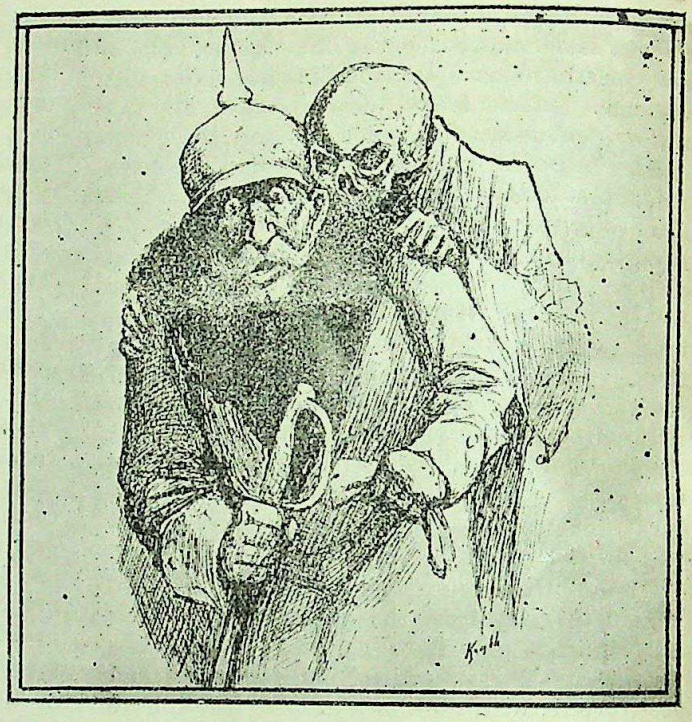
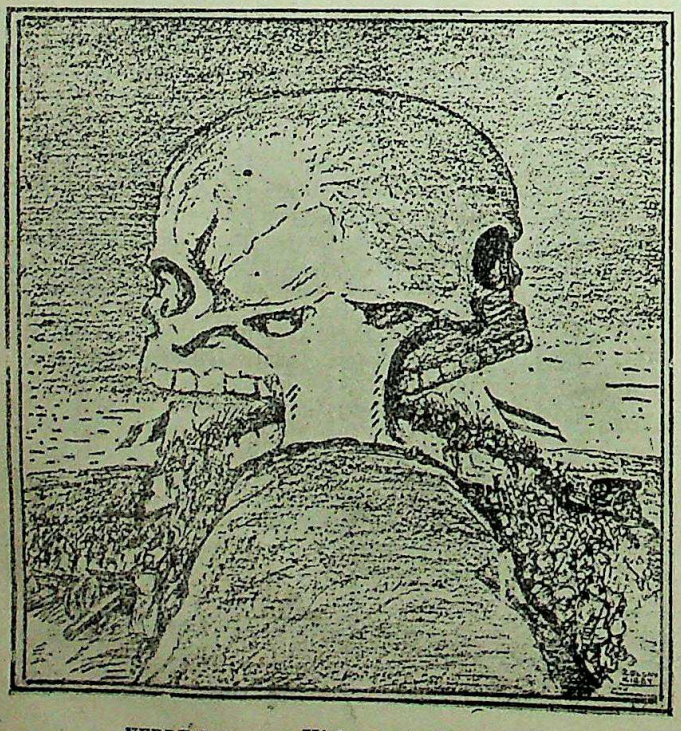
CURRENT EVENTS.

BY RAJDUARI.

IN the Western theatre of war nothing specially noteworthy has occurred save the new familiar artillery duels and bombardments along the whole front in which, despite desperate struggles for piercing a line or occupying a strategic base of little or no importance, the enemy has only swelled the death roll and other casualties. There has been as usual a culpable sacrifice of thousands of lives which might have been well spared. So far the events of the month on this side may be pronounced to be unimportant. The real issue, which was fought out, was the series of sanguinary engagements from day to day near Verdun. But the issue has hitherto been in favour of the gallant French Army which has more than maintained its strategical position, its military prowess, and its great *elan* born of conscious hope of victory in the end. That strong frontier fortress has not yet fallen and it is most unlikely that it will fall, however desperate the renewed attempts which the enemy might make to bring about their cherished consummation. The French Generalissimo declared some time ago *urbi et orbi* with a confidence prompted by the stern and unbending feats of the mortal combat that has been waged for weeks together in that historic locality, that if even Verdun fell, it would have no military value about it as the German fondly believes. The disposition of the French forces is such that the fall of Verdun will not bring the invaders any way nearer Paris than when they started on their great military enterprise twenty months ago with a firm conviction of invincibility. That invincibility has been demonstrated to be wholly delusive, and as month succeeds month it is being proved to be a pure Teutonic boast. Summer is approaching when, no doubt, there will be witnessed more than one gigantic effort to retrieve the defeat after defeat that the enemy has sustained without ever breaking the stone-wall of human beings that has opposed them from Ypres to Verdun. The time is nearing when the Allies must take the long-resolved-upon offensive. On the one side will be found



DEATH—"Let's call it off, old man. You're overmatched, and I'm overworked." —Kemble in *Collier's Weekly*.



VERDUN. —Kirby in the New York *World*.

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phalanx after phalanx of fresh reinforcements full equipped for the coming fray, undaunted, courageous, and confident. On the other hand there will be arrayed forces of a kind, mostly of raw recruits with a mixture of the battered troops who have borne the brunt and heat of the day, who are wearied and worried of being dragged to and fro from the West to the East and *vice versa*. All hopes of the enemy ever winning a single decisive victory are now daily receding in the background. Confidence has given way to fears of an unpleasant character. These dejected troops feel they are mere pawns on the chess-board to be moved to the front and be killed.

THE BALKANS.

Coming to the Eastern theatre of the war, the noteworthy event of the month may be said to be the slow but sure advance of the Muscovite into Galicia. The Russian troops have held the enemy in their grip. But the real zone of activity in the immediate future lies about the region of Riga, where immense preparations have been going forward for weeks past on both sides. We have heard of the Herculean efforts which the German forces, by land and sea, are making in order to give decisive battle to their enemy, crush him there, and triumphantly march to Petrograd. The project is a servile imitation of Napoleon's dashing advance to Moscow but, without that great General's strategy and genius. On the other hand the Russians are fully prepared to meet them in mortal combat. They are in the same favourable position as the French and British troops in the Western theatre. Millions of men are ready, well prepared, and in the fullest spirit of enthusiasm, to wage the war to the finish. Their confidence too in ultimate victory is as firm as that of the other allied troops. Meanwhile Greece is fumbling. She has failed in her appeal to raise a six million sterling loan in America. Want of this sinews of war has necessarily obliged her to demobilise the troops. There are internal dissensions. The Cabinet is a divided body with no firmness to pursue a really national policy. Even King Constantine is between two stools. On the one hand he cannot wholly disentangle himself from the meshes of his imperious relative at Berlin. On the other hand he cannot afford to seek an outright quarrel with those who were most instrumental in liberating Greece from the iron domination of the Turk some thirty years ago and more. He cannot ask the French and the English to withdraw from Salonika or from Corfu and other islands, where they have established bases for military purposes. Salonika itself is now a great fortified place of arms, and the time is now approaching when will emerge therefrom the joint forces not only of the French and the English but of the new resuscitated Serbian army, which for the last four months has been under preparation to meet their hereditary foe. Bulgaria seems to be in a quandary of her own, unable to strike at Greece or wound the Turk lest it should be crushed under the iron heel of its great patron. On the other hand Roumania is still sitting astride on the fence, though to all intents and purposes it is more or less in concert with the *Entente* Powers. In the capital of the Ottoman, the Teutonic element is absolutely in conflict with the populace which, though helpless, does not hesitate to declare its inborn hate for those who have for the time usurped in reality the national government and become their masters. Anarchy reigns supreme in Constantinople. Moreover, that city remains in constant fear owing to the bombardment by the Russian Fleet in the Black Sea, which has been successful in cutting off communications between it and the opposite side of the coast.

MESOPOTAMIA AND ARMENIA.

In Mesopotamia and Armenia, Russia has been most dominant and triumphant. The fall of Erzerum has been followed by that of Trebizond. With these two important places in their hands, the way has been made clear for a joint action which should eventually result in the relief of General Townshend and his troops at Kut-el-Amara. According to the papers there is every chance of that being an accomplished fact soon. If only the weather and the winds continue favourable, it is quite on the cards that an advance in the direction of Bagdad will be made.

ON THE BRINK OF RUPTURE.

As we write, the air is thick with the news of a probable rupture of the relations between the United States and Germany. President Wilson has at last been roused to action, thanks chiefly to the prevarications and subterfuges of Berlin in respect of his Note touching the *Sussex* disaster. That was the last straw that seems to have broken the back of the Wilson Camel. A Note, in the nature of an ultimatum, has been sent peremptorily demanding the withdrawal of the inhuman policy of German submarine campaign and due respect for international law regarding neutral trade in the high seas, which has been so wantonly and murderously disturbed. The world of civilization awaits with bated breath, as we write, the denouement of this latest diplomatic correspondence,

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DIARY OF THE MONTH.

March 25. A farewell Garden Party to H. E. Lord Hardinge was given by the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council at Metcalfe House, Delhi.

March 26. Delhi Municipal Address to Lord Hardinge and His Excellency's reply.

March 27. Mr. Asquith and other British Delegates to the War Conference have arrived at Paris.

March 28. Japan and Portugal are represented in the historic session of the Allied Conference. Twenty-one Delegates are meeting at Paris.

March 29. Activity of French aeroplanes. Germany's renewed offensive. British artillery work.

March 30. Public meeting at Salonika to protest against the German air raid. Crown Prince of Servia in London.

March 31. H. E. Lord Hardinge's departure from Delhi. Meeting of the British Indian Association, Calcutta, and the Maharaja of Burdwan's speech.

April 1. Smyrna Fort destroyed. German intrigue in America. Russian advance near Baghdad.

April 2. Mr. Asquith in Rome. Holland's war-like preparations. Progress of the Italians. Teachery of a German Stowaway.

April 3. Lord Hardinge's farewell speeches in Bombay. His Excellency's acceptance of the Degree of L.L. D. at the Bombay University.

April 4. Great demonstrations in Bombay. Arrival of Lord Chelmsford and departure of Lord Hardinge.

April 5. Popular enthusiasm in Portuguese India. Continuation of the struggle for Verdun.

April 6. German outrages at sea. Sinking of a German submarine. Intrigues in Bulgaria. Asquith's message to Italy.

April 7. Funeral of Sir Alexander Pinhey at Secunderabad. Muslim University Meeting at Madras.

April 8. The first of a series of political lectures, arranged by the Indian Association, Calcutta, was delivered by Babu P. C. Ray on "Self-Government," with Hon. Mr. S. N. Bannerjea in the chair.

April 9. Great mass meeting in Bombay with reference to the Anglo-Indian recruiting.

April 10. It is announced that Sir Horace Plunkett and Dr. Hopkinson are appointed members of the Industrial Commission.

April 11. H. E. The Viceroy arrived at Calcutta this morning. The Corporation presented an address, to which His Excellency replied in suitable terms.

April 12. The Dutch steamer "Columbia" has been mined in the channel. A Russian sailing vessel has been sunk. The Swedish steamer "Marjek" has been sunk.

April 13. A German Note to the United States justifying the submarine activity and admitting the torpedoeing of all vessels in question.

April 14. Meeting in connection with the Sanatan Dharma College, Lahore, presided over by H. H. The Maharaja of Kashmir.

April 15. German failure at Verdun. French achievement at Donaumont. The compulsion crisis in England. German steamer mined.

April 16. A public meeting at Allahabad to adopt a Memorial to H. E. The Viceroy *re*: the United Provinces Municipal Bill.

April 17. A largely attended meeting of Parsi ladies was held at Bombay this afternoon to express approval of the conduct of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy *re*: the public meeting in the Town Hall.

April 18. Mr. G. Subrahmania Aiyar, of Madras, died at his residence this evening.

April 19. Messrs. K. B. Ramanathan and G. A. Natesan filed applications on the original side of the Madras High Court, requesting the issue of a *mandamus* directing the Syndicate of the Madras University to forward the protests to Government against the resolution of the Senate *re*: the functions of University Professors.

April 20. Fall of Trebizond. United States' last Note to Germany on the latter's submarine policy, and President Wilson's significant speech at the Congress.

April 21. General Joffre has decorated Sir Ian Hamilton with the Cross of the Legion of Honour.

April 22. The American Note is published in Berlin. Much excitement in the United States.

April 23. The All-India Congress Committee met at Allahabad and formulated subjects for discussion.

April 24. Sir James Meston presided over the All-India Shiah College Meeting at Lucknow.

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TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS.

THE DATE OF SANKARACHARYA.

Mr. S. V. Venkateswara Iyer, writing in the January number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, considers the evidence external and internal for determining the date of Sankaracharya. It is clear from the *Brahma Sutra Bashya* and from the testimony of his direct disciple Padmapada, that Sankara attacked the Mahayana form of Buddhism which was developed in the early centuries of the Christian era. The quotations from the *Vishnu Purana* show that he had probably some acquaintance with the *Markandeya Purana* and is regarded by tradition as a close student of the *Suta Samhita*, a well known part of the *Skanda Purana*; and the Puranas in their present form belong to the period from the 4th to the 7th century A. D. Sankara is accepted as the younger contemporary of Kumarila Bhatta who criticises Kalidasa in one or two places and was therefore posterior to him; and Kalidasa cannot be referred to a period earlier than the 5th century A. D. Justice Telang's date—6th century—is based on two points: (1) The destruction of Pataliputa by a flood in the 7th century, and (2) the coronation of a certain Purna Varman, who is identified with the contemporary of Yuan Chwang. According to him a later writer would not have referred to Pataliputra as existing as he does; but we now know that the Kalimpur grant of Dharmapala represents the king as establishing himself at Pataliputra towards the end of the 9th century. Yamunacharya, the Vaishnavite Acharya, refers to Sankara as later than Bhartrihari who belongs to the 7th century. And Sankara himself refers to Gnana Sambanda and Siruttonda Nayanar, the latter being contemporary with the Pallava king, Narasimha Varman of the 7th century. And so Mr. Justice Telang's conclusion is shown to be built on inaccurate and insufficient premises.

Professor Pathak and Dr. Bhandarkar place the age of Sankara between 788 and 825 A.D.—the former's appearing to be based on one school of Malabar tradition which considers the Kollam era of 825 A.D., as commemorating the introduction of the Acharya's reforms in Malabar—and Bhandarkar identifying Sankara with the time of the Chalukyam king, Vimaladitya. This view of the Kollam era is now entirely given up and the Chola king Aditya I. (880-907 A.D.) is regarded as the more probable king mentioned by Sarvajnatman, the disciple of Sankara. Hence this date also might be rejected.

The astronomical details given in the *Jataka* of Sankaracharya accord only with 805 A.D. as the date of his birth; and the data given for the date of his demise at 32 will agree with a date 60 years later. It is impossible to believe that a man who passed away in the prime of life at 32 could have acquired such a mastery of knowledge as Sankara had. Hence we may hold that he lived up to 92 years, *i.e.*, between 805 and 897 A.D. This date agrees well with the inferences drawn from the writings of the Vaishnavite and Saivite saints and sages; and Nathamuni, who attacks or refers to Sankara and his Vedantic doctrine, is assigned to the 10th century. Nathamuni mentions Viranarayanapuram, a town founded by the Chola king, Parantaka I. (acc. 967 A. D.) Hence there is no difficulty in assigning Sankaracharya to the 9th century between the Vaishnavite Alwars and Saiva Nayanars on the one hand and the Vaishnavite Acharyas on the other.

STUDY OF ECONOMICS.

The *Wealth of India* publishes the more important part of a speech delivered by Prof. C. J. Hamilton, M.A., F.S.S., at the recent inaugural meeting of the Bengal Economic Association at Calcutta. Professor Hamilton argues that "sound economic knowledge is a condition of well directed activity on the part of the State and of a healthy and hopeful exercise of public opinion." The Bengal Economic Association, he adds can advance such knowledge by the following means:—

In the first place, it can promote local research. It is my intention to enlist the help of University students, of junior civilians, and others who are resident in the mofusil, for the purpose of undertaking careful statistical surveys of different districts.

Another task that lies before the Association is to get those with the requisite expert and practical knowledge to make a study of the morphology of Indian industry and commerce.

I would emphasize the good that, in this connection, can be done by the Association in bringing together the theoretical economist and the practical business man. The latter knows the facts. He is also probably the best judge of the practical value of ideas. But he can obtain from the theorist suggestions as to what things within his knowledge are of most importance in relation to other things that are not within his knowledge.

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MOSLEM UNIVERSITY AND EDUCATION.

Mr. Mirza Ikram Baig, writing to the April number of *East and West*, argues that the establishment of a Moslem University, even if it can be had after the Moslems' heart, will confine its blessings to the province in which it will be situated, and will take a number of decades to make its influence felt in other territories, that local celebrities would compose its *personnel* and that they would arrogate a greater share in its administration than would fall to the lot of other representatives from the different provinces. The past history of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, which is to form the nucleus of the proposed University, furnishes instances to bear out the above argument. The Aga Khan, who set up the University movement, has not always found favour for his ideas with the great bulk of his community, and has displeased many by his attempts to adjust the popular perspective to his own standpoint. Moreover the Indian Mussulmans are a heterogeneous community, widely distributed and at different stages of progress; and they do not possess that integrity of judgment which could prevent their sentiment prevailing over their reason. The time chosen for the movement was also inopportune; and the proposed University is still in the air, its funds are lying idle, and the final settlement with Government is not yet within sight. If account be taken of the conflicting opinions, all expressed since the rapid development of the Moslem press, and the incessant controversies raging in connection with ordinary events between the different schools of thought, it is very clear that a united basis of thought, action and procedure, necessary for the formulation of the University scheme, is not easy to arrive at. Moreover, the promoters of the scheme will do very well to bear in mind, that if they do not aim at imparting professional knowledge at a reasonably cheap rate, it would be hardly worth the trouble and expense to have a University of their own, when full benefit can be taken of the same sort of education in the existing Universities maintained by Government. The Hindu and the Moslem Universities are supposed to mark the commencement of a new era; and it is to be seen how the former fares and whether the latter will ever be. The general feeling among Hindus and Mussulmans that their having a University will raise them in the estimation of other nations, is the outcome of a true regard for self-respect; but the material benefits of these Universities can only be gauged by their success in redeeming the millions sunk in ignorance, sloth and poverty.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN INDIA.

Mr. Yusuf Ali, I.C.S. (Retired) writing in the *Mysore Economic Journal*, suggests the general bases on which a sound system of agricultural education in India ought to be built up. Mr. Yusuf Ali requires work at the subject from below upwards, so as to carry the people step by step to a greater general economic efficiency. A usual assumption that Indian methods of tillage are inefficient—an assumption countenanced even by representatives of the Provincial Agricultural Departments has to be discarded. Agricultural education should be directed not so much at improving the tilth of the land, as at giving the cultivator a wider outlook and enabling him to improve his own position by getting access to more capital, better implements, better stock and better organised markets. In the matter of tilth and good husbandry the practical Indian cultivator knows more than the average graduate of an agricultural college; but his outlook is narrow and his means are very limited. Our agriculturists are at present in blind alleys. The aim of agricultural education should be to clear a passage for them, so that the tenant can become a peasant proprietor, and the peasant proprietor a large holder of land. These promotions take place on a small scale now, but they are not accompanied by a progressive improvement in economic efficiency and that is what we want. We must link up agricultural education with general primary education in the first stages, and general secondary education in the intermediate stages. This is specially important in rural areas; because practically every pupil is potentially an agriculturist. It is because his agricultural nature is not fed, that he is lost to agriculture and takes to the town type whether he becomes a teacher or a clerk or follows some other profession. There ought to be specialised secondary schools in which agricultural training forms the most important part of the work. This specialised agricultural training of a standard, higher than anything which can be attempted in primary schools, must be combined with general training in the kind of knowledge which forms the pabulum of secondary schools. And it would be very unsatisfactory to link secondary agricultural education with only the general knowledge attained in primary schools. In these secondary schools, those branches of science which minister to agriculture, *e.g.* economic history, the chemistry of manures, agricultural entomology, rural organisation etc., should be taught; and the pupil enabled to obtain a better grasp of his subject.

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BUDDHISM AND WORLD ETHICS.

Mr. Fredrick Breech Jones, writing to the current number of the *Buddhist Review*, explains that Buddhist morality is the most progressive, the most artless, the most optimistic and the most scientific in structure and that modern thought is drifting more and more to the philosophy underlying it. The Buddhistic system of instruction, in its bearing on the softer things of social life—women, children, flowers and the like—with its contribution in these channels to the evolution of the race, is especially important. Though superficial history has for long regarded as a truism, the assumption that to the Christian faith is due the Western veneration of womanhood and childhood, and though it is undoubtedly true that in the crust of social evolution in the first Christian centuries, we come upon a stratum which might be termed the stratum of *Artlessness and Naivete*, still it is to Buddhism primarily, not to Christianity that the world must trace its reverence for a sublimated childhood and womanhood, and its perception of the ethic of soul-beauty.

The curious similarity between the stories of the Buddha and of Christ, the existence of philosophies in the Roman Empire contemporary with Jesus bearing close affinity to the Buddhist doctrine, the likeness between many of the Buddha's sayings and Christ's, are all curious. It cannot be logically argued that such similarities are due to the fact that Buddhism copied from Christianity; and when we consider the late date of many of the most important of the Christian writings, as shown by recent Bibilical criticism, it is seen how slender is the assumption that Buddhism could have borrowed. The teachings of the Essenes can suggest no other alternative than that of Buddhist doctrine Hebraized; and the vastness of Buddhist missionary enterprise in the centuries preceding Christianity is without a parallel. And there may even exist some connection between the Buddha's conception of "the influence exercised upon one life by a desire felt in the previous life," with Plato's similar idea enunciated in the *Phædo*.

In all Buddhistic literature, there is 'a splendid unaffectedness, a delightful Artlessness that springs from a closeness with Nature like a bubbling stream from a green hill side. . . . The same is true of every form of Buddhistic social life. Poverty is non-existent; tolerance is universal, the shrines are fragrant with flowers. . . .; woman has an economic independence equal with man. . . . A feeling of oneness with all being; a reverence for the gentle and the sorrowful; a veneration for each form of human aspiration characterises the whole of this great teaching.'

DISCOVERIES IN INDIAN HISTORY.

Nimrod, writing in the April number of the *Modern Review*, argues that the excavations, at Pataliputra, have failed to produce any important result like those of Saranath or of Taxila, and form too insufficient a basis for the building up of the Zoroastrian Period Theory. The excavations that began in 1913, resulted in the finding of numerous fragments of sandstone with curved and polished surface and Dr. Spooner immediately assumed that from the multiplicity, varied texture, and small diameter of our pillar fragments, they could not have emanated from an edict column and that 'some Mauryan building must have been situated here.' He then goes on to say that it is at all events certain the Mauryan building was buried with 8 feet of earth over its floor before the fire occurred which finally destroyed it. And it seems quite clear from the doctor's statements that his theory about the pillared hall rests more on some circular wells filed with ashes and less on the number of fragments with curved sides. His idea is that the tubular funnels of ash which we now find descending vertically from the ash stratum are nothing more than the holes left by the pillars which originally stood at these points.

Dr. Spooner's theory is that the fragments found could not have emanated from an edict column, in total disregard of the fact that such columns have been mentioned by the Chinese travellers; besides Dr. Spooner has discovered only half or a third of one of these entire columns. He thinks that the alluvial soil was the remain of a *kachcha* brick-work with which the hollow space enclosed by the high plinth or stylobate was filled. Even if we should take up this second assumption it does not at all become clear whether the pillars were originally set up by being inserted partially into this mass of *kachcha* brick-work. The polished surface of the pillars was certainly not intended to be left underground; and the evidence of the other Asokan monoliths is against this. Under these and other circumstances, the circular horizontal shafts could have no connection with the position of the columns of the hall, even if there had been a high stylobate filled with *kachcha* bricks and the columns stood above it.

And it would not be at all safe to determine the position of the columns from the position of the neatly stacked pile of polished fragments, which, Dr. Spooner says, are found above each of these shafts. When a pillar of stone is split by fire or by the action of intense heat, the fragments would be scattered in great force and far and wide . . . . and no one would dare to admit that the action of fire led these fragments to pile themselves so neatly for the benefit of a twentieth century excavator,

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THE SOUL OF RUSSIA.

Dr. Sarolea, the great Belgian *Savant*, writing in the March issue of the *Review of Reviews*, eulogises the Russian nation and declares that in Russia alone he found an 'unadulterated democracy, an absence of class divisions and snobbery, a sense of fellowship and brotherhood, a passionate love of justice, a sense of universal kindness, extended to the down-trodden and even to the criminal which made pity synonymous with pity and which made all human suffering into a religion.' The Russians are the most Christian nation in the world, a nation holding on to the Gospel with the intensity and the simplicity of mediæval belief, a country where religion was still the supreme power in collective life, where faith still had its confessors and martyrs, and where even Nihilists were ready to die for their convictions.

Whereas in Russia you found the undisciplined power of the spirit which bloweth where it listeth, in Germany you found an individualism without an individuality, you found organisation, discipline, education, order and the precision, not only of a clock but of a chronometer, a marvellous efficient machine without a soul.

It is probably easier to discover and define the *Russian Soul* than that of any other European nation. The Soul of Russia is one; and civilisation there is homogeneous; notwithstanding its 48 races there is no heterogenity. All the representative Russian writers are Slav and Christian; and though there may be poles apart in their intellectual systems, they are all imbued with one spirit and remain Christian at heart, even when they are atheists; and they all express the same elemental Christianity, the same broad humanity, the same pacific and contemplative and resigned attitude to life, the same mystical idealism, and the same belief in the same religion of suffering and pity.

The Russian religion has remained in spiritual and intellectual isolation; and the Russian priesthood, instead of becoming a great educational agency, has remained sunk in slothful ignorance and under the yoke of an ecclesiastical and military despotism. In Russia the vitality of religion has not been a political, but a spiritual and democratic miracle. Whereas in Western Catholicism, it is the Church which has preserved the religion of the people, in Russia it is the religion of the people which has preserved the Church. In Russia alone, owing to the spiritual vitality of the race, Christianity has remained the regenerative influence of Russian life.

KALIDASA—HIS HOME.

Young India publishes the following adapted article from the orginal in the *Behar and Orissa Research Society Journal*:—

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., C.I.E., essays the task of ascertaining the birth-place of Kalidasa. The only certain facts discoverable are that he lived some time before 634 A. D., and that he is mentioned by Bana, the court-poet of Harshavardhana, before the middle of his reign, *i. e.*, about 620 A. D. Mr. Haraprasad Sastri makes a careful examination of Kalidasa's writings with a view to discover his birth-place. Mr. Sastri takes us through his work thoroughly, through the places described by him, identifying the fruits and flowers mentioned in his works and going round wherever he has travelled. Now, Kalidasa had apparently travelled most extensively. He knows Bengal, Orissa, Kalinga, the Southern districts of the Kingdom of the Pandya, the pearl fishery of the southern sea, cardamum plantations of the West Coast. He is no less familiar with the vineyards of the Punjab, the pine trees of the Himalayas, the agalochan of Assam. Kalidasa's knowledge is encyclopædic and he appears to know the fauna and the flora of every portion of India as if he had lived all his life in the places he describes with such minute fidelity. He does exhibit great partiality for the Himalayas, and some of the most splendid of his descriptive writings refer to the forests, cities, inhabitants and rivers of the Himalayas. But his partiality for Malwa or the highlands of the Vindhyas is even more pronounced. Malwa was certainly his favourite. Mr. Sastri adduces evidence of an exhaustive character in this part of his thesis, and his conclusion is irresistible that Kalidasa was born and brought up in Malwa. Nay, he goes further, and infers from internal evidence furnished by the *Meghaduta* that not only was Malwa Kalidasa's native country, but that his actual birth place was Desapura or some place near it. Incidentally, Mr. Sastri refers to Kalidasa's description of the traditional six seasons, which are seen only in Malwa. In Bengal, there are only four seasons; in the hills only three; in Hindustan only four; in the Punjab only three, and so on. It is only in the region between the Aravali Hills and the Chambal all the six seasons are equally perceptible from summer to spring. Mr. Sastri enumerates all the natural objects described in the *Ritusamhara* and draws the inference that although some of them are pan-Indian others are only found exclusively in Malwa.

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BLACK MAGIC IN EGYPT.

Writing in the April number of the *Occult Review*, Irene E. Toye-Warner gives some account of magic among the Egyptians. Ancient Egypt had most of the black magic known in other countries of the world, and certain religious ideas held by heathen and Christian sects may be traced directly to this fascinating country. The Hebrews greatly feared the magic of the Egyptians, and according to the Old Testament, Moses, the great law-giver, was a thorough master of this dreaded art. The one great distinction between the magic of Moses and that of Egyptians was that he wrought these marvels by the command of the God of the Hebrews, whereas the latter was done by the power of the gods of Egypt at the command of the magicians. The whole object of Egyptian magic was to endow its votary with the power to compel both hostile and friendly gods and spirits to do what he wished whether they were willing or not, the votary could work ruin on his enemies by means of the 'words of power' which he had learnt from the spirit-world; and he knew the past and the future and neither time nor distance could limit his power.

The use of wax-figures seems to have been one of the most common methods of causing the removal or death of a victim of the black art. One of the earliest instances of this is recorded in the *Westcar Papyrus* detailing an event which took place in the reign of Nebka about B.C. 3830. About the year 1200 B.C. we find that wax-figures were used by Hui, a high official at the Court of Rameses III. to work harm to that monarch. Nectanbeus, the last native king of Egypt about 358 B.C. was a skilled magician; and when at last he failed in his work, he fled to Macedonia where he practised as an Egyptian soothsayer and physician. It was the duty of certain priests in the Egyptian temples to recite formulæ and perform a service to free the sun-god Ra from the attacks of a monster called Apep, probably the dark storm-clouds of the tempest, or the evil principle represented under the form of a serpent.

Abu Shaker, an Arab of the thirteenth century and another Arab writer Ma'sudi narrate traditions of Egyptian magic. The Arabs have regarded the wonderful stone sculptures and inscriptions of Egypt as of magical import, and possibly the idea that images were connected with magic had much to do with the Prophet Mahomet's stern prohibition of all forms of images and sculptures. In the earliest days in Egypt, it was thought that the heart-soul of a person could be bewitched out of him, after which the human heart itself would die, together of course with the body. Magic flourished even after Egypt had become influenced by Greek thought, and in the 8th century, A.D. it sank very low indeed. And even when it became a dependency of Turkey, magic both black and white still flourished. Satanic or low magic is supposed to depend on the agency of the devil and other evil genii and to be used for bad purposes by evil men and women. A branch of it is called the *Es-sher* meaning wicked enchantment. The remarkable continuity and similarity of methods in the working of the black art from the dawn of history to the present time is very striking in Egypt.

THE SOLDIER'S LIFE.

Rev. Frank Fairfax, C. F., writing in the columns of the *United Methodist Magazine*, analyses the deeper life of the Soldier in the following words:—

Some young officers conceal their true self behind a show of cynicism. One of these astonished me recently in a conversation which began over a novel he was reading. We were talking about Russia. I mentioned Tolstoy. He remarked: "Tolstoy is rather heavy. If you want a real insight into Russian character, you should read Turgency and Dostoievsky." . . . This cynicism so rife among officers is, I am positive, only a mask. Beneath it is a faith in human solidarity and the need for human redemption, which tries to break its earth-bound confines and find the hope that is born of Heaven. A certain colonel I know would laugh at this, were he to read it—which is not likely. He connives at any joke calculated to discredit religion. And yet I have seen him unmistakably moved by the hymn: "Fight the good fight." And when I spoke to him recently of our approaching move for the Front, he replied in his usual drawl, but with honesty and feeling: "The boys will be all right. They'll do their bit. Yes, though it's hell—don't you make any mistake, it's hell—they'll play their part."

INDIAN ECONOMICS.

We have received the first number of the *Indian Journal of Economics*, a Quarterly Review, issued by the University of Allahabad from the Department of Economics and edited by Prof. H. Stanley, Jevons, M.A., F.S.S. The Journal indeed supplies a long-felt need of an authoritative organ of such an important and growing science as Indian Economics.

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LORD HARDINGE'S VICEROYALTY.

Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, I.C.S., contributing to the March number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*, pays an eloquent tribute to the work of Lord Hardinge in India. The programme which we may conceive him to have sketched out to himself when he came to his office in India, would be (1) to shape India's external policy in the direction of peace and economy, (2) to forward the unity of the Empire, (3) to develop in India the Reform Scheme in the direction of greater Indian co-operation in the work of government, (4) to conciliate all jarring races, classes and creeds, and (5) to give whole-hearted support to a forward educational policy, as the most potent instrument for the carrying out of the ideals of Great Britain, of the Empire and of India. As to the ideals of peace and economy in India's external policy, though the Viceroy's calculations have been upset by the outbreak of the great war, the staunch loyalty of the Amir of Afghanistan has lessened the anxiety on the North-Western Frontier, and has enabled the prompt localisation of all sporadic trouble. The resulting sense of security has made it possible to send a large proportion of Indian troops outside the Indian frontiers to fight the battles of the Empire.

During the War not only has India paid the expenses of the troops within her own borders, but she has of her own motion asked Parliament to suspend the Statutory provision under which she was not allowed to pay for the troops outside her borders. The gradual adjustment of Indian finance to her altruistic loss of the opium revenue from China, the restriction in the internal consumption of opium, the more stringent excise policy adopted, the attempt to make a careful inquiry into the army expenditure, the careful stemming over the crisis in the Swadeshi Banks in 1913—these mark Lord Hardinge's achievements in the field of finance.

No Viceroy has done more than Lord Hardinge to bring India within the circle of ideas which we may conveniently sum up under the term Imperial Unity in a world-wide Empire.

The double process of evolution involved in this task, *viz.*, the realising by India of her position in the partnership of the Empire and the converse task of cultivating an Indian understanding and a pro-Indian sentiment among the dominions and colonies, is both difficult and laborious; and the task has been made harder by the tendency among the self-governing units of the Empire to regard India as a stumbling block in the way of an organic unity of the Empire. Lord Hardinge's sympathetic Madras speech of 1913, the appointment of an Indian Grievances Commission by South Africa, have been followed by an attempt at the solution of the question of Canadian emigration on the basis of a reciprocal arrangement and by the appointment of a Committee to investigate the conditions of Indian labour in the Crown Colonies. Lord Hardinge's acceptance of the Hon. M. M. Shafi's resolution in his Council, asking for India's representation at the next Imperial Conference, the fighting of Indian troops side by side with the other troops of the Empire, and the opening of the Victoria Cross 'for valour' to Indian soldiers also point in the same direction.

The grant of a purely elective majority in the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa, the solution of the Cawnpore Mosque difficulty, the grant of an Executive Council to the 'baby province' of Bihar and Orissa, his attempt to create a similar Executive Council for the United Provinces, are measures that are truly in keeping with his policy. His wise statesmanship sought not so much to satisfy Mussulmans as Mussulmans, or Hindus as Hindus as to win the hearty co-operation of all moderate, loyal and reasonable opinion. His Government acknowledged 'the predominant claims of educational advancement on Indian resources' and set themselves to making 'education in India as wide and accessible as possible.' The multiplication of universities is now part of 'the declared policy of' the Government of India,' while residential universities, hostels, research and practical work are largely encouraged.

Each year of Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty has been an *Annus Mirabilis* by itself of history, but each year as it recedes in the ever-changing march will show a calm and resolute figure at the helm, yet aglow with the warmth of human sympathy and affection.

THE IDEAL OF ENGLAND

Laura Spencer, writing in a recent number of the *Girl's Own Paper and Woman's magazine*, points out the dominating ideal of England:—

Liberty of the individual, yet conformity of that liberty to the good of all, this has been the ideal of England always. It gives the English their arrogance, but it gives them, too, their stability; it gives them stubbornness, but it gives them a splendid sense of justice and moral right. He who carries out the difficult rule of loving his neighbour as himself will doubtless love that neighbour better for loving himself so well.

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RURAL EDUCATION.

"An Experiment in Rural Education" is the subject of an interesting contribution in a recent issue of the *School World*, an English educational monthly. The writer is happy that a more rational system of elementary popular education is developing in England in the place of the old, dull, mechanical regime. He hopes that in due time a sensible educational system, based on the "bedrock of reading, writing, spelling and elementary mathematics taught by mind awakening methods," will be the rule of the land. The scheme includes the education of boys and girls of course:

The boys do practical drawing and mensuration, and have practical instruction in nature-study in the school garden in addition to handicraft; and the girls do housework which can be spread over the whole day.

The girls learn laundry work in the first three months of the first year they attend the centre, cookery during the next three months, and a mixed course completes the year's instruction.

The specialised knowledge gained in the first year's attendance at the centre is applied in the household management course of the second year, where the special processes of cooking, washing, and ironing are performed in their right place, along with other housework, as part of the general routine of the home.

The course includes instruction in the best, quickest, and most hygienic methods of cleaning a house and keeping it clean, and the organisation of this work by the day and week and on special occasions. The instruction aims at bringing about order, freshness, and sweetness in the home. The girls are also taught how to choose and keep in good condition furniture, floor coverings, bedding, and everything used in a house. Simple upholstery, which will help them to mend their own furniture and keep the covers in order, is included in the syllabus. They are all also taught how to make the best use of remnants, how to renovate old clothes, how to keep household accounts, and how to spend money to the best advantage. Instruction is further given in the care of a baby, and in the preparation of its food.

The curriculum for the boys is of a very useful rural character. Measurements, drawings, and calculations are made from objects of all kinds both indoors and outside, leading up to the estimation of the volumes of such objects as haystacks, timber, milk-churns, etc., and the surveying of fields.

The nature-study is largely taken out of doors and is principally concerned with forestry, gardening, and bee-keeping, all of which have a very definite bearing upon the occupations of the neighbourhood. The boys also learn how to graft and bud, and to propagate the common garden plants and fruit trees.

The handicraft is chiefly done in wood and metal. The work includes repairing cupboards and bookcases, fixing curtain rails, etc., and repairing objects brought from home, such as leaky funnels and oil-cans.

If the scheme is so good for England, how much more need there is for a similar system in India where rural education of any shape is such a want.

THE BUDDHA RELICS.

An interesting account of the Buddha relics, preserved in the Arakan Pagoda Temple, Mandalay, is given by Mr. C. Jinarajadasa in the February number of the *Herald of the Star*.

We all went to the Arakan Pagoda, and in the shrine room of the temple there stood in a corner an iron safe, with a huge iron chain round it. In the presence of the military sentinel, who is on guard night and day, the safe was unlocked, and the gold casket taken out and taken to a preaching hall near the shrine. There the casket was opened and the rock crystal shown; the relics can be seen through the crystal as three tiny pieces of bone. As I am a Buddhist, I was allowed with the consent of the trustees to hold the casket in my hand, while we were all photographed by one of our party in remembrance of our gathering on such a unique occasion.

The Government presented this "gold casket" about the time of the formal gift of the relics to the Burmese people in March 1910. The relics are not destined to find a permanent resting place in the Arakan Pagoda Temple.

A splendid shrine for them is being constructed by the Buddhists on Mandalay Hill, not quite on the top of the hill, but about three-fourths of the way to the top. A winding road of several thousand steps, all under cover, leads from the plain to the shrine. All this has been constructed by public contributions, and, when complete, with the relics in their final resting place, will form a most strikingly beautiful place of pilgrimage for Buddhists, and a unique place worthy of the visit of all tourists who come to Burma.

INDIAN STUDENTS.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore writes a very interesting article on "Indian Students and Western Teachers" in the *Modern Review*. The following extracts show his study of the question which has arrested more than common interest in recent years.

The European professor does not look upon his vocation simply as that of a teacher. He feels himself also to be a king of the country. He is a European and a Professor of an Imperial Service to boot—a fragment of royalty. Often, also, he suffers from the conviction that he has come out to "do us good." In such circumstances, he may not always feel the necessity of controlling his tongue, or his temper. Therefore it may be the case, that we should not ask how he ought to behave towards the students, but rather how the students, by the agency of a strict scheme of discipline, should train themselves to put up with his want of good taste.

If we allow Englishmen to go on despising us and treating us with contempt, then we shall never win their hearts. We must claim respect from them. And at such a time as this, we shall not turn the other cheek when struck by the Principal of a Mission College.

Dr. Sir Rabindranath concludes the article thus:

If the relation between teacher and student be founded on fear and hate and punishment, then the poison of the disease will be driven from the blood into the very vitals. Distrust of all Englishmen will be transformed into an instinct from one generation to another.

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AN IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

The war has brought out in clear relief one important aspect of imperial governance which has often been neglected by those in brief authority. It is that a great Empire is not forged by mere force but knit together by bonds of affection and mutual respect. The new ideas of war and organisation now evolving in the British Empire have an imperishable lesson for all ages. Mr. Sidney Low, in the *Fortnightly Review* for March, brings out this idea clearly in the course of an article on "The War and the Problem of the British Empire."

With nearly a quarter of the human race under one Government, with our ports and harbours upon the coasts of every sea and ocean in the world, we can become, if necessary, if the pressure of events compel us, not only, as we are and must be, the greatest of naval Powers, but also a military Power which can hold its own even if, by some ill-fortune, we should be deprived of our present allies, against any combination of enemies whatsoever. But the lesson of this war is that these latent resources, however magnificent, are of little value unless they are brought together and organised for the specific purpose for which they may be required under a single control and direction. If the British Empire had been so organised when the blow fell in August, 1914, I think it is safe to say that the present war would not have occurred.

But these latent powers if well organised will resist the world-in-arms. Events, he says, are irresistibly tending towards an imperial executive which shall be responsible to a true imperial parliament, a Central Federal Congress of the Empire :—

Such an attempt cannot be long postponed. The close of the war will bring us face to face with the task of converting our loose and ill-jointed Empire constitution into a genuine Federal Union, like other greater composite State-systems which have been built out of separate local or national units, and like—on a lesser scale—our own federated Dominions. We have before us the example and the experience of the United States of America, distinct in their origin and each claiming the attributes of sovereignty, combining to form a Federal Republic with a single executive and central legislature; of the provinces of Canada uniting as the Dominion of Canada; of the Australian States compacted into a Commonwealth; of the colonies of South Africa associated to become members of the South African Union; and, farther back in our history, of the Scottish Parliament and the Irish Parliament abandoning their separate powers and amalgamated with that of England and Wales into the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. What the Empire has done in part it can do as a whole. The "Imperial' Parliament can justify its title and render itself in fact, as well as in name, Imperial by receiving representatives from all the self-governing States, and by delegating its control of purely British and insular affairs to a purely British and insular legislature and ministry.

THE NEED FOR VISION.

In the course of an article in the March number of the *Review of Reviews*, Mr. Alfred Stead writing on the need for vision in England points out :—

For eighteen months we have been fighting without inspiration, without conception of victory: we have neither the religion of Russia, the violated hearths of France, nor the slaughtered families of Belgium or Serbia to crystallise our action. Thus much of our power is lost, and must continue to be lost. In the Fleet there is a definite purpose; elsewhere not. But the Fleet can only act; it is not allowed to dream dreams, and thus it was found easier to decide to close museums than to close the seas to contraband. There was none of that clearness of vision which created a supreme British Navy, which has as foundation-stone the belief that "the frontiers of England are the coasts of the enemy" That is a bold conception of a bold visionary. It has succeeded in the Navy; why should it not succeed in other departments? It may be said that the visionary is unsafe: but have we not had too much safety play? Safety play never won a great victory, and never will. It never made a great nation; it never made the British Empire. Those little bands of visionaries of the past, who dared see visions and conceive victories, what would they say of us to-day? We are proud of those who made the Empire; can we not also be worthy of them? To think boldly is to gain the power to act boldly—not to conceive clearly, not to see visions is gradually to atrophy the power of action. The national mine is ready; it only needs the divine spark to fire it, and by the explosion find victory and find ourselves.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

SIKH RELICS IN EASTERN BENGAL. By Sardar Gurbaksh Singh. ["The Sikh Review," February 1916.]

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH, 1914-1915. ["The Indian Education," March 1916.]

THE ETHICAL ASPECTS OF THE VEDANTA. By Prof. K. Sundararama Aiyar, M.A. ["Vedanta Kesari," March 1916.]

HINDU CASTE MARKS. By W. Rae Sheriffs, M.A., C. SC. ["The Madras Christian College Magazine," March 1916.]

JAPANESE MARINE TRANSPORTATION IN INDIA AND THE SOUTH SEAS. ["Journal of the Japanese Indian Association," February 1916.]

SOME AGRARIAN PROBLEMS IN AGRA AND OUDH. By A. C. Chatterjee, I.C.S. ["The Hindustan Review," March 1916.]

THE VICEROYALTY OF LORD HARDINGE. By Sardar Jogendra Singh. ["East and West," April 1916.]

DEVELOPMENT OE KANADA LITERATURE. By M. Venkatesa Aiyangar, M.A., ["The Mysore Economic Journal," March 1916.]

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS.

[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

THE SHINING GATEWAY. By James Allen.
ONE LIFE, ONE LAW, ONE LOVE. By Lily L Allen.
IN THE GARDEN OF SILENCE. By Lily L. Allen.
L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

Mr. and Mrs. Allens' books have been well known to all lovers of the good, the true and the beautiful, and they contain precious wisdom in a narrow compass. They recall to our minds the quintessence of moral and didactic wisdom contained in many a Sanskrit work dealing with life and conduct. They enter "with tender reverence into every detail of human experience." *The Shining Gateway* teaches us how passion and affliction should be spiritually transmuted; that the five stages in regeneration are reflection, introspection, self-analysis, meditation, and pure perception; and that thoughts and deeds long persisted in (*abhyasa*) become at last spontaneous impulses. *The Garden of Silence* teaches us by means of short stories and phantasies the truth and beauty of things. *One Life, One Law, One Love* is equally noble and beautiful. It teaches: "Let a man look within for deliverance." Mrs. Allen tells us about "the great urge of the divine towards the Divine," and says that we must lose our sense of separateness and realise unversal unity. At the heart of Life is Law, and at the heart of Law is Love.

DHONDO KESHAO KARVE: A SKETCH. By R. P. Paranjpye, Principal, Fergusson College, Poona.

Professor Karve's name is now familiar throughout India as the founder of the Widow's Home and also in connection with the movement for Women's University. Mr. Paranjpye shows, in his study of Prof. Karve, the two requisites of a good biographer—sympathy and knowledge. There is in the volume before us an abundance of both.

INDIAN POLITICAL LITERATURE: The Bombay Presidency Association has republished in a book form the more important political addresses of December last, viz., the speeches of the Hon. Mr. D. E. Wacha as Chairman of the Reception Committee to the National Congress and the Commercial Congress, as also the Presidential Address of Sir S. P. Sinha to the Bombay Congress. The Appendices include the correspondence between the Bombay Government and the organisers of the Congress regarding the attendance of Government officials at its sittings.

HOW INDIA WROUGHT FOR FREEDOM. By Annie Besant. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Price Rs. 3 Available of Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.)

Among the bulky volumes on our political genesis and progress that have in recent years seen the light of day, this book of over 700 pages occupies a prominent position. While Babu Amvika Charan Mazmudar's volume on "Indian National Evolution," (G. A. Natesan & Co.,) gives an excellent narrative of our slow but steady political evolution, Mrs. Besant's volume touches only that part of our story which pertains to the Indian National Congress. Thereby the volume loses in one respect while it gains in another. Readers of Mrs. Besant's volume are not made familiar with the political birth-throes which brought into being the National Congress. Her historical Introduction does not deal with pre-Congress days, the work of A. O. Hume, the tours of Surrendranath Bannerji and others to England. Young Indians who are in search of truths relating to our political advancement will fail to get an adequate idea of what took place in years prior to the formation of the Congress. But once Mrs. Besant begins with her story of the Congress she does it well. She takes her readers through one sitting after another of the Congress, and her descriptions are so graphic and her narrative so telling that the whole scene of one session of the Congress after another passes before the reader's eye. Speaker after speaker is named, their speeches are referred to, some masterly summaries are made, some apt extracts are culled, and a faithful account is rendered.

As a historical record of Congress sayings and doings, the book is very valuable. All the resolutions passed at each Congress are fully reported, and speeches delivered are given in a way which could hardly be improved upon. But the value of the book is enhanced when we look upon it as a book of reference. A most excellent Index of some 100 pages is given; all resolutions are thoroughly indexed with names of movers, seconders and supporters, while the General Index throws light on speeches and happenings, and a copious Index to Names is a psychological study in itself. Then there is an admirable table giving the main dates and other particulars which shows at a glance everything that is to be known about the 30 Congresses from 1885 to 1914. Thus as a book of reference it will be useless for all students, journalists, politicians, and publicists.

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BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA.

AGRICULTURAL BANKS IN INDIA. By the Hon. D. E. Wacha. Reprinted from the Indian Journal of Economics. Allahabad University.

READINGS FROM INDIAN HISTORY. By Ethel R. Sykes. C. L. S. I., 35 John St., Bedford Row, London.

THE TRUTH OF DELHI AND OTHER POEMS. By Nanikram Vasanmal Thadani. P. C. Sarcar, Calcutta.

NATIONALITY AND EMPIRE. By B. C. Pal. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.

INDENTURED LABOUR IN FIJI: AN INDEPENDENT ENQUIRY. By C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson, Delhi.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TENTH GODAVARY DISTRICT CONFERENCE. By Hon. Sri K. R. V. Krishna Rau Bahadur, B.A., Zamindar of Polavaram.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE ALL-INDIA HINDU SANATAN SAMMELAN. By H. H. the Maharaja of Darbhanga.

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT. By The Hon. Dr. T. M. Nair, M.D. Higginbotham & Co., Madras.

REPORT OF THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BEHAR PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, Nagpur.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THEOSOPHY AND LIFE'S DEEPER PROBLEMS. By Annie Besant. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

A HANDBOOK OF VEGETABLE CULTURE. By W. Molegode. Ceylon Agricultural Society, Colombo.

ACIDITY OF URINE IN HEALTH. By Tarak Nath Deb, L.M.S., Madaripur, Dt. Faridpur, Bengal.

THE PLACE OF DISTINCTIVENESS IN ORGANISED LIFE. By N. Subrahmania Aiyar, M.A., Dewan Peishkar, Trivendrum.

THE TWO ROADS. By H. E. Hyde. P. S. King & Son, Ld., London.

THE BORDER OF BLADES: AN ANGLO-INDIAN Romance. By Captain Bedford Foran. Hodder & Stoughton, London.

WAR THOUGHTS AND TITBITS: EYE *vs.* EAR. By W. Dorasawmi Iyer. 53, Trunk Road, Walajanagar.

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE.

LORD HARDINGE ON EDUCATION.

In the course of his reply to the Bombay University in accepting the Honorary Degree of LL. D. on April 3, Lord Hardinge spoke as follows on Higher Education in India:—

I do not wish to enter into any detailed review of the recent educational policy of the Government of India, though I may mention that during the past quinquennium the annual expenditure on Education has risen from about four and a half to seven and a half million pounds, and the number of pupils by over a million and a half, while so far as University education is concerned, the number of students in Arts and Professional Colleges has increased from under 30,000 to over 50,000, and the expenditure from 60¼ lakhs to over 91 lakhs. But this is not nearly enough. More Universities are urgently needed and more qualified professors and teachers are required for colleges and schools, and if real progress is desired, these must be adequately remunerated. It seems to me that the educational issue in this country is entirely dependent upon finding the necessary funds to cope with the demand for learning, both literary and technical, and this financial problem will require to be grappled with as soon as our present pre-occupations are removed, and I believe that any additional burden required for the successful dissemination of learning will be gladly borne by the people of India, whose thirst for education is one of the happiest auguries of the future. The ceremony I so recently performed of laying the foundation-stone of the Benares Hindu University gave me an opportunity of declaring the faith that is in me regarding higher education. No one can deny the necessity for greater and more extended facilities; no one can dispute the importance of greater elasticity or doubt the wisdom of experimenting in new directions, and I think everyone will give us credit for realising the urgency of improving the environments in which the students prosecute their studies. Here in Bombay you have been in the vanguard of the advance, and I can congratulate you most warmly upon the completion of your scheme for the establishment of a Royal Institute of Science in this city, and the opening of a College of Commerce, while the sums that have been spent upon the bacteriological laboratory, at Parel, will enable it to do the function also of a Post-Graduate School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene. I shall

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not attempt to go into further detail, but I will only add that it was for me a piece of real good fortune, which brought to birth a new department of education at the moment of my arrival and the happy choice that placed at its head so versatile and able a member as Sir Harcourt Butler. The charge of that Department is now committed to the trust of my friend, Sir Sankaran Nair, the ablest Indian I could find for the purpose, and whatever temporary slowing down of the pace may be necessitated by the exigencies of finance owing to this devastating war, I feel confident that in his hands and under the guidance of your new Viceroy, who has earned such a well-deserved reputation in educational circles at Home, the interests of education are in the safest possible keeping for the next five years. During that period much progress will, I trust, be achieved in education as well as in the political development of this land.

LORD CHELMSFORD ON INDUSTRIES.

Lord Chelmsford in reply to an address presented by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, on April 4, made the following observations :—

Lord Hardinge has taken the first step towards inaugurating an inquiry into the industries of India and the methods required for fostering and developing them. Without being so presumptuous as to indicate a line of policy within a few minutes of my arrival, I think I may assure you that any well-thought-out scheme of developing India's industries will have my whole-hearted support, not only because I regard it as incumbent upon every part of the Empire to do its best to repair the ravages of this terrible War, but because I look forward to the day when India will not only produce its raw material, but will be in a position to convert that raw material into finished articles for its own and the world's consumption.

And again in reply to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, His Lordship said :—

I agree with you that this is the moment when we should institute inquiries into schemes of development during the years to come, when peace once more reigns upon the earth. The Government of Bombay is already considering through a strong Committee the question of the development of indigenous industries. The Government of India have also taken the first step towards inaugurating a wider and more general inquiry. I can assure you that any well thought-out scheme for the development of Indian industries will at all times command my whole-hearted support.

MR. MONTAGU'S FISCAL POLICY.

In the course of a speech on the change of attitude on the fiscal question, Mr. Montagu said :—

In the House of Commons last year, Liberal Free Traders and Conservative Tariff Reformers, leaders of both parties, expressed their opinion that the old economic condition of the relationship between the different parts of the globe would be altered after the war, and without saying to-day what the answer will be to those problems, I may say that it is not a part of Liberalism not to recognise altered conditions and circumstances, and to revise, or perhaps strengthen, ourselves in respect to the new conditions which may arise. We in the past conducted trade as a peaceful pursuit. We in the past treated all nations as nearly as we could equally. But look back at the history of this war and see the use Germany made of her trade, and just ask ourselves the question whether we can ever afford or dare to let that happen again ?

* * * * *

There are certain large enterprises which the Government have had to take over during this war. I do not know what lessons are to be learnt from that. One sees the old competition between railway and railway under the control of a committee of their own set up under a Government Department. It is not possible now to form a judgment on the question, but it is certain that we know more about State control and ownership than we did in the past, and we must reconsider our opinion when we get the leisure to do so.

IRELAND'S PART IN THE WAR.

Since the commencement of the war, declared Mr. Redmond in a recent speech, Ireland had put a huge army in the field. Up to January 8th last, Ireland had sent 86,277 men into the Army, and into the Navy 3,466, making a total of 89,743. In that magnificent record Ulster led the van naturally and properly, because that province held one-third of the whole population of Ireland. That record of Ulster was the record of all creeds and classes. There had been slackness in the agricultural districts, and in regard to that he had no hesitation in saying to his fellow-countrymen who were on the soil, and who after forty years of sacrifice and suffering were made its owners, that they had an interest in winning this battle over Germany greater even than any agriculturists in Scotland, Wales, or England. They had to-day 145,869 men from Ireland with the colours, and if they added to that the Irishmen who enlisted in Great Britain only, they had at least 300,000 Irishmen with the colours.

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UTTERANCES OF THE DAY.

LORD WILLINGDON ON LORD HARDINGE.

H. E. Lord Willingdon, Chancellor of the Bombay University, in conferring the Honorary Degree of LL. D. on Lord Hardinge, addressed His Lordship in the following terms :—

Though storms of war are raging with undiminished fury in distant lands, you leave behind you an India enjoying almost all the benefits of peace, more united than ever, after more than a year and a half of war, in loyalty to the Throne of the King-Emperor, united also in paying to you on your departure from her shores a homage of heartfelt gratitude and affection. * * *

I welcome you, my Lord, to the franchises and privileges of a University which, if it cannot claim antiquity, has yet a tradition—a tradition which will not permit it to yield to any other, however renowned and ancient a foundation, in recognition of courage, magnanimity, and wisdom devoted to the service of the Empire and of humanity.

LORD HARDINGE AND STUDENTS.

In accepting the Honorary Degree of LL.D. from the Bombay University, Lord Hardinge gave the following advice to students as his parting message to them :—

In a few hours time I shall have left you, my work in India being over, but I shall carry away with me memories and interests which will endure throughout my life. Above all, I shall carry away with me high hopes for the future of India, of which the fulfilment rests largely with you students, who will soon be the manhood of your country. I have to bid you good-bye and Godspeed in solemn times, which are putting to a supreme test not merely the military organisation and material resources but above all the character of nations, their capacity for self-discipline and self-sacrifice. Herein lies the lesson of the war which I would commend to all the young students of India. It is character, it is the capacity for self-discipline, for self-sacrifice that build up and preserve a nation. Cultivate those qualities steadfastly, patiently, unobtrusively while you are pursuing your various studies, and you will be able to acquit yourselves as men in after life and to do each of you your share in building up a nation worthy of India's past traditions and future greatness. You will often be in my thoughts, and I trust you will also remember me as one of your sincere well-wishers. "God bless you all and help you through life."

LORD BRYCE ON THE GERMANS.

It was more than anything else the German theory of the State and the omnipotence of the State, of its right to absorb and overrule the individual, to override morality—one might almost say to deny the existence of morality so far as the State was concerned—it was that deadly theory which was at the bottom of the German aggression that we were trying to resist. We stood in this war for justice, right, and humanity. From that position we must not depart. He did not believe for a moment that we should gain anything by departing from it. If it came to cruelty against cruelty, the enemy would always win. He saw no reason to think that our recourse to any of the inhuman practices, shocking to philosophy and morality which the enemy had adopted, would have the slightest effect upon him, or would in any way promote our military success. We should not gain, we should certainly lose, because there was nothing which had won for us more the approval and sympathy of all that was best in neutral nations than the fact that we had championed the cause of justice and humanity.

LORD HARDINGE ON SIR G. F. WILSON.

In unveiling the bust of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, His Excellency Lord Hardinge said :—

Sir Guy guarded our money with a keen sense of duty and brought to the solution of the knottyproblems, with which the Finance Memberis so constantly beset, an acute and versatile intellect. In the public eye a Finance Member must be largely judged by his budgets, and the budgets of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson were a series of personal triumphs. Finally, let me not forget to mention that during the two months when I was incapacitated by illness, a far greater portion of anxiety and responsibility fell to the lot of my Council; as Senior Member of my Council and Vice-President of my Legislative Council, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's share of the burden was not only the heaviest but came at a time when the preparation of the budget is a sufficient task to engross the energies of any ordinary man. But he rose to the occasion, and with the loyal cooperation and assistance of his colleagues, he faced the additional labour with a courage and endurance beyond praise. It will bring a glow of pleasure to the heart of Sir Guy to know that his friends out here have taken these means to keep his memory green, and equally will it be a source of happiness to his friends out here to be able to refresh old memories by gazing at his friendly and familiar lineaments.

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INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA.

INDENTURED LABOUR.

Referring to the criticisms on his speeches on Indentured Labour and the treatment of Indians in South Africa and other British Colonies, Lord Hardinge in the course of his reply to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau of Bombay, on April 3, said :—

You have referred in approving terms to the part that I played in the remedy of Indian grievances in South Africa, and though I was criticised in some quarters for the warmth with which I spoke at Madras on this topic, I can say honestly that I never had any serious twinges of conscience on that account. It was a moment for plain speaking and I spoke what I felt, and if I did not measure my words with absolute nicety, the strength of my feelings and the excellence of my cause must plead my excuse. Closely connected with this is the general question of indentured emigration. This is one of the many problems I should like to have seen absolutely solved before I left your shores, but from the recent debates in the Imperial Legislative Council you will have learned that my Government have not been idle in this matter, but have succeeded in persuading the Secretary of State and His Majesty's Government that the system at present in force is bad, and have obtained a definite promise from them that, within such reasonable period of time as will allow of alternative arrangements being introduced, it must be abandoned, thus closing for ever a page that has spelt individual suffering and general demoralisation of those involved and has implied a stigma upon India as a whole.

INDIAN LABOUR IN FIJI.

The following tentative proposals for future reconstruction of Indian labour in Fiji are urged in the report recently issued by Messrs. Andrews and Pearson :—

Immigrants to come from India in future by families rather than as individuals. Prostitute immigrants to be excluded.

A regular Steamer Service to run between Suva and Calcutta, bringing immigrants in smaller numbers, and at more frequent intervals.

Only the passage from India to be paid in future. Free return passage no longer needed in the case of Fiji. The Fiji authorities to deal liberally with any hard cases.

Only a free civil contract to be allowed. No penal clauses, no fines, no compulsory labour. Any civil contract entered into for a longer period than two years to be made illegal.

Married women not to be called upon for field work except of their own accord. An allowance to be made to the husband, where the wife, for family reasons, is unable to work.

Separate dwellings, combined with a small piece of ground, to be given to each family.

As far as may be, only married overseers and married sardars to be employed on plantations.

The full civil sanction to be given to Hindu and Muhammadan religious marriages throughout the Colony. Leave to be granted for religious rites on the estates especially in connection with marriage. More religious holidays to be allowed.

Education and medical aid to be provided for all Indians in the Islands, with help from India in the matter of teachers and doctors, and possibly a grant-in-aid.

PROTECTION OF COOLIES IN CEYLON.

We are glad to note, observes the *Times of Ceylon*, that the Ceylon Labour Commission is interesting itself in the prevention of the victimising of coolies on the railway which, it is to be feared, takes place to a considerable extent. Porters, station policemen, and, we are sorry to say, even booking-clerks on occasions, both on the Ceylon and on the Indian side, seem to regard the Tamil cooly as a fair object of plunder, and are never tired of exercising their wits in discovering new means of depleting his slender stock of rupees. Though they find the experienced traveller, who has made many journeys between village and estate, too hard a nut to crack, they frequently succeed in getting money out of the unsophisticated *puth'al*. One of the simplest ways of swindling the ignorant cooly is to lie as to the railway fare, and to prevent this, the Labour Commission is issuing forms to Estate Superintendents on which the fares can be shown. The Superintendent fills in the fare to Talaimannar, and the form shows the real fare.

FRENCH INDIANS FOR WAR.

About 200 recruits of classes 1911-12-13, among them being 50 from Karikal, assembled at Pondicherry recently when a party was given in the house of M. J. La Porte, of the *comite des renoncants* in honour of recruits. M. Gaebele, Mayor, presided and over 500 guests, including the recruits, attended. It was announced that European and Anglo-Indian conscripts would slowly be called out, and that no distiction of caste or race would be observed.

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FEUDATORY INDIA.

MYSORE SILK IN AMERICA.

Mr. W. H. Smith, Editor of the *American Silk Journal*, in the course of an article on "Mysore Silk" for the American market contributed to the January number of the *Mysore Economic Journal*, says :—

If a country like India, producing as it does cocoons equal in quality to the Japanese silks, would study the Japanese methods, such as prevail in the better class filatures, there would result an Indian raw silk prepared for the market in a manner equal to that of the Japanese silk. The India filature could well profit by engaging experienced Japanese to work with their own help, teaching the latter the Japanese methods, which would be readily acquired. India silks from the Mysore district have been sold on the American market and have brought prices equal to those commanded by Japanese silks which they resemble so closely that it would be difficult for even the expert to tell that there was any difference. However, no matter how good the quality of India silks or how cheap the price, if the skeins are not run on Grant reels, uniform in size and yardage, carefully reeled, put up in uniform books and in bales of standard size, they would never find a ready market here. The American silk machinery is built only for skeins of standard sizes and cannot operate with skeins not uniform. We have it on the authority of the most expert silk man in the American market that India raw silks, if brought up to such standards as have been attained by the Japanese in the respective items referred to above, would find a very ready market in America at prices equal to Japan silks. And it is so easy to imitate the Japanese in this regard that it is held to be rather remarkable that greater progress has not been made in sericulture in India than is indicated by its present products. However, India's experience in sericulture can hardly be expected to advance so long as it is kept in a primitive and experimental stage.

BANGALORE PUMPING INSTALLATION.

The Mysore Government have sanctioned the installation of a pumping outfit, to be worked by electricity in the valley of the Arkavaty stream on the Sivasamudram-Bangalore cable route, for lifting water for irrigation purposes.

BARODA MUSIC CONFERENCE.

The first All-India Music Conference closed at Baroda after five days' sessions. Various subjects came up for discussion and resolutions were passed with a view (1) to securing scientific system of Ragas in Hindustani music; (2) to settle a uniform and easily workable system of notation for the whole of India; (3) to compose a properly graded series of Text books on the subject of Music for introduction in educational institutions, and (4) to start an academy of Indian music as the highest authority in all musical matters and for bringing out Magazines on music and conferring of degrees or certificates on musical talents. Twenty-four interesting papers were submitted before the Conference. The technical papers dealt with questions of Shrutis and the general ones expatiated on the value of music in education, its position in fine arts and in human culture.

THE LATE EX-DEWAN OF BHAVANAGAR.

The late Mr. Vithaldas Samaldas, ex-Dewan of Bhavanagar, was the son of the former Dewan, Mr. Samaldas, and represented the fourth generation of his family to hold the office. The tradition inherited by Mr. Vithaldas, observes the *Times of India*, in administering the State was not only far-sighted and highly resourceful, but it secured him by dint of unflinching devotion to the State a very high place in the ranks of the Indian administrators, to whom it is chiefly due that the Native State enjoys to-day an honourable position in the Imperial system.

AGRICULTURE IN COCHIN.

H. H. The Raja of Cochin, in the course of a recent speech, observed as follows on the improvement of Agriculture in Cochin :—

It must be recognised that under modern conditions the improvement of agriculture and industry has become a necessity, regulating the future progress of the State. The census figures of population and periodical vital statistics afford instructive reading and give cause for thought. There is a steady upward tendency in the figures of population. Food production must keep pace with growing requirements, and either the area of cultivation must increase or cultivation must become more intensive, or both these alternatives must co-exist. It is obvious that the bringing of fresh lands under cultivation is not always possible, and that the extent to which it can be done is so limited as to make it at best only a temporary palliative, but by far the more important remedy is to increase the yielding capacity of the soil.

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Industrial & Commercial Section.

THE INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY.

One of the important questions that engaged the attention of the Agricultural Conference held at Pusa in the second week of February, observes the *Wealth of India*, of Madras, dealt with the development of the sugar industry in India. In the course of the discussion, Mr. W. Hulme, sugar engineer and expert to the Government of India, pointed out that good progress had been made in the United Provinces in experimental work and that the time had come for them to work up the industry on a larger scale. The Conference passed three resolutions to the effect that the work should be continued on a large scale, that a sugar-cane station should be established in North Bihar and that an agricultural officer with sugar experience should be attached to the farm.

THE INDIAN MERCANTILE FLEET.

It is my earnest hope, said the Hon. Mr. Wacha in a recent speech, that Indians of enterprise will devote specific attention to the incalculable advantages of possessing a mercantile fleet of their own. As you all know, the vast sea-borne trade of the country is carried on in foreign bottoms and thus a part of the annual wealth by way of freight inward and outward is carried away by foreign ship-owners. Ship-building is an art not unknown to India, and it is an historical fact that along with a large number of warships for the British Navy, during the latter part of the eighteenth and almost the whole of the nineteeth century, built in the Bombay Dockyard by those great Parsee master-builders the Wadias, merchant vessels were also built of a most durable type. It is much to be wished that this art of ship-building was again revived on a sure and solid foundation.

LORD CARMICHAEL AND CO-OPERATION.

The Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bengal, writes in his latest report :—

In May last His Excellency Lord Carmichael visited the Kalimpong Central Bank. During the year His Excellency also paid a visit to the rural societies in the vicinity of Dacca. And in the lowly dwelling houses of the rustic Chairman and Secretaries did His Excellency spend over two hours, inspecting the books and giving the people sound advice. No society is too small for His Excellency to visit, and no co-operator too humble for His Excellency to offer a word of encouragement to.

PAPER PULP IN INDIA.

Mr. William Raitt, F.C.S., cellulose expert to the Government of India, Forest Department, writing to the *Times* on the subject of paper pulp says : "For some years past an extremely fruitful investigation, economic and scientific, of the resources of the Indian Empire in raw materials for cellulose and paper pulp has been in progress at the Research Institute of the Indian Forest Department. The materials tested and approved of include bamboo, Savannah grasses, and Himalayan spruce and fir. It has been proved that they are the cheapest raw stocks in the world and are in most districts associated with extremely favourable manufacturing facililties. The quantities are enormous ; in Burma alone it is estimated that bamboo areas within economic range of river transport could produce 12 million tons of pulp per annum."

WAR EFFECTS ON INDIAN COMMERCE.

Interesting particulars concerning the import trade of India during the first year of the war—August, 1914, to July 1915—as compared with the corresponding periods of 1912-13 and 1913-14, are found in a report recently issued by the Director of Statistics. The memorandum brings into prominence the fact that the foreign merchandise imported in 1914-15, amounted to Rs. 123½ crores, or Rs. 58½ crores, 32 per cent. less than a year earlier. The imports of piece-goods aggregated to 2,307,000,000 yards, valued at Rs. 39 crores against 2,991,000,000 yards, valued at Rs. 54¼ crores. Cotton hosiery declined by Rs. 51 lakhs to Rs. 67 lakhs, and handkerchiefs and shawls in the piece by Rs. 48 lakhs to Rs. 36 lakhs. The quantity of cotton twist and yarn imported declined from 47,000,000lb. to 39,000,000lb. Imports of metals (excluding ores) fell from 1,093,000 tons, valued at Rs. 22 crores, to 450,000 tons, valued at Rs. 10⅓ crores. Imports of iron and steel declined by 606,000 tons and Rs. 784 lakhs to 425,000 tons, valued at Rs. 780 lakhs ; those of iron or steel beams, pillars and girders from 85,000 tons to 38,000 tons; sheets and plates from 433,500 tons to 191,500 tons ; and steel bars and channel from 215,300 tons to 32,000 tons. Imports of copper declined from Rs. 4·63 lakhs to Rs. 1·57 lakhs. Machinery of every description, including belting, fell off by Rs. 2·80 lakhs, textile machinery accounting for a decline of Rs. 1·20 lakhs, prime movers for Rs. 39 lakhs, and electrical machinery for Rs. 23 lakhs. The imports of railway plant and rolling stock show similar fall,

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AGRICULTURAL SECTION.

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCHES.

We acknowledge with thanks two important bulletins just issued by the Pusa Institute. "The Detection of Added Water in Milk in India, by J. Walter Leather, V. D., F. I. C., will be particularly welcome at this time when the problem of pure milk has been arresting considerable attention in Municipal cities. The pamphlet on "Green Manuring in India," by A. C. Dobbs offers welcome suggestions to those interested in the technique of agriculture.

A RECORD RICE CROP.

So far as the rice-eating population of India is concerned, the prospect of abundant supplies is now assured. Both in acreage and yield the crop of 1915-16 is a record one. It is estimated that 32,877,000 tons will be available, an increase of no less than 21 per cent. over the yield of the preceding year. In Bengal, where the acreage under rice is more than a quarter of that in all India, the increase over that of 1914-15, is 35 per cent., and in Bihar and Orissa it is 58 per cent. The remarkable point is that the increase in acreage in Bengal is only 2 per cent. and in the adjoined province less than 1 per cent. These figures prove how favourable the season has been. In the United Provinces, Madras, Burma and the Central Provinces, rice has also flourished well, but in Assam there is a decrease in outturn of about 5 per cent.

COIMBATORE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

A preliminary examination of candidates for admission to the Agricultural College, Coimbatore, is usually held at Coimbatore in the first week of June. This entails a long journey on candidates from the north of the Presidency. In order to meet their convenience, we understand that an examination for the selection of students will be held this year, at Anakapalle, on the 22nd May and following days. Candidates who propose to appear then should first apply in writing to the Principal, Agricultural College, Coimbatore, in the usual way before the 12th May, 1916. The usual preliminary examination will be held at Coimbatore in the beginning of June, and students are at liberty to appear at this as heretofore. But it will be unnecessary for any, who attend the examination at Anakapalli, to appear also for the one at Coimbatore.

COTTON CROPS IN INDIA.

The final memorandum on the cotton crop of the Bombay Presidency, including Sind and Native States for the season 1915-16, gives the total area under the early as well as the late varieties of cotton to be 4,958,400 acres. This is higher than that given in December last by 193,200 acres, owing to the receipt of fuller information from Karnatak, Ahmedabad and Baroda. The total revised estimated outturn stands at 1,056,600 bales. The second or final outturn report of the cotton crop of the Madras Presidency, 1915-16, gives an outturn of 354,546 bales of 400 lbs. each.

OIL CONTENT OF SEEDS.

The oil content of seeds as affected by the nutrition of the plant is dealt with in a paper in the *Journal of Agricultural Research*, Vol. III, No. 3. It is concluded that climate is a more potent factor than soil type in controlling the size of the seed and its oil content, probably because climatic conditions largely regulate those of the soil.

PUNJAB AGRICULTURE.

The *Punjab Agricultural Notes* for March show that the wheat harvest has begun already in the south-east of the province. In it, as a whole, the unirrigated crop is very poor, though of course it is not equally bad in all parts, while the recent rain must have benefitted the crop in the neighbourhood of Rawal Pindi considerably. Nor are the irrigated crops in the province, as a whole, up to the average. This is only to be expected owing to the entire absence of the winter rain.

A UNIQUE DAIRY SYSTEM.

The adulteration of milk is always a serious problem, but Naples seems to have found a solution. The *Royal Magazine* tells us that the goats and cows are brought to the very door-step of the customer and milked there. There are no milk carts in Naples.

Each milkman owns a flock of goats or a drove of cows, and these accompany him on his rounds each day. Of course the method is hardly a speedy one, but it at least ensures fresh milk for every purchaser. Sometimes the animals are owned by partners, who go round together, one milking the goats while the other man keeps a watchful eye on the flock. Probably goats are more difficult to handle than milk-cans, and they certainly take up a great deal more room in the streets so that the idea is hardly likely to commend itself to London milkmen.

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Literary.

THE HARDINGE LIBRARY.

The opening of the Hardinge Library (New Buildings) at Queen's Gardens, Delhi, took place on the 13th of March amidst a gathering of distinguished ladies and gentlemen. The Hon. Sir Sankaran Nair in declaring the Library open paid a warm tribute to the successful Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge and pointed out the necessity for such a Library in Delhi:—

"In a place like this, where we have no University, no High Court, no Press, and where English knowledge is not diffused, it seems to be necessary that the library should be free in order to attract the public to its rooms. Here anybody may come to read newspapers and magazines, and I trust that soon the people here will acquire a taste for reading. It will serve also as a meeting place for intelligent discussion. The library will also be useful to visitors to Delhi."

Libraries are generally patronised, says the Education Member, for the study of fiction. But are there not different kinds of fiction? What a world of difference between the penny-dreadfuls and Walter Scott!

But while it is true that many novels only entertain for the moment, there are others that remain in your memory. How many have not derived their knowledge of the past more from the Waverly novels, or better still from other novels like "The Cloister and the Hearth" than from any books of history? But in these days a library is not only required for light reading alone. How very few there are who read the reviews and choose their own books. There are no doubt publishers whose name itself is a guarantee for the worth of the books, but they are now produced in such bewildering numbers that we have to rely upon libraries not only for reading but for selecting the books for our shelf. The publishers know this. They accordingly produce their books generally for the libraries, and I have little doubt that the Committee will take care to make a very careful selection of books to provide with good contemporary literature. They have got higher ambitions. The Secretary wants this library to grow into an institution for post graduate education. I heartily wish the Committee successes in their endeavour. "Reading maketh a full man," and the reading of good books is required in this country now more than ever. The old ideas are now disappearing, and dissatisfaction with their life is being created in the minds of many; contentment has given place to intellectual unrest; the conditions of life imposed by a foreign Government and foreign civilisation have compelled them to break loose from the ancient restraints. For healthy progress serious study of the great social and political problems is indispensable, and it is our hope and belief that, in future, students will resort to this library for study and reasearch.

ANOTHER COLLEGE JOURNAL.

We congratulate the promoters of the "Journal of the Kumbakonam College Literary Society" on their excellent venture. Institutions younger and less historic are having the benefit of a journal of their own, and it is only in the fitness of things that the primier College in Southern India should have a periodical as the one on our table to record its multiform activities. Kumbakonam has for long enjoyed the sobriquet of the Cambridge of South India, and since the days of Principal Porter has earned a reputation for intellectual brilliancy of which any college might be proud. We understand that under the fostering care of Principal Statham, a network of societies has since sprung up in the college, a record of whose works is found in the pages of the Journal. The journal modestly aims at recording the various activities of the college life and is primarily meant for students. Besides a few well-merited articles, the first number opens with an inspiring message from H. E. Lord Pentland: "That this magazine may long serve to illustrate for successive generations of students of the Kumbakonam College their common heritage of high traditions and to foster among them loyalty and gratitude to their *Alma mater*."

RUPERT BROOKE.

Whatever the ultimate verdict of posterity as to Rupert Brooke's achievement, there can be no doubt of the extraordinary promise which was cut short by his death in the Dardanelles on April 23rd, 1915, at the tragically early age of 27. Two slim volumes of *Poems* (1911 and 1914) and *Other Poems* (1914), and his contributions to *New Numbers* are all his poetic legacy, yet much of that is "pure gold." For example, his sonnet on "Safety," from which we quote a few lines:

"We have found safety with all things undying,
The winds, and morning, tears of men and mirth,
The deep night, and birds singing and clouds flying,
And sleep, and freedom, and the autumnal earth.
We have built a house that is not for Time's throwing.
We have gained a peace unshaken by pain for ever.
War knows no power. Safe shall be my going,
Securely armed against all death's endeavour;
Safe though all safety's lost; safe where men fall;
And if these poor limbs die, safest of all."

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Educational.

DR. J. C. BOSE ON TEACHERS' IDEALS.

In reply to the address by Principal James at the Presidency College, Calcutta, to Dr. J. C. Bose on his new appointment to carry out research, Dr. Bose made an interesting speech explaining his own ideals as a teacher. One striking feature in the life of a teacher in India, he pointed out was the great devotion that he evoked in the students almost amounting to worship. At the present day of hurry and machine models, instances of affection between teachers and students were not very common. But Professor Bose said that both in England and India, this ideal was highly valued. In India, said he, the teacher was like the head of a family, revered by his pupils so deeply as to show itself by touching the feet of the master. This was not a servile act, but one of respect and regard, and the teacher often reciprocated the sentiment in loving his students, and by being generous to their faults. Professor Bose said he had the good fortune never to have had any trouble with his students during his 31 years' work in the College. The real secret of success was in trying at times to see things from the students' point of view and to cultivate a sense of humour. This is no doubt an excellent ideal, remarks the *Collegian*, and a teacher or professor who followed it would never give room for students' strikes, which have become an established fact in the case of certain unbending men who would always rule with an iron rod.

MUHAMMADAN EDUCATION IN BEHAR.

The *Beharee* gives particulars of a notable educational gift in Behar. An endowment of Rs. 50,000 has been made by Moulvi Abdul Karim, late Inspector of Schools, in aid of Muhammadan educational and religious work. Half the income is to be devoted to the award of a number of scholarships to Muhammadan students who, after receiving sufficient Arabic education and after passing the Matriculation examination, are desirous of continuing education in the College course. The other half of the income is to be spent in the promotion of Islamic work for training religious teachers and preachers, for the composition and translation of religious books and tracts, for aiding religious schools and, generally, for Muhammadan missionary work.

EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

Mr. Hornell explained in the Bengal Legislative Council during the Budget discussions, that a net decrease of seventeen lakhs on education had been sanctioned and a grant of five lakhs for Dacca University had been withheld. Among new items was the provision of a grant of Rs. 60,000 to Dr. Bose for scientific research. On his retirement from the service of Government, Dr. Bose had been appointed Emeritus Professor of the Presidency College, and this provision represented his pay and research grants and the pay of his assistants.

INTER-UNIVERSITY FELLOWSHIP SCHEME.

Haji Mahamud Ismail Khan, Nawab of Dalaoli and a Fellow of the Allahabad University, sends us the following communication with reference to his interesting scheme of inter-University Fellowship. He writes :—

The Universities in India are quite detached from each other, and there is, as a matter of fact, no connecting link between them. Any scheme which may have the effect of bringing them into closer touch with one another, and which may enable one University to understand more closely the schemes of the others, will, I believe, inevitably conduce to better results. For these reasons I humbly beg to draw the kind attention of the Chancellors, Vice-Chancellors, and Fellows of all the Indian Universities to these few lines, and I shall esteem it a favour if they will very kindly communicate to me their approval or disapproval of the suggestion.

With the above object in view I beg to make the following two proposals for favour of your kind consideration :—

1. That every University be authorized to send two of its Fellows as its representatives to the annual meetings of each of the other Universities and that the latter accept them as such.

2. That these representative Fellows be given the same privileges of proposing, seconding, opposing, and discussing any resolution as are given to its own Fellows.

I believe that if these two resolutions are accepted by all the Indian Universities, they will certainly have an opportunity of making themselves more useful, and a new education era may begin in this country.

THE EDUCATION OF THE MAHRATTAS.

The Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior has paid Rs. 10,00,000 towards promoting education among the Mahratta community in the Bombay Presidency.

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Legal.

LAW EXPENDITURE IN BENGAL.

The Hon'ble Nawab Shams-ul-Huda, in introducing the Courts of Law head in the Bengal Council during the recent Budget, said that the total Budget estimate for the year 1915-16, which was Rs. 1,01,24,000, had been raised to Rs. 1,05,40,000 in the revised estimate. This increase was chiefly due to large payments of lawyers' fees in connection with political cases, to extra expenditure caused by the appointment of additional District and Sessions Judges, and to charges under the Defence of India Act in connection with political cases. The total estimate for the year 1916-17 had been fixed at Rs. 1,00,20,000. The decrease was due to provision having been made for 13 instead of 10 Judges of the High Court, and some reduction in establishment and contingent charges of the appellate side of that Court, owing to the creation of a separate High Court at Patna. Additional provision had been made in the Budget for the grant of a contract allowance of Rs. 1,000 a month for the supply of typewriter transcripts of evidence of witnesses in Calcutta High Court, for an additional Legal Remembrancer, and four new posts of District Judges. The post of additional Legal Remembrancer had been created for a period of one year. His main duty would be to work out in consultation with the Legal Remembrancer a detailed scheme for the organization of the Department of Public Prosecutions in Bengal.

PREVENTION OF ADULTERATION.

Mr. R. Braunfeld, Barrister and Commissioner of the Calcutta Corporation, has prepared a Bill for the prevention of the adulteration of food and drugs. The Bill will be applicable to all municipalities and districts in Bengal. A draft of the Bill is now being revised by the Health Officer of Calcutta, and will soon be placed before the Local Government for consideration. Provision has been made in the Bill to prevent the adulteration of articles of food used by all classes, and also the sale of drugs or patent medicines that have lost their virtue or potency through length of time.

AN INDIAN LADY LAWYER.

The first application of its kind in India has been made before Mr. A. H. Cuming, District Judge of Alipur, by Miss Regina Guha, M.A., B.L., a lady graduate of the Calcutta University, to be enrolled as a pleader. The petition will be forwarded to the High Court for final orders.

MYMENSINGH TREASURY DEFALCATION.

The trial of the Mymensingh treasury defalcation case was recently ended at Dacca. The Jury returned a unanimous verdict of guilty under Section 409 I. P. Code against the accused, Rebaty Kanta Talukdar, the late treasurer of the Mymensingh Collectorate. When the Judge pronounced that he agreed with the verdict, the accused shrieked out and fainted in the dock. After the accused had recovered, the Judge pronounced a sentence of one year's rigorous imprisonment upon the accused. Messrs J. N. Roy and B. C. Chatterjee with some pleaders of Dacca and Mymensingh appeared for the accused. The prosecution was conducted by the Government Pleader of Mymensingh.

RIGHTS OF A MUNICIPAL COUNCILLOR.

Mr. Justice Macleod delivered judgment on March 30, on the notice issued by the High Court at the instance of Dr. Sukhia, a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, calling upon Mr. Phiroze Sethna, President of the Municipality, to show cause why he should not be called upon to perform his duty as President by allowing him (Dr. Sukhia) to put and discuss a certain proposition. His Lordship, in delivering judgment, said that, granted that all conditions were fulfilled which entitled the Court to make the order asked for, still the section gave the Court discretion. An order under the Section would take the place of the old "Writ of Mandamus," and no precedent had been cited for a Court interfering by such an exercise of its authority. Although he could not say that such a case might not arise as a rule in the matter of procedure, the assembly itself should be the sole judge. His Lordship, taking all circumstances into consideration, said that he did not propose making any order on the rule.

CHANGES IN THE JUDICIARY.

The Hon. Sir John Wallis, Chief Justice, Madras, avails himself of leave for three months and fifteen days in continuation of the long vacation of the Madras High Court. The Hon. Mr Justice Abdur Rahim acts as Chief Justice during Sir John Wallis' absence.

Among judicial officers who intend taking leave this summer are: Sir John Woodroffe, Calcutta High Court; Mr. Justice Chapman, Patna High Court; Mr. Justice Rattigan, Punjab Chief Court; and Mr. Batten, First Additional Judicial Commissioner, Central Provinces.

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Medical.

LORD HARDINGE ON INDIGENOUS MEDICINES.

On March 29, His Excellency Lord Hardinge laid the foundation-stone of the new Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi College, at Delhi, in the presence of a distinguished gathering of Indians and Europeans. In his speech on the occasion he pointed out how theories of Western Medical Science are constantly changing, and he mentioned as striking examples the remarkable transformations in quite recent times that alopathic ideas of the causes and cures of cholera, malaria and plague have undergone. "I may add," he continued, "that it has borrowed some of the best known drugs from the East where the study of medicine was kept alive through the dark ages. If then our own system is to some extent empirical it certainly does not become a mere layman like myself to pass any sweeping condemnation upon the empiricism of its eastern counterpart, and when I remembered how many millions in India are beyond the reach of the medical aid provided by the Government and how many of those have means of access to our best doctors still prefer to be treated in accordance with the indigenous system, I came to the conclusion that I should be wrong to throw discouragement upon the scheme, which Haziq-ul-Mulk has so much at heart and which aims at the improvement and development of this branch of medicine on safe and sound lines."

His Excellency then urged that provision should be made for the teaching of surgery and anatomy on Western principles and that the ancient system should be modernised as much as possible to meet the present-day requirements.

EASTERN SYSTEMS OF MEDICINE.

It is very lucky that the Madras Medical Council has reversed its judgment *re* : the case of covering against Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyar. While the Madras Council looks with contempt on all native medicines, Sir Pardey Lukis has another lesson for all alopathic doctors. Look at this picture and that! In supporting the Hon. Mir Asad Ali Khan's resolution in the Imperial LegislativeCouncil, "that the Government of India, in consultation with Local Governments, should investigate the possibility of placing ancient and indigenous systems of medicine on a scientific basis and increasing their usefulness," Sir Pardey Lukis said that he did not recognise any fixed line of demarcation between the Eastern and Western systems of medicine. The main difference between the two was that one had advanced and the other had remained stationary and that was why he was an advocate of placing ancient and indigenous systems of medicine upon a scientific basis, thus increasing their usefulness. Continuing, Sir Pardey Lukis said : "Modern medicine, as we know it to-day, is very different from the rough methods of treatment of the 'barbour surgeon,' and we are ourselves only just emerging from the slough of empiricism. I well remember that in the early seventies, at which time diseases causing bacteria were unknown, I was almost howled down when I tried to deliver an address on the germ theory of disease before a students' debating society. Honourable members will recollect also that until a few years ago we believed malaria to be due to foulness as its name implies. Why then should the allopath arrogate to himself the right to appropriate for his individual benefit all new discoveries, denying these privileges to the practitioners of other systems of medicine? This appears to be especially unfair when it is borne in mind that 90 per cent. of the Indian population lives in rural areas where the *vaidyas* and *hakims* are, and will be for many years to come, the chief attendants of those dumb millions alluded to in recent speeches in this Council. It was in view of this and in the hope that something might be done to raise the status and improve the education of *vaidyas* and *hakims* that I insisted on a definite standard of education for the new type of vernacularly trained village practitioners which it is proposed to create, for I am strongly of opinion that in the interests of the masses the education of those who profess the indigenous systems of medicine is as important as the invention of a lower grade of allopathic practitioner. Personally, if I were ill, I say frankly that I would prefer to be treated by a good *vaidya* or *hakim* rather than by a bad doctor. I resent strongly that spirit of medical trades unionism which leads many modern doctors to stigmatise all *vaidyas* and *hakims* as quacks and charlatans, and I am authorised to accept the resolution on behalf of the Government of India."

WOMEN AND CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL.

The new Women and Children's Hospital, Trivandrum, constructed at a cost of about rupees 2½ lakhs and adequately equipped, a unique one of its kind in Southern India, was formally opened on the 1st April. It is a great boon to the public.

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Science.

THE ORIGIN OF MOUNTAINS.

Sir Sidney Burrard, in his Presidential Address to the Indian Science Congress, gave the results of his enquiries on the formation of mountains :

His conclusions may be summarized as follows :—

(1) The fundamental cause of both elevation and subsidence is the occurrence of a crack in the sub-crust.

(2) Mountains are compensated by underlying deficiencies of matter.

(3) Mountains have risen out of the crust from a great depth, possibly 60 miles.

(4) Mountains owe their elevation mainly to the vertical expansion of subjacent rock.

AN INDIAN MATHEMATICIAN.

The results of nearly two years' research work, at Cambridge, by Mr. Srinivasa Ramanujam have come to light by the official announcement that certain papers, which he has submitted to the Degree Committee of the Special Board of Mathematics, have been pronounced as of merit as a record of original research. Mr. Ramanujum, who is a native of the Madras Presidency, only received the ordinary Indian school education, and when discovered, was a clerk in the employment of the Port Trust of Madras. When he went to Cambridge he was described by a prominent mathematician as a man of extraordinary powers, but very imperfect training. He had very little knowledge of modern mathematics, the work of the last fifty years. Yet, in the experts' opinion, Mr. Ramanujam was an infinitely finer mathematician than many men who had become Senior Wranglers.

A TELEGRAPH CABLE.

A telegraph cable, 2,300 yards in length, 2,000 of which lies on the river-bed, has been successfully laid at Yandoon with the object of linking up Rangoon by a shorter route with Danubyu, Zlun and Henzada on the west bank of the Lower Irrawaddy, and also to serve as an alternative route to Bassein in the event of interruptions *en route* to that important town. The work has been carried out by Mr. J. M. Francis (Personal Assistant to the Postmaster-General and Director of Telegraph Engineering, Burma) assisted by Mr. E. S. Weightman, Deputy Superintendent, Telegraph Engineering, Bassein.

NEW BRITISH STEEL HELMET.

The new British steel helmet is beginning to make its appearance, says Reuter's correspondent, at British Headquarters in France :—"I understand that experiments have demonstrated its effectiveness as a protection against shrapnel and bomb splinters. But there has been no sort of effort to combine utility with symmetry. The pattern worn by the French soldiers has at least got some semblance to the picturesqueness of the musqueteer's helmet, but such specimens of the British article as I have so far seen are an excellent imitation of an inverted zinc jelly-mould with a broad flange soldered on. I understand, however, that they have the real merit of being —as my informant very lucidly expressed it— "blooming light for their weight."

MACHINERY IN INDUSTRY.

Some idea of the value of machinery in building up industries may be gathered from the examples given in a recent issue of the *Mysore Economic Journal* :—

1. Arkwright's spinning-jenny enabled one operative in 1815 to produce as much yarn as 200 could a few years before.

2. The crane of Cologne Cathedral in 1870, with two men, did the same work in one hour, in lifting stone, as required 60 men to work 12 hours in the middle ages, that is, one man now is equal to 180 of the old time.

3. The American boot-making machine enables one man to turn out 290 pairs of boots daily ; one factory near Boston makes as many boots as 32,000 boot-makers in Paris. In 1880, there were 3,100 of these machines at work, producing as many as 150 million pairs of boots annually.

4. Alfmann's American reaper cuts and binds grain at 45 minutes per acre. D. Glynn, of California, cuts, threshes, winnows and bags with each of his machines 60 acres of grains daily.

5. The United States in 1888 produced 600,000 sewing-machines, which could do the work of 7,200,000 women.

6. In the Western States of America one man can raise as much wheat as will feed 1,000 persons for 12 months ; a second can thresh, winnow and bag it, and a third convey it to the market.

7. A girl of 12 years of age in a Lancashire mill can turn out 35 yards of printed calico daily, her work in one year sufficing to clothe yearly 1,200 persons in India.

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Personal.

THE LATE MR. V. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR, C.S.I.

A very interesting function took place in the precincts of the Senate House at Madras, on the 27th of March, the occasion being the unveiling of the statue of the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar by H. E. Lord Pentland. Mr. G. A. Natesan, who read the report of the Memorial Committee as one of its Secretaries, pointed out how in pursuance of a resolution passed at a meeting in the Banqueting Hall, under the presidency of H. E. Lord Carmichael, it was resolved to perpetuate the memory of the great Indian leader by the erection of a statute in Madras. It is very appropriate that the statue of one of the most distinguished *alumni* of the University should be erected in the precincts of the Senate House, "which was the scene of his untiring labours on the cause of education and where he delivered to hundreds of graduates what was destined to be his last public utterance—the brilliant Convocation Address in 1911." "The Committee are happy," he continued, "that the statue will be not only a monument to the great and memorable services which he was able to render to his Sovereign and his country, but also a stimulus to thousands of young men who pass through the University, to live the noble, strenuous and unselfish life he lived." After the reading of the Report, the Hon. Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar, the Advocate-General, in requesting His Excellency to unveil the statue gave an eloquent and generous tribute to the memory of the great Indian, who was prematurely cut off from the world. He spoke at some length on the manifold activities of Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar and showed how deserved were all the tributes to his memory. He recalled in particular "his boundless energy, his exuberant and magnetic personality, the splendour of his virile and versatile intellect, his austere ideals and character, his fearless and outspoken sincerity and the fertilising stream of his generosity." It need hardly be said that this generous appreciation was warmly echoed by all who knew him. His Excellency before unveiling the statue pointed out how "public and private testimony alike agree that by his death this Presidency lost a great and good man, who worked strenuously and in no narrow spirit for all that could tend to the moral, intellectual, and material advancement of its people." Lord Pentland concluded with the hope "that this statue will long remain to commemorate the affection and devotion he inspired, the work he accomplished, and the ideals he proclaimed. Associated as it is with the University, for which he earnestly laboured, it will, I hope, serve as an incentive and an inspiration to many generations of students whose best interests he had so much at heart."

Another testimony to the many-sided activities of Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar was the erection of a bust in the Indian Banks Buildings, which was unveiled by the Hon. Sir Harold Stuart on the 8th of April. The bust "will recall to future citizens of Madras the lineaments of one who laboured unceasingly for the public good and gave without stint not money only (and of that he was most generous) but the best of his intellect and his energy."

THE NEW VICEROY'S STAFF.

H E. Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, has appointed the following officers to be members of his personal staff in India :—

Private Secretary.—Mr. J. L. Maffey, I. C. S.

Assistant Private Secretary.—Mr. H. A. F. Metcalfe, I.C.S.

Military Secretary.—Major R. Verney, Rifle Brigade.

Comptroller.—Major John Mackenzie, Indian Army.

Surgeon.—Major L. Cotterill, R.A.M.C.

A. D. C.—Capt. Viscount Errington, Grenadier Gds.; Capt. W. A. Brown, Wilts Regt.; Capt. C. Sykes, Grenadier Gds.; Capt. W. Holland-Hibbert, Herts Yeomanry.

Lord Errington and Captain Brown have served as A. D. C's to the retiring Viceroy.

A SOUTH AFRICAN GENERAL.

"General Smuts is unrivalled in South Africa after General Botha, whose most loyal and devoted lieutenant he has always been," says the *Chronicle*. "His University record, his intellectual gifts and his political achievements, outside military affairs, are such as probably no other General engaged in the Great War can match; and at the same time he has undergone a remarkably thorough schooling in African warfare—first as a daring guerilla against us; then for many years as South African War Minister, and lastly, in connection with General Botha's conquest of German South-West Africa.

"He will find plenty of scope for his talents in East Africa. The filling of this rôle by a Boer General will strike the imagination of the British Empire almost more even than the conquest of South-West Africa."

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Political.

THE WAR AND THE INDIAN ARMY.

Sir William Meyer observed as follows in his Budget statement :—

"The Indian Army still continues to play a conspicuous part, side by side with representatives of every portion of the Empire, in the great war which the King-Emperor and his Allies are waging for the cause of liberty and right. Nor, as I indicated in my speech in the closing budget debate last March is this the only respect in which India has borne her share of the Empire's burdens. She has rendered invaluable aid by recruiting and training large numbers of soldiers : by furnishing supplies of all sorts—foodstuffs, clothing, ordnance, equipment and munitions : by training and despatching horses : by lending to the Admiralty a great part of her Royal Indian Marine fleet : and by fitting out transports. The total value of the supplies and services of all sorts which she has thus undertaken on behalf of the War Office amounted, including some similar expenditure brought to account at home, to about £10 million in 1914-15, and is estimated at about £18 million in 1915-16, and £20¾ million in 1916-17. These figures include also the outlay in civil departments on the manufacture of munitions which is now in full progress. They do not however include the services, representing a recoverable outlay of £850,000 in 1915-16, and about £1 million in 1916-17, which we are able to render to the Australian Government."

BANGALIS AND MILITARY SERVICE.

Presiding at the annual meeting of the British Indian Association on the 31st of March, the Maharaja of Burdwan said :—

"The Government of Bengal have begun to take a keen interest in the development of industries. It yet remains for the Government of India to give a real start in the matter. Unless industries are started in this country with State aid and State guarantees, progress will be slow and unsatisfactory."

In urging the admission of able-bodied Bengalis into the Indian Army, the Maharaja said :—

"Doubts may be expressed in some quarters as to the advisability of arming Bengali youths when, unfortunately, some among them have been led astray by totally misguided ideas of patriotism to commit cold-blooded murders and other crimes, and have thereby brought a stigma and humiliation on their fellow countrymen. But I ask, should a whole race suffer and be judged by the misdeeds of a few? With the excellent work of the Bengal Ambulance Corps before us, I think our association would be amply justified in getting up a deputation, in which I am sure other associations would join wholeheartedly, to wait upon Lord Chelmsford after his assumption of the Viceroyalty, praying for the formation of a Bengali regiment, or, if that be not possible, at least for starting at an early date a volunteer corps for Bengalis under the direct supervision of British officers. Even this would satisfy us, for I want to see a beginning made. I want to see Bengal participate with other parts of India in the defence of the great Empire to which we feel proud to belong."

THE PUNJAB COUNCIL.

The *Punjabee* learns that the Government of India, with the approval of the Secretary of State, has decided to increase the strength of the Punjab Legislative Council from 25 to 20 members, and of the non-official members from 14 to 18. This will give one member to the District Board of each revenue division, *viz.*, five in place of three, one additional member to municipal groups and one more member to be filled by nomination. The grouping of municipalities does not, however, follow the revenue divisions.

INDIAN VILLAGERS AND THE WAR.

From an article which Bishop Frank Warne, of Lucknow, has recently contributed to the *New York Times*, it would appear that, in the Bishop's view, the India of the fields and villages came to life politically when the war began, and the first thought of awakened India was one of loyalty and gratitude to the British Crown Just before leaving India, Bishop Warne talked with a representative Indian villager who said : "Ever since my eyes have looked upon this earth, I have beheld the British as my rulers. My father had them before me and I want my children and my children's children to have them. This rule has meant peace, prosperity and safety to our villages, to our farms, to our women and our children and our cattle." The Bishop's comment upon this speech is that, "this man, in my opinion, represents, over 300,000,000 of India's people." He was a hill man, it is true, and expressed himself with much of the frankness associated with hill people, but the American missionary is probably not wrong in assuming that he also spoke for many millions of cultivators in the plain,

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General.

THE CALCUTTA CONVOCATION.

The Convocation of the Calcutta University was held on the 11th March at the Senate House, H. E. Lord Carmichael, the Rector, presiding. Dr. Devaprasad Sarbadhicary, the Vice-Chancellor, began his Convocation Address with a reference to the unique ceremonial of the laying of the foundation-stone of the Hindu University by H. E. the Viceroy, and characterised it as a matter of high significance. He said it was his privilege to press the student housing question on the attention of the Government, who had been good enough to adopt a scheme of separate central infirmary, apart from the ordinary sick-rooms provided in hostels. Continuing, he said that they had 761 recognised schools and 51 affiliated colleges as against 50 schools and 13 colleges in 1857.

Referring to the recent Presidency College incident, he appealed to the students to co-operate together to help in the cause of order, good government and seemliness. He sought their co-operation, because stern public opinion amongst the students themselves would be far more effective than any repressive measures the authorities could devise.

In conclusion, he paid a high tribute to the wonderful service of the Bengal young men, many of them graduates of the Calcutta University, who were serving in Mesopotamia for the name of their King and country.

H. E. the rector wound up the proceedings with a speech mainly relating to the Presidency College affairs. He held up the ancient Hindu ideal of Guru and Sishya for the adoption of the modern student.

LONGEVITY: HINDUS AND MOHAMEDANS.

We learn from a Moslem contemporary that in Bengal, the Hindu males have a longer life than the Mussulman male, the difference however is slight. On the other hand, the Mussulman males in Behar have a longer span of life than their co-religionists in Bengal, or the Hindus of either province. In Behar and Orissa, as a whole, the Mussulmans have greater vitality or greater ability to withstand disease than the Hindus, but the reverse is the case in Bengal, where the Mussulmans have decidedly a higher average death-rate than the Hindus. It is probably not generally known that both in Bengal and Behar the proportion of females among the Mussulmans is higher than among the Hindus.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY ACTIVITIES.

Dr. Devaprasad Sarbadhicary, in the course of his Convocation Address to the Calcutta University, gave the following summary of the University activities since the days of Lord Minto. It is a fair record of progress of which the University has reason to be proud. Dr. Sarbadhicary said:—

During Lord Minto's Chancellorship Rs. 10,35,048 were paid by the Government of India to the University on account of capital and recurring expenditure. During Lord Curzon's regime no grants had been made. During Lord Hardinge's Chancellorship however the recurring expenditure alone amounted to Rs. 13,02,283, and the capital grants for University purposes amounted to Rs. 32,35,000, including grant for hostels, for private colleges in the Mofussil and at Calcutta. This made a record total, in five years, of Rs. 45,37,283.

The grant to private colleges during the period rose from Rs. 80,000 in 1910-11 to Rs. 1,23,000 in 1914-15. Unfortunately owing to the War the expected grant of Rs. 1,29,000 towards the same purpose this year has been unavoidably withheld. We have every hope that as soon as there is a favourable opportunity, this year's omission will be rectified.

Last year the number affected by our work was phenomenal and unprecedented. We had 12,617 candidates for the Matriculation Examination as against the modest 244 with which we began in 1857. The number of candidates for the Intermediate Examination rose from 163 in 1861 to 6,905 in 1915. Our would-be Bachelors were 13 in 1858, and 3,499 last year; and against the single aspirant for Mastership of Arts in 1861, the number of candidates for Masterships in 1915 stood at 718. Candidates for the newly instituted Licentiateship in Teaching rose from 12 in 1909 to 40 in 1915, and those for the degree of Bachelor of Teaching rose from 16 in 1909 to 60 last year. The number of candidates for Bachelor in Law in 1858 was 19, and the number in 1915 was 590—by no means the largest on our records; for we had 993 candidates in 1911, 704 candidates in 1902, 705 in 1912. The number of candidates for Bachelor of Medicine was 2 in 1867, and 137 in 1915. The number of candidates for Bachelor of Engineering was 1 in 1866, and was 26 in 1915. The number of candidates for Master in Law in 1908 was 4, in 1913 was 14, and in 1915, 11.

We have 761 recognised schools and 51 affiliated colleges as against 50 schools and 13 colleges in 1857.

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THE INDIAN REVIEW
A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.
EDITED BY G. A. NATESAN.

Vol. XVIII. APRIL, 1917. No. 4.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

A Plea for a Declaration of Policy.

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

The Memorandum of the Nineteen Non-official Elected Members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council justly states that India "has a right to expect that the want of confidence on the part of Government, to which she not unnaturally ascribes her present state, should now be a thing of the past and that she should no longer occupy a position of subordination but one of comradeship." It therefore rightly points out that the time has come when an assurance should be given to the people of India "that England is ready and willing to help them to attain Self-Government under the ægis of the British Crown and thus discharge the noble mission which she has undertaken and to which she has so often given voluntary expression through her rulers and statesmen." The terms of the resolution passed on this important question, at the 32nd session of the Indian National Congress, held at Lucknow, in December 1916, and adopted at the Moslem League held about the same time and in the same city, are as follows :—

(*a*) That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilisations and have shown great capacity for government and administration, and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British Rule, and further having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to the existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should issue a Proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of the British policy to confer Self-Government on India at an early date.

(*b*) That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards Self-Government by granting the reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League.

(*c*) That, in the construction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions.

That Self-Government is to be India's ideal and the goal which Indians should aspire to has been affirmed over and over again and quite voluntarily by various Royal Proclamations, the utterances of British statesmen and famous Anglo-Indian administrators. A century ago, the Marquis of Hastings wrote in his *Private Journal* (May, 17th, 1818):—

> A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactors that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest. (P. 361-362, Panini Office Edition). *Quoted in "Towards Home Rule."*

Then again as pointed out by the venerable Indian publicist, Dadabhai Naoroji :

> At a time when the Indians were in their educational and political infancy, when they did not and could not understand what their political condition then was or was to be in the future, when they had not uttered any complaints, nor demanded any rights or any definite policy towards themselves, the British nation, of their own accord and pleasure, merely from their own sense of their duty towards the millions of India and to the world, deliberately declared before the world what their policy should be towards the people of India. Nor did the British people do this in any ignorance or want of forethought or without the consideration of all possible consequences of their action. Never was there a debate in both Houses of Parliament more complete and clear, more exhaustive, more deliberately looked at from all points of view, and more calculated for the development

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of statesmanlike policy and practical good sense. The most crucial point of view—that of political danger or of even the possible loss of India to Britain—was faced with true English manliness; and the British nation, through their Parliament, then settled, adopted, and proclaimed to the world what their policy was to be—viz., the policy of justice and of the advancement of humanity.

The historic debate referred to is that which took place in the House of Commons and in the Lords in discussing the Charter Act of 1833. Sir Robert Peel said :—

Sure I am at least that we must approach the consideration of it with a deep feeling, with a strong sense of the responsibility we shall incur, with a strong sense of the moral obligation which imposes it upon us as a duty to promote the improvement of the country and the welfare and well-being of its inhabitants, so far as we can consistently with the safety and security of our dominion and the obligations by which we may be bound. . . . . .

He declared further that it was England's duty

to endeavour while we still keep them under British rule, to atone to them for the sufferings they endured, and the wrongs to which they were exposed in being reduced to that rule, and to afford them such advantages and confer on them such benefits as may, in some degree, console them for the loss of their independence. These, sir, are considerations which, whatever may be the anxiety to extend British conquest, and to maintain the rights of British subjects, must indisputably be entertained in a British Parliament.

Mr. Wynn thus stated his conviction :—

He had been convinced, ever since he was first connected with the affairs of India, that the only principle on which that Empire could justly or wisely or advantageously be administered was that of admitting the Natives to a participation in the government, and allowing them to hold every office the duties of which they were competent to discharge.

Mr. Charles Grant rejoiced over the main principle of the Bill and observed :—

If one circumstance more than another could give him satisfaction it was that the main principle of this Bill had received the approbation of the House, and that the House was now legislating for India and the people of India on the great and just principle that in doing so the interests of the people of India should be principally consulted, and that all other interests of wealth, of commerce, and of revenue, should be as nothing compared with the paramount obligation imposed upon the legislature of promoting the welfare and prosperity of that great Empire which Providence had placed in our hands.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, speaking on the same subject in the House of Lords, said :

He was sure that their Lordships would feel, as he indeed felt, that their only justification before God and Providence for the great and unprecedented dominion which they exercised in India was in the happiness which they communicated to the subjects under their rule, and in proving to the world at large, and to the inhabitants of Hindustan, that the inheritance of Akbar (the wisest and most beneficent of Mahomedan princes) had not fallen into unworthy or degenerate hands. . . .

His Lordship, after announcing the policy intended to be adopted, concluded : He was confident that the strength of the Government would be increased by the happiness of the people over whom it presided, and by the attachment of those nations to it.

No educated Indian can ever forget the famous pronouncement made by Lord Macaulay in the House of Commons on this occasion and his magnificent peroration containing his great prophecy about the future of India :

Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative, by every person who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the natives from high office. I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us: and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour.

The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a State which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws.

This eloquent plea of Macaulay was in favour of "that wise, that benevolent, and that noble clause" 87, of the Charter Act of 1833, which declared "that *no native of the said territories nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company.*"

The Court of Directors in forwarding the Act of 1833, to the East India Company, accompanied

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the same with a remarkable despatch in which they observed regarding clause 87 :

It is provided that no person by reason of his birth, creed, or colour, shall be disqualified from holding any office in our service. . . . . .

It is fitting that this important enactment should be understood in order that its full spirit and intention may be transfused through our whole system of administration.

But the meaning of the enactment we take to be that there shall be no governing caste in British India ; that whatever other tests of qualification may be adopted, distinctions of race or religion shall not be of the number. That no subject of the King, whether of Indian or British or mixed descent, shall be excluded either from the posts usually conferred on our uncovenated servants in India, or from the covenanted service itself, provided he be otherwise eligible consistently with the rules and agreeably to the conditions observed and exacted in the one case and in the other.

It will thus be seen that the question of India's future was discussed thoroughly in all its bearings, "political, imperial, and social" and clause 87 enacted by the British Parliament—a clause "worthy of the righteousness, justice, and noble instincts of the British people in the true British spirit." When in 1853, once again, the revision of the Company's Charter came up in the Commons in discussing its provisions, many members bewailed that the important provision of the Act of 1833 had not been given effect to. The opportunity, therefore, was fully availed of to "emphatically insist" that the British people and the British Parliament should be no party to the "unfaithfulness" of reducing a Parliamentary enactment to remain a "dead letter," a "sham and delusion."

Listen to the outburst of Mr. John Bright. Speaking on June 3rd, 1853, he said :—

Another subject requiring close attention on the part of Parliament was the employment of the Natives of India in the service of the Government. The right hon. member of Edinburgh (Mr. Macaulay), in proposing the India Bill of 1833 had dwelt on one of its clauses, which provided that neither colour nor caste nor religion nor place of birth should be a bar to the employment of persons by the Government; whereas, as a matter of fact, from that time to this no person in India had been so employed who might not have been equally employed before that clause was enacted ; and from the statement of the right hon. gentleman the President of the Board of Control, that it was proposed to keep up the Covenanted Service system, it was clear that this most objectionable and most offensive state of things was to continue. Mr. Cameron, a gentleman thoroughly versed in the subject, as fourth Member of Council in India, President of the Indian Law Commission, and of the Council of Education for Bengal—what did he say on this point ? He said : 'The statute of 1833 made the Natives of India eligible to all offices under the Company. But during the twenty years that have since elapsed not one of the Natives has been appointed to any offices except such as they were eligible to before the statute.'

Macaulay, emphatically stated :—

In my opinion we shall not secure or prolong our dominion in India by attempting to exclude the Natives of that country from a share in its Government. (*Contemporary Review*, June, 1883, p. 803.)

Mr. J. G. Phillimore sounded a note of warning which is worth recalling :—

He also feared that the Bill would prove delusive, and that although it professed to do justice to the Natives the "spirit of monopoly would still blight the hopes and break the spirits of the Indian people. While such a state of things continued, India would be attached to this country by no bond of affection," but would be retained by the power of the Army and the terror of the sword. He implored of the Committee "not to allow such an Empire to be governed in the miserable spirit of monopoly and exclusion."

Five years later, in moving for leave to bring in the (first) Bill for the better Government of India, Viscount Palmerston asked the House to remember:

It is indeed remarkable that those regions, in which science and art may be said to have first dawned upon mankind, should now be subject to the rule of a people inhabiting islands which at a time, when these eastern regions enjoyed as high a civilization and as great prosperity as that age could offer, were in a state of utter barbarism

and he wound up his great speech with the following significant warning :

I trust that Parliament will feel that great power is not given to nations without corresponding duties to be performed. We have, by an almost miraculous train of events, been entrusted with the care of the destinies of 150 or 160 millions of men—with the government, directly or indirectly, of a vast empire larger in extent than the whole face of Europe, putting the Russian empire out of the question. That is a task which involves great responsibility. Do not imagine that it is the intention of Providence that England should possess that vast empire, and that we should have in our hand the destinies of that vast multitude of men, simply that we may send out to India the sons of gentlemen or of the middling classes to make a decent fortune to live on. That power has been entrusted to us for other and better purposes; and, without pointing to anything particular, I think it is the duty of this nation to use it in such a manner as to promote, as far as they can, the instruction, the enlightenment, and the civilization of those great populations which are now subject to our rule.

Such is the brief history of the noble efforts made in the British Parliament from time to time to ensure that under the administration of the East India Company, the interests of the people were properly safeguarded and nothing done to check the growth of their legitimate ambition and their future political advancement. When at the end of the great Mutiny

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the rule (many call it the misrule) of the Company was put an end to, and the Government of India transferred directly to the Crown, and the Proclamation of 1858 issued to the Princes and Peoples of India, the joy of the people knew no bounds for the event marked the turning point in the history of British rule in India and the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria gave further solemnity to the sacred character of the promise contained in the Charter Act of 1833. "*We hold ourselves*," proclaimed the noble Queen, "*bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and these obligations by the blessing of Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil*;" and it is interesting at this distance of time to recall to our memory how the good Queen directed her Minister to issue the great Proclamation, bearing in mind "that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of her eastern people on assuming the direct government over them and, after a bloody war *giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem.*" And in explaining the principles of her Government Her Majesty was justly anxious that the document should, besides "breathing a feeling of generosity, benevolence and religious toleration," must also "point out *the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown.*"

On the 1st of January 1877, at the great Delhi Assemblage held to proclaim the assumption of the title of Empress of India, by Queen Victoria, Lord Lytton, the then Viceroy, said :—

> But you, the natives of India, whatever your race and whatever your creed, have a recognised claim to share largely with your English-fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task, in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded on the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the Government of India as binding on its honour and consistent with all the aims of its policy.

Three months later the same Viceroy, in his rôle as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, observed that "the Proclamation of the Queen contained solemn pledges spontaneously given, and founded upon the highest justice."

In 1887, in reply to an address of congratulation voted by the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay on the occasion of the Jubilee, the Queen Empress said: "It has always been and will be continued to be my earnest desire that the principles of that Proclamation should be unswervingly maintained."

Attention may also be usefully drawn to two other notable royal pronouncements. On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown, King Edward VII in his Proclamation to the Princes and Peoples of India, which was read by H. E. the Viceroy (the late Earl Minto) in Durbar, at Jodhpur, on the 2nd November, 1908, said :—

> Steps are being continuously taken towards obliterating distinctions of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power. In this path I confidently expect and intend the progress henceforward to be steadfast and sure, as education spreads, experience ripens and the lessons of responsibility are well learned by the keen intelligence and apt capabilities of India.
>
> From the first, the principle of representative institutions began to be gradually introduced, and the time has come when, in the judgment of my Viceroy and Governor-General and others of my counsellors, that principle may be prudently extended. Important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality af citizenship, and a greater share in legislation and government. The politic satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power.

Almost the first act of H. M. King George V., on ascending the Throne, was to send the following message to His Indian subjects :—

> Queen Victoria, of revered memory, addressed her Indian subjects and the heads of Feudatory States when she assumed the direct government in 1858, and her august son, my father, of honoured and beloved name, commemorated the same most notable event in his Address to you some fifty years later. These are the Charters of the noble and benignant spirit of Imperial rule, and by that spirit in all my time to come I will faithfully abide.

To use His Majesty's own words, it was his wish not only "to strengthen the old ties but to create new ones, and so, please God, secure a better understanding and a closer union between the Mother-country and her Indian Empire, to break down prejudice, to dispel misapprehension, and to foster sympathy and brotherhood." His Imperial Majesty's visit to India and the solemn ceremony of His Coronation, at Delhi, were, to use the words of the official historian, "really an emphatic announcement, *an announcement that India is an equal and integral part of the British Empire.*"

> The event was one of tremendous importance in the history of the Empire. Political aspirations were lifted to a higher plane, patriotism was broadened and intensified, a new pride arose in the heritage of the Empire, and with it a stronger feeling of mutual respect and better social relationship between the natives of India and the natives of England, to all of whom the King was common, irrespective of religion, race or colour.
>
> India is now assured, without a shadow of doubt, of its part in the great Imperial Commonwealth and of the

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inherent sympathy and high intentions of the rule which Their Majesties personify. It knows without doubt that it is no longer a mere subordinate and conquered land, but that it is bound by ties of the closest affection and heartfelt allegiance to a monarch who, amid all the multifarious interests and absorbing activities of his great position, has ever watched its welfare with the deepest interest and sought to give it an equal place in the dominions of the Empire; a Sovereign, too, who lives for unity, in the certain knowledge that the brotherhood of his world-wide dominion can only be for the benefit of its members and for the blessing and advantage of untold millions of the human race.—(*The Historical Record of the Imperial Visit to India*, p. 17, 19-20.)

It will thus be seen that while Queen Victoria was justly anxious that the Proclamation issued in her own name to the Princes and Peoples of India should "point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown," her successors, her son and her grandson solemnly confirmed the ideal set by her to the people of India. The noble policy laid down by the British Parliament and sanctified by the Proclamation of Queen Victoria, pledged to be followed by her successors, has been from time to time affirmed by a succession of great British statesmen and Anglo-Indian administrators who have left behind them an imperishable name.

Sir Thomas Munro whose name is still a household word all over India and whose passionate love for its people is still being commemorated in some parts of the Madras Presidency in songs and ballads, was one of the earliest to give definite expression to the measures which England should promote for the welfare of the people of India.

In a minute, dated December 31, 1824, he wrote :—

It is not enough that we confer on the natives the benefits of just laws and of moderate taxation, unless we endeavour to raise their character ; but under a foreign Government there are so many causes which tend to depress it, that it is not easy to prevent it from sinking. It is an old observation that he who loses his liberty loses half his virtue. This is true of nations as well as of individuals. To have no property scarcely degrades more in one case than in the other to have property at the disposal of a foreign Government in which we have no share. The enslaved nation loses the privileges of a nation, as the slave does those of a free man ; it loses the privilege of taxing itself, of making its own laws, of having any share in their administration or in the general government of the country. . . . . It is not the arbitrary power of a national sovereign, but subjection to a foreign one, that destroys national character and extinguishes national spirit. When a people cease to have a national character to maintain, they lose the mainspring of whatever is laudable both in public and in private life, and the private sinks with the public character.—(*Indian Spectator*, February 19th, 1899).

But the noble Englishman was so keen about the great future for the Indian people that he insisted that everything should be done to promote their welfare even if it were to result in the loss of England's control over India. In a solemn strain which anticipated the famous pronouncement of Macaulay, Sir Thomas Munro declared :—

It would be more desirable that we should be expelled from the country altogether than that the result of our system of government should be such an abasement of a whole people.

Who does not remember the pronouncement of that great and noble Englishman, the Rt. Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, who toiled for the people of India for thirty long years in various capacities ? In his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1833 he urged among other things that the first object of the rulers must be "to raise the natives by education and public trust to a level with their present rulers." Seventeen years later he wrote :—

I conceive that the administration of all the departments of a great country by a small number of foreign visitors, in a state of isolation produced by a difference in religion, ideas, and manners, which cuts them off from all intimate communion with the people, can never be contemplated as a permanent state of things. I conceive also that the progress of education among the natives renders such a scheme impracticable, even if it were otherwise free from objection. It might, perhaps, have once been possible to have retained the natives in a subordinate condition (at the expense of national justice and honour) by studiously repressing their spirit and discouraging their progress in knowledge; but we are now doing our best to raise them in all mental qualities to a level with ourselves, and to instil into them the liberal opinions in government and policy which have long prevailed in this country, and it is vain to endeavour to rule them on principles only suited to a slavish and ignorant population.

Sir Stafford Northcote (Lord Iddesleigh) speaking in the House of Commons in 1867 as Secretary of State for India, said :

The English Government must necessarily labour under great disadvantages, *and we should endeavour as far as possible to develop the system of Native Government to bring out Native talent and statesmanship, and to enlist in the cause of Government all that was great and good in them.* Nothing could be more wonderful than our Empire in India ; but we ought to consider on what conditions we hold it and how our predecessors held it. The greatness of the Mogul Empire depended on the liberal policy that was pursued by men like the great Emperor Akbar and his successors availing themselves of Hindu talent and assistance, and identifying themselves as far as possible with the people of the country. They ought to take a lesson from such circumstances. *If they were to do their duty towards India they could only discharge that duty by obtaining assistance and counsel of all who are great and*

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good in that country. It would be absurd in them to say that there was not a large fund of statesmanship and ability in the Indian character. They really must not be too proud. They were always ready to speak of the English Government as so infinitely superior to anything in the way of Indian Government. But if the Natives of India were disposed to be equally critical, it would be possible for them to find out weak places in the harness of the English administration.

Sir John Malcolm, another famous Anglo-Indian, respected and revered like Mount Stuart Elphinstone, sounded the note of warning when he said :

We are not warranted by the History of India, nor indeed by that of any other nation in the world, in reckoning upon the possibility of preserving an Empire of such a magnitude by a system which excludes, as ours does, the natives from every station of high rank and honourable ambition. . . . If we do not use the knowledge which we impart, it will be employed against us. . . . If these plans are not associated with the creation of duties that will employ the minds which we enlighten, we shall only prepare elements that will hasten the destruction of our Empire. The moral evil to us does not thus stand alone. It carries with it its Nemesis, the seeds of the destruction of the Empire itself.

Sir John Lawrence, as long ago as 1864, said :

The people of India are quite capable of administering their own affairs, and the municipal feeling is deeply rooted in them. The village communities, each of which is a little republic, are the most abiding of Indian institutions. Holding the position we do in India, every view of duty and policy should induce us to leave as much as possible of the business of the country to be done by the people.

And Mr. Gladstone, "who loved Liberty in his old age even more fully than he loved her in his youth," declared :

I hold that the capital agent in determining finally the question whether our power in India is or is not to continue, will be the will of the two hundred and forty millions of people who inhabit India. The question who shall have Supreme Rule in India is, by the laws of right, an Indian question ; and those laws of right are from day to day growing into laws of fact. Our title to be there depends on a first condition, that our being there is profitable to the Indian nations ; and on a second condition, that we can make them see and understand it to be profitable.

Sir William Wilson Hunter pointed out :

I do not believe that a people numbering one-sixth of the whole inhabitants of the globe, and whose aspirations have been nourished from their earliest youth on the strong food of English liberty, can be permanently denied a voice in the government of the country.

Lord Salisbury has said :

But it would be a great evil if the result of our dominion was that the Natives of India who were capable of government should be absolutely and hopelessly excluded from such a career.

Witness the pronouncement of Lord Hartington made in 1883 :

It is not wise to educate the people of India, to introduce among them your civilisation and your progress and your literature, and at the same time to tell them that they shall never have any chance of taking any part or share in the administration of the affairs of their country, except by getting rid, in the first instance, of their European rulers. Surely it would not be wise to tell a patriotic native of India of that.

Sir Richard Temple, an Anglo-Indian never regarded as a friend of India, expressed his opinion :—

For all that it must be remembered that the elective principle is essential to that political training which every stable government (like that of the British in India) must desire to see possessed by its subjects. . . . Public spirit cannot be created without entrusting the people with a part of their own public business, a part limited at first, but increasing as their fitness shall grow. Even if political risks should accrue, they must be borne in performing the duty which the British Government owes to the people of India. In that country, a trustful policy will be found a wise one, and that which is sound morally will prove to be the safest politically.

The only true and noble position which Great Britain ought to adopt towards India was clearly perceived and frankly acknowledged by one of the greatest of Indian Viceroys—Lord Ripon—who, in addressing the University of Bombay, in 1894, expressed himself as follows :—

I am very strongly impressed with the conviction that the spread of education, and especially of Western culture, carried on as it is under the auspices of this and the other Indian universities, imposes new and special difficulties upon the Government of this country. It seems to me, I must confess, that it is little short of folly that we should throw open to increasing numbers the rich stores of Western learning; that we should inspire them with European ideas, and bring them into the closest contact with English thought; and then that we should, as it were, pay no heed to the growth of those aspirations which we have ourselves called forth. To my mind one of the most important, if it be also one of the most difficult, prob'ems of the Indian Government in these days is, how to afford such satisfaction to those aspirations and to those ambitions as may render the men who are animated by them the hearty advocates and the loyal supporters of the British Government.

A few years later, Lord Cromer, who was Lord Ripon's Finance Minister and one of the most successful of Britain's Pro-Consuls, placed on record the following opinion :—

It is only what ought to be expected by every thoughtful man, that, after fifty years of free press and thirty years of expanding education, with European ideas flowing into the country on every side, and old indigenous customs, habits, and prejudices breaking down, changes should be taking place in the thoughts, the desires, and the aims of the, intelligent and educated men of the country, which no wise and cautious Government can afford to disregard, and to which they must

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gradually adapt their system of administration if they do not wish to see it shattered by forces which they have themselves called into being, but which they have failed to guide and control.

More notable still was the pronouncement made to the Elphinstonians of Bombay by Sir William Lee Warner :—

It is no narrow principle of a paternal Government or a rule for the benefit of the ruler which sent forth the Roman with this poet's sailing orders.

'*Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento*,' or which fostered differences as aiding the central authority, *Divide et impera*. Its aim is less to govern than to call forth the progressive capacity and to teach self-government. It desires to lift up the lower ranks of society and the subject to the pedestal of the ruler. 'Humanity,' and 'Heaven's light our guide,' are its watch words, and they are embodied in your *Magna Charta*, the Queen's Proclamation, issued by the ruler whose authority had just been defied and restored by the sword . . . . . There are three supreme ideas of mankind, the family, the nation and humanity. The Hindu and the Greek ruler thought of the first, the Roman Empire of the second ; but the British nation accepts the last and highest as its ruling idea. . . . . I venture to point out to you that from God's nature the British nation has learnt the grand idea of humanity, and that the legislation and administration of India under the Queen bears testimony to Her Majesty's desire to recognize a progressive future as before all those committed to her care. The protection of the weak, equality in the eye of the law, justice, and a common participation in the benefits and when the time comes, in the task of good government are at least the aims which the British Government sets before it.

And if further evidence were needed to show how truly noble was the ideal of the older generation of Anglo-Indian administrators, we have only to recall to our memory the famous letter addressed to the late Mr. Gokhale, in 1905, by Mr. Hodgson Pratt :—

"Fifty years ago," writes Mr. Pratt, who in those days was a member of the Bengal Civil Service, "while India was still under the Government of the East India Company, it was considered both just and wise to introduce measures for national education on a liberal scale, with adequate provision of schools, colleges, and universities. This event was hailed with lively satisfaction by the native population as heralding a new era of social progress, and as satisfying the active intelligence of the Hindus. Now it must be observed that the character of the teaching thus inaugurated by Englishmen would necessarily reflect the ideals which have for centuries prevailed among them. In other words, Indian youths would be brought up to admire our doctrines of political liberty, popular rights, and national independence ; nor could it ever have been supposed that these lessons would fall upon deaf ears and cold hearts. On the contrary, the inevitable result of such teaching was clearly perceived by the Government of those days, and was regarded in a generous spirit. In support of this assertion I may mention that at the time of the inauguration of these measures I accompanied the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir Frederick Halliday) on one of his winter tours through the province. Naturally, he called the attention of those who attended the public meetings held by him to the new education policy, and he always took occasion to declare that the schools would promote one of the leading purposes of British rule, *which was to prepare the people for self-government*. It certainly was not supposed that at any subsequent time a policy would be adopted, which would disappoint the legitimate hopes thus created."

With such a lofty ideal of the political destiny of India placed before them, fed up on the writings of Milton and Burke and Mill, with their minds fully stored with the great history of the struggles for constitutional freedom and liberty in England and other Western countries, and above all ever inspired by the higher ideals of English life and character, is it a matter for wonder, or in any way unnatural, that India has been steadily gazing at the goal of Self-Government? The leaven had begun to work; the national consciousness of the people began first to manifest itself when systematic attempts were made to defeat, to nullify, to render into a farce and a sham Clause 87 of the Charter Act of 1833. Requests and remonstrances for the fulfilment of the pledge contained therein proved in vain and a regular howl was raised not only in Bengal but throughout the country when a deliberate attempt was made to frame a law that candidates for the Indian Civil Service should not be more than 19 to 21 years of age at the time of examination, a period specially chosen to make it impossible for young Indians to go over to England and successfully compete there. Referring to the still unfulfilled and unredeemed Clause 87 of the Charter Act of 1833, Lord Lytton had observed in a confidential minute :—

No sooner was the Act passed than the Government began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it. . . . . We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course.

He added :—

Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and of India appear to me up to the present moment unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear.

Speaking on the same subject in the House of Lords on March 11, 1869, the Duke of Argyle avowed frankly :—

With regard, however, to the employment of natives in the government of their country, in the Covenanted Service, formerly of the Company and now of the Crown, I must say that we have not fulfilled our duty, or the promises and engagements which we have made.

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The first effective obstruction to enable Indians to be placed "on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown," as promised by Queen Victoria was thus made. The Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton and the remission of the Indian cotton duties to propitiate the greed of Lancashire roused the feelings of the people to a still greater degree. Political agitation, quite on English lines, naturally followed and educated Indians, though few in numbers, began to talk of liberty and Self-Government. And as out of evil cometh good, fortunately for India, it was the beginning of the new national awakening which has been destined to play no mean part in the political development of the country. The great Imperial Durbar held in 1858 to announce that the Queen of England had assumed the title of the Empress of India proclaimed that the status of the Indian subjects of the Queen had been raised to the citizenship of the British Empire and from that time onward every Indian had been rightly dreaming of his rightful place in the Empire. The national feeling that had been roused still further gained in solidarity by the great religio-social movements like the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society, the Ramakrishna Mission and other organisations formed and conducted more or less on similar lines. These led to a revival of the study of the ancient history and scriptures of the land and the mind that roamed over the "golden age of the past," now inspired by the Western spirit, began to contemplate on the glorious vision of the new dawn. While India was thus in a state of fermentation, religious, social and political, fortunately for it, on the heels of the exceedingly unpopular Viceroy Lord Lytton, came in Lord Ripon. That noble Viceroy, whose honoured name will ever be writ large in the pages of Indian history, freed the Vernacular Press from the fetters to which it had been subjected and realising the sacred character of the promises and pledges that had been made to the people of India by Her Majesty and her duly constituted representatives, formulated boldly his policy of Local Self-Government and thereby sought in true English spirit to lay the foundations of representative institutions in India. But he was not content with doing that only. He made also a brave and honourable attempt to amend the criminal law of the country so as to place the European and the Indian on an equal footing in the matter of trials and thus tried to redeem another sacred promise of Her Majesty. Anglo-India, official and non-official, combined together to thwart the Viceroy in his noble efforts and we have it on authority that a very serious attempt was made with the connivance of officials to forcibly deport Lord Ripon out of the country. But though his attempt to make the Ilbert Bill the law of the land failed and a compromise was effected by which the principle of the Bill was abandoned, Lord Ripon's regime gave a new impetus to the political life of the country. The great, the unique, and the unparalleled demonstrations held all over the country to bid him farewell may justly be termed a landmark in Indian history. When Lord Ripon left the shores of India the country was not in its normal mood. The tension between the Indian and European communities caused by the Ilbert Bill agitation was still lingering and when the diplomatic Lord Dufferin assumed the Viceroyalty "the fire was still smouldering." The cry of political liberty and political equality raised during the reactionary regime of Lord Lytton and re-enforced in strength and vigour by the Anglo-Indian opposition to Lord Ripon's benevolent attempts to raise the status and privileges of Indians gained more and more strength in the early years of Lord Dufferin's administration and, we have it on indisputable authority that the discontent that was smouldering was likely to produce danger, "tremendous in the immediate future."

It was just at this juncture that a distinguished Indian Civilian who loved the people of India as well as his sovereign realised that the time was come to gather together the forces that were then in operation and direct it to its proper channel. In the words of Allan Octavian Hume, whose memory will ever be cherished by the grateful millions of this land,

> no choice was left to those who gave the primary impetus to the movement. The ferment, the creation of Western ideas, education, invention and appliances, was at work with a rapidly increasing intensity, and it became of paramount importance to find for its products an overt and constitutional channel for discharge, instead of leaving them to fester as they had already commenced to do, under the surface.

Thus was laid the foundation of the great Indian National Congress. The movement was expressly intended

> to foster a wider altruism and a more genuine public spirit, by concentrating the most strenuous efforts on great national problems, and diminishing the absorption in local or purely selfish interests—to educate all who took part in it, not merely in the arts of public speaking and debate, developing the faculty of thinking out clearly opinions, and expressing them lucidly to others, not merely in habits of accuracy and research, but also in the practice of self-control, moderation and willingness to give and take—to educate them in fact into what has been

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described as a genuine Parliamentary frame of mind—to familiarize the country with the methods and working of representative institutions on a large scale, and thus, as this familiarity grew, to demonstrate to the Government and people of England that India was already ripe for some measure of those institutions to which the entire intelligence of the country so earnestly aspires.

The notification under which in 1885 the first session of the Indian National Congress was called into existence clearly stated that one of the objects of the future assembly was "indirectly *to form the germ of an Indian parliament which, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institution.*"

In the second Congress the question of representative institutions for India was again debated and the Congress recorded its "fixed conviction that the introduction of representative institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people."

Henceforward the question of representative institutions was discussed in some shape or other, at almost every session of the Congress and in the words of one of the great orators of the Congress:

> We unfurl the banner of the Congress, and upon it are written, in characters of glittering gold, which none may efface, the great words of this Resolution: 'Representative Institutions for India.'

When the movement entered the second decade of its life more emphatic expression was given to the hopes and aspirations of the people "*to realise the dream of a united and federated India.*"

After this period the Congress had to enter on a new stage of its activities. Lord Curzon had become Viceroy of India with a flourish of trumpets about his love of India and his sympathy with its aims and aspirations. But the first year of his reign was marked by the reactionary policy of the Calcutta Municipal Act and an uneasy feeling crept into the minds of many people.

But the faith of the Congress was not shaken to any serious extent. It received with great enthusiasm a letter from Mr. W. S. Caine who had laboured not a little for the good of the people of India, in which he said of the Indian people:

> My belief in their future as a great Self-Governing portion of the British Empire, and my conviction of their natural capacity for Self-Government deepens and strengthens every year.

The President of the Congress, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, who had just then retired from the Indian Civil Service after a long and honourable record of useful work and had even then acquired a reputation as a great scholar and historian, appealed to the authorities to remember that India, while loyal to the British rule sought "a large measure of Self-Government" and a "position among the modern nations of the earth."

One more year of the Curzonian regime and we find echoes of the cry:—

> But the times have changed, and the alien Government now ruling over us has entirely different ideas and constitutions. The English Government, though democratic at home, is imperialistic and bureaucratic here.

It is a significant commentary on Lord Curzon's statesmanship that he began his policy of reaction and repression and his many attempts to smother the growing ambitions of the people of India just at a time when a small Asiatic power had inflicted a crushing blow on Russia—the Colossus of Europe. When the news of the fall of Port Arthur was flashed forth, everywhere the feeling was that the world had witnessed the birth of a powerful Asiatic nation in a day. "The child of the world's age had proved to be its most remarkable offspring." Triumphant Japan stood "revealed in the full glare of a new light no longer in leading strings but capable of being, and fully determined to be, a dominant factor in Eastern Asia—a power to be reckoned with in any future political combination affecting the countries which faced the rising sun." The immediate and inevitable effect of the Japanese victory was to rouse the national self-respect of all the Eastern peoples and the strong belief in the capacities of Orientals to successfully imitate and adopt modern political institutions. The great leviathan China, roused to activity by the splendour of her neighbour, began moving with unprecedented rapidity in the direction of a liberal Government. In Persia, the Shah decided on the formation of a National Council to deliberate on all important affairs of State. While an absolute monarch like the Shah was progressing with the spirit of the times, nearer home, on the borders of India, the Amir of Afghanistan called into existence a "consultative assembly" with a view to enable the people to associate themselves with the work of the Government. While the "Unchangeable East" was trying to change itself rapidly, and while in China, in Persia and Afghanistan where English education had made little progress and little or nothing was known of the political teachings of Mill or Burke or Bright three great Oriental potentates had readily given up

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their cherished notions of autocracy and parted with some of their powers and privileges, in India, Lord Curzon sitting safely in the citadel of Bureaucracy began talking derisively of the "microscopic minority" of fifteen million people who could read and write! He tried to arrest the progress of education, "to set back the dial of local self-government," to interpret the Queen's Proclamation in a "pettyfogging spirit" and, in the words of Dr. R. B. Ghose, to sacrifice the interests of the Indian people in order to conciliate English exploiters and administrators and "to humiliate not only His Majesty's Indian subjects but also the great ruling Chiefs." Above all by his attempt to break up the unity and the solidarity of the Bengalee speaking people, he "set Bengal in a blaze."

As the Hon. Mr. Gokhale pointed out:—

> To Lord Curzon India was a country where the Englishman was to monopolize for all time all power and talk all the while of duty. The Indian's only business was to be governed, and it was a sacrilege on his part to have any other aspiration. In his scheme of things there was no room for the educated classes of the country; and having failed to amuse them for any length of time by an empty show of taking them into his confidence, he proceeded in the end to repress them.

He created in the Indian mind a profound feeling of distrust and everything he did was calculated to convince the people more than ever that he was determined to prevent the onward march of the Indian people and keep them away, if not altogether divert them, from the path of Self-Government. Mr. Henry Nevinson, who made a tour in India during the period of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty and who availed himself of every opportunity to study the genesis of the Indian unrest points out in his remarkable book on the "New Spirit in India": "Although no hard-and-fast line can be drawn in history, the arrival of Lord Curzon as Viceroy on December 30, 1898 marks a fully strong and natural division." No doubt between the year of the assumption of the direct Government of India by the Queen and the period commencing with the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, there was a constant attempt on the part of the bureaucracy to go backwards. But there were occasionally noble efforts made to move forwards also. But Lord Curzon it was who "set back the hand of the clock" and adopted a complete reactionary and retrograde policy. The support that he had from the Bureaucracy and the Conservative press at Home "gave a rude shock to the popular mind and the discontent which had long been brewing in the country burst into a flame." And so in 1905 everybody saw clearly "the beginning of the extraordinary ferment in Indian public life which has continued unabated to this day. Every responsible Indian politician warned the authorities of the serious consequences that were resulting from their reckless attitude and of the growing numbers of a class of people "who have lost all confidence in the good faith of Government and have persuaded themselves that England means to treat India as a mere pawn in her military and diplomatic enterprises, a close preserve for the classes and a happy hunting ground for the white adventurer." "In the general wreck of moderation and faith that followed," boycott of everything foreign was preached to the people and Swaraj held up as the goal of Indian aspirations. Quite "a radical and serious change had come over the spirit of the people." It was at this juncture that the Congress met in the sacred city of Benares under the presidency of one of the greatest Indians of modern times, Gopal Krishna Gokhale. In vain in his presidential address did he make an appeal to the authorities to give a right turn to the feeling of the people and make it a source of strength and not of weakness to the Empire:

> What the country needs at this moment above everything else is a Government, national in spirit, even though it may be foreign in personnel—a Government that will enable us to feel that *our* interests are the first consideration with it, and that *our* wishes and opinions are to it a matter of some account.

But Lord Curzon pursued his policy of reaction and repression. The patience of the people was tried sorely.

It looked as if the New Party had completely triumphed. What they were anxious for was repression, persecution and prosecution, all calculated to make the people lose faith in British rule; and Sir Bampfylde Fuller, apt pupil of Lord Curzon, and some of his officers were supplying a perennial source of arguments to the advocates of the doctrine of Swaraj. When the Congress met in Calcutta in 1906 "it was barely saved from a wreck by the reverence-compelling presence of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji."

Dadabhai who throughout his life had been pleading for *British Spirit* and *British Justice* and denouncing everything *un-British* was emphatic in his claim that Indians should be in India what Englishmen were in their country. According to him there was only one remedy for the unrest and the economic evil which was at the root of Indian poverty. "*The whole matter can be comprised in one word, Self-Government, or*

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Swaraj, like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies." As to when a beginning should be made to enable the people to automatically develop full Self-Government, he gave the unhesitating answer: "*Not only has the time fully arrived, but it had arrived long past.*"

Under his presidency the Congress passed the following Resolution:—

That this Congress is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the Self-Governing British Colonies should be extended to India, and that, as steps leading to it, it urges that the following reforms should be immediately carried out:

(*a*) All examinations held in England only should be simultaneously held in India and in England, and that all higher appointments which are made in India should be by competitive examination only.

(*b*) The adequate representation of Indians in the Council of the Secretary of State and the Executive Councils of the Viceroy, and of the Governors of Madras and Bombay.

(*c*) The expansion of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, allowing a larger and truly effective representation of the people and a larger control over the financial and executive administration of the country.

(*d*) The powers of Local and Municipal bodies should be extended and official control over them should not be more than what is exercised by the Local Government Board in England over similar bodies.

Here is the message of India's Grand Old Man:

Self-Government is the only and chief remedy. In Self-Government lie our hope, strength and greatness. . . . I do not know what good fortune may be in store for me during the short period that may be left to me and if I can leave a word of affection and devotion for my country and countrymen I say: Be united, persevere, and achieve Self-Government, so that the millions now perishing by poverty, famine and plague, and the scores of millions that are starving on scanty subsistence may be saved, and India may once more occupy her proud position of yore among the greatest and civilised Nations of the West.

"Self-Government like that of the United Kingdom or that of the Colonies," that is what India should demand and for achieving it, she should strive her best. No obstacle could be considered too great to be overcome, and no sacrifice too dear to be made. The whole country was ringing with that cry and that was the only cry for the time being.

Some prominent members of the new party became everyday more clamorous and tried to form a political programme of their own in some respects inconsistent with the traditional aims and methods of the Congress movement. Nothing short, of the adoption of a universal boycott and of Swaraj or unrestricted Self-Government would satisfy them. And if certain extremists had been driven to the position of proclaiming complete Swaraj, the only excuse they could urge was that they had been forced to do so by the extremely repressive measures adopted by the iron hand of the bureaucracy. Maddened by official persecution in various forms, and distrusting the motives of the many moderate leaders who appealed to the members of the new party not to lose faith in constitutional methods of agitation nor in the higher purposes of British rule as stated by successive sovereigns and their accredited statesmen and administrators, they made a desperate attempt to capture the Congress and adopt resolutions to their entire satisfaction and alter the course of policy the Congress had hitherto adopted. But thoughtful Indian publicists who had for years been working constitutionally towards the objective of Self-Government on Colonial lines rallied their forces and the result was the unfortunate, yet memorable struggle at Surat. The time was come to definitely lay down in writing the objective of the Congress movement and the Convention at Surat which was attended by over 900 delegates definitely accepted it as the fundamental creed of the movement:—

That the attainment by India of Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by the Self-Governing members of the British Empire, and participation by her in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members is the goal of our political aspirations.

The creed of the Congress had once for all been settled and its constitution carefully drawn up but the work of the moderates had by no means been rendered easy and smooth. About this time it was fairly well-known that Lord Minto who found himself in a sea of troubles had, with the sagacity of the statesman, seen the necessity for some immediate changes and reforms in the administration of the State and in no wise undeterred by even the outbursts of anarchical crimes and outrages had strongly pressed on the attention of Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, the need for taking some immediate steps in the direction of associating the people with the government of the country. Of Lord Morley himself great expectations had been raised, and though he had been forced to give his sanction to some repressive laws and unjust deportations yet responsible Indian politicians looked forward to him, "the reverent student of Burke, the disciple of Mill, the friend and biographer of Gladstone," to courageously apply his liberal principles to the administration of India. There were some eminent Indians like Dr. Rash Behari Ghose who rejoiced that Mr. Morley was

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engaged "in digging the grave of the bureaucracy"; indeed "we can almost hear the thud of the spade and the music, yes, the music of the knell." He counselled his countrymen to be of good cheer. "For lo! the winter is almost past, the rain is over and gone, and the flowers begin to appear on the earth." The famous Minto-Morley Reforms were announced. "The clouds which had darkened the political sky" for a long time and which every one had watched "so long with fear and trembling had after all begun to dissolve in rain." Thanks to Lords Morley and Minto, the golden moment had been seized, and a new and a long wished-for policy of conciliation had been adopted. When, therefore, the Congress which in the previous year had broken up at Surat reassembled at Madras, there was a general wave of satisfaction that an important chapter had been opened in the history of the political relations between Great Britain and India. The President of the Congress rejoiced

> that the people of India will now be associated with the Government in the daily and hourly administration of their affairs. A great step forward has thus been taken in the grant of representative government for which the Congress had been crying for years. In a word we shall now have something like a constitutional government in the place of an autocratic and irresponsible administration.

He looked forward also *to a time* "*when an exultant President of the Indian National Congress will be able to announce to a united people, amid universal rejoicing, the extension to India of the Colonial type of Government.*"

But the joy of the people was destined to be short-lived. The task of framing the regulations for giving effect to the reform proposals had been entrusted to the bureaucracy and as if to be revenged on the public which had fought for the reforms, it virtually manacled and wrecked them. The method and manner in which the regulations and rules had been framed and worked which have virtually made the non-official members in the Legislative Councils impotent and driven many of them to despair will be described more fully when dealing with the problem of the reconstitution of the Indian Councils. Lord Minto, the noble Viceroy who did his best for India under the most trying situation was succeeded by Lord Hardinge and the Congress which met at Calcutta in 1911 "met in the full joy of the reunited Bengalees whose long suffering had been crowned with triumph, and who had heard the Partition of Bengal annulled by the King Emperor's own lips in the great Coronation Durbar at Delhi." More important still was the publication of the Despatch and the correspondence that passed between the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the administrative changes announced by H. M. The King Emperor and the recognition of the necessity of complete provincial autonomy.

The memorable passage in the Despatch laid down in clear and emphatic terms the ideal to be followed :—

> It is certain that, in the course of time, the just demands of Indians for a large share in the government of the country will have to be satisfied, and the question will be how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern.

The real significance of this passage was thus commented upon on February 28, 1913, in a remarkable speech delivered at Cambridge by Mr. Montagu, the then Under-Secretary of State for India :—

> Where the difference lies is in this, that we have endeavoured to look ahead, to co-ordinate our changes in Bengal with the general lines of our future policy in India, which is stated now for the first time in the Government of India's Despatch that had been published as a Parliamentary Paper. That statement shows the goal, the aim towards which we propose to work not immediately, not in a hurry, but gradually.
>
> We cannot drift on for ever without stating a policy. A new generation, a new school of thought fostered by our education and new European training has grown up, and it asks, 'What are you going to do with us?' . . We have never answered that, and we have put off answering them for so long. At last, and not too soon, a Viceroy has had the courage to state the trend of British policy in India and the lines on which we propose to advance.

Lord Crewe, pulled behind by the reactionaries Lords Lansdowne and Curzon, no doubt tried to repudiate the hopes raised by the "exuberant language" of the Government of India. But neither his Lordship nor any of his successors could stay the march of India in any manner, and the great ideal of provincial autonomy boldly enunciated in an Official Despatch and firmly planted in the hearts of a people which must inevitably tend to Self-Government for India could not certainly be smothered even by the hand of a Secretary of State for India.

The official recognition of the principle of provincial autonomy was certainly a bright star helping the people to march onwards. But this was not all. There was visible on the politica

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horizon another bright star which promised a great future for the country. For years attempts had been sedulously made by some of the enemies of Indian progress to separate Hindus and Mussalmans and further make the Mussalman community believe that their interests were distinct and separate from those of the Hindus and that it was not to their interest that they should join hands with their Hindu brethren in political agitation. Several leading Mahomedans and some of the truest and the noblest English friends of India like Sir William Wedderburn had been endeavouring for years to make the Mussalmans realise the imperative necessity there was for their working in amity with the Hindus for the common good of the country where they will be brought together in loving and brotherly service for the motherland. Thanks to the good offices of some of the distinguished leaders of both the communities like the late lamented Mr. Gokhale and H. H. The Aga Khan, the efforts to reconcile their differences met with happy response and all India rejoiced when the Moslem League at its session in 1911 also adopted the ideal of Self-Government for India. The Congress of 1913 placed on record its warm appreciation of the adoption by the All-India Moslem League of the ideal of Self-Government for India within the British Empire. It was happier still to express its complete concurrence in the belief the Moslem League had so emphatically declared at its last sessions that the political future of the country depends on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities. Henceforward Hindus and Mahomedans began to concentrate their attention on the one united ideal for them: "the India of the future will be a stronger, nobler, greater, higher, aye, and a brighter India than was realised by Asoka in the plenitude of his power, a better India than was revealed to Akbar in the wildest of his visions."

When the 29th session of the Congress met at Madras it was five months after the present great world war had commenced—a war in which Great Britain had joined and quite justly, to keep her solemn word with Belgium and above all to prevent the ruthless destruction of the rights of smaller nationalities; and the princes and people of India naturally rallied their forces to help the Empire in its great struggle for liberty and the cause of civilization. It was certain the war "will knock off the last weights of mediæval domination of one man over many, of one race over another" and no man can "bar the imponderable influences of an expanding world."

The alacrity with which India had proferred help by sending her troops to the battlefield in Flanders and the magnificent help rendered in various shapes to the Empire at a period of great crisis had touched the hearts of the English people and even politicians who had invariably in the past shown their stony hearts to the people of India acknowledged in exuberant language India's timely services, avowed that the old angle of vision had changed and Great Britain should no longer think of India as a Dependency but as a joint and equal partner in the great heritage of the British Empire. The Hon. Babu Bhupendranath Basu, whose duty it was to voice the aspirations of his countrymen, declared that what India wanted was neither subordination nor separation but "a joint partnership on equal terms."

The resolution on the subject, passed at the Congress, ran as follows:—

That in view of the profound and avowed loyalty that the people of India have manifested in the present crisis, this Congress appeals to the Government to deepen and perpetuate it, and make it an enduring and valuable asset of the Empire, by removing all invidious distinctions here, and abroad, between His Majesty's Indian, and other subjects, by redeeming the pledges of Provincial autonomy contained in the Despatch of the 25th August 1911, and by taking such measures as may be necessary for the recognition of India as a component part of a federated Empire, in the full and the free enjoyment of the rights belonging to that status.

The great war had afforded India an opportunity to demonstrate "the courage, bravery and tenacity of her troops even when pitted against the best organised armies of the world and also the capacity of her sons of all clans and nationalities to rise as one people under the stimulus of over-powering emotion." In the words of Mr. Austin Chamberlain, "the people of India, sepoys and Maharajas, villagers and highly educated public men, have given their support because they are deeply convinced that in this war the British Empire is fighting in a just and righteous cause. The Indian people have a high sense of right and wrong. They saw that in this war the Allies were in the right, and they regarded the cause of the Allies as the cause of India."

But "the real innerness of the striking manifestation of loyalty was," as correctly described by Mr. Charles Roberts, M. P., the Under Secretary of State for India, "to be found in the desire of the Indian peoples that Indian soldiers should take part in the war side by side with their British comrades."

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The most striking and historic event of the war, an event calculated to produce consequences of a far-reaching character was, therefore, the participation of India in the world war of the Empire. In announcing the news of the despatch of the Indian troops to France, H. E. Lord Hardinge observed :—

> There is nothing like comradeship in arms and joint participation in the dangers and hardships of war to level distinctions, inspire mutual respect, and foster friendship. I cannot help feeling that as a consequence better relations will be promoted amongst the component parts of the British Empire. Many misunderstandings will be removed and outstanding grievances will be settled in an amicable and generous manner. In this sense, out of evil good may come to India, and this is the desire of us all.

Lord Hardinge's expectation was not in vain. The Indian troops which fought side by side with the troops from Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa distinguished themselves by their gallant behaviour and splendid heroism and some of her distinguished sons were recommended for the coveted distinction of the Victoria Cross. In the words of Mr. Asquith "the battlefields of France and Flanders bore undying tribute to their bravery and devotion." Mr. Asquith proudly stated "he did not think that in all the moving exhibitions of national and Imperial patriotism which the war had evoked there was any which had more touched and rightly touched, the feelings of this House and the country than the message sent by the Viceroy of India announcing the magnificent response which the Princes and people of that country have made to our need." Mr. Bonar Law was more enthusiastic still and he made a very striking observation : "This assistance from India also was coming, not from force but from good-will, and he believed that it was coming because, on the whole, every one who left this country to take part in the Government of India, from the Viceroy to the humblest official, was inspired by the tradition that it was his duty, not to exploit India for the benefit of this country, but to rule it for the good of the people of India."

Among the numerous touching and grateful appreciations of British statesmen nothing had stirred the hearts and raised the hopes of the Indian people more than the notable statement of Mr. Bonar Law (at a great meeting at Guildhall, held on May 18, 1915, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor.) "The Dominions of the British Empire had not been created by the war, but the conditions had been changed by the war, and it was his hope, and if it was taken up in earnest while the metal was still glowing red hot from the furnace of war, he believed it could be done, that as a result of it we might see a Parliament of the British Empire, in which every part of that Empire, in proportion to its resources and its numbers, would share in the duty and the honour of ruling the British Empire."

Lord Crewe who spoke in the same meeting, in endorsing Mr. Bonar Law's sentiments regarding the hopes of the future, uttered the remarkable words:—"I would like also to think that the association of India and of the Colonies at such a gathering as this is a significant sign of the essential comprehension which, as the years roll on, would, as I firmly believe, sweep away all those obstacles of distance, of creed, or of race which seem to interfere with the complete union of the different members of the great Imperial Confederation—a union which would hinge upon the free activities of each, and which would be firmly based upon a common belief in the progress of the whole." At the same meeting Mr. Asquith referred publicly, in speaking of the services of India, to the greatness of the "Empire which knows no distinction of race or class where all alike are subjects of the King Emperor and are joint and equal custodians of common interest and fortunes." Lord Haldane made pointed mention of the fact that India had freely given her lives and treasure in humanity's great cause and "hence things cannot be left as they are." The mighty struggle had made every one "realise our oneness, so producing relations between India and England which did not exist before. Our victory would be a victory to the Empire as a whole and could not fail to raise it (India) to a higher level."

More hopeful still was the message which Mr. William Archer gave to the British democracy regarding its obligations to India. "It now rests with us to help her forward, honestly, diligently, and with deliberate, intelligent purpose, on the path which shall lead her out of tutelage, and up to the eminent place in which her innate capacities entitle her to the economy of the Empire and of the world."

All India was proud to learn that Great Britain had been impressed profoundly by "the spectacle of a whole nation from prince to peasant, rallying to her side and placing their resources and services unreservedly at her disposal. In the exuberance of her gratitude India was assured of her title to self-rule being recognised and to her being lifted from a position of dependency to that of partnership in the Imperial scheme." Sometime elapsed and there was a feeling

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that British enthusiasim would appear to have cooled down. Mr. Asquith had spoken of "the refashioning of the fabric of the Empire" and all over England the proposal that the ministers of the Dominions should be admitted into the Councils of the Empire had been received with great approval. The Prime Ministers of Canada and Australia had even been invited to attend the meetings of the Cabinet. The responsible minister who in answer to a question in the House of Commons had denied representation to India to the Economic Conference held at Paris, promptly sent Mr. Hughes of Australia to attend its sittings with Lord Crewe and Mr. Bonar Law: "In all the discussions very little reference to India was found, and what there was of it was not altogether hope-inspiring. The Secretary of State for India had hardly had a cheering or comforting word to utter during the whole of the sixteen months he had occupied the position of what Sir William Wedderburn once described as the seat of the Grand Mughal at Westminster. He had found time to put through Parliament two such uncalled for and retrograde measures as the Indian Civil Service Act and the Government of India Act, and the Prime Minister had spared Parliamentary time for their passage through both Houses in all their stages; but the annual debate on Indian affairs had been suspended and there had been no comprehensive, authoritative statement on the policy of His Majesty's Government in relation to India."

It would be idle to conceal the fact that an uneasy feeling began to creep into the minds of the people and responsible politicians felt that when the Colonies were trying to get a proper place for themselves in refashioning the fabric of the Empire, India's claims for equality of status and her right to share the privileges of the Empire were likely to be neglected. There was also a fear and a well-grounded one, that the Colonies also would obtain a voice in the administration of India and the idea of more masters for India was positively revolting to its sense of self-respect, and especially at a time when it was justly and anxiously looking forward to her proper place in the Empire. These circumstances gave a fresh impetus to India's demand for Self-Government and an insistent demand for a declaration of the policy of the State in regard to her political future. About the same period Mrs. Besant began to urge on the country the supreme need of following the advice of Mr. Bonar Law to strike the iron while it was hot and press the claims of India for autonomy with boldness, persistence and increasing vigour. By her forceful contributions to the Press, her touching eloquence and by her *brochures* and pamphlets she made the country from one end to the other ring with the cry of Home Rule. The attitude adopted by some of the Provincial Governments towards her, served but to give fresh stimulus to the cause she was advocating. A profound sense of the great danger to the Empire caused by the sudden outburst of the war had softened the rigour of the extremist school of thought and its adherents anxious to render every assistance they could to the cause of the Allies threw in their lot once more with the Indian National Congress and its avowed aims. When, therefore, the 30th session of the Indian National Congress commenced its memorable session in Bombay, under the presidency of Sir S. P. Sinha who had been in the inner Councils of the Government for some time he but gave expression to the prevailing feeling not only of the delegates assembled there but of the country as well when he proclaimed once again that the only satisfactory form of Self-Government, to which India aspires, cannot be anything short of what President Lincoln so pithily described as "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." In his presidential address he made an earnest appeal to the British nation to show its approval "of the goal to which we aspire." The Congress took a further step forward when it passed the following resolution:—

That this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived to introduce further and substantial measures of reform towards the attainment of Self-Government as defined in Article I of its Constitution, namely, reforming and liberalising the system of Government in this country so as to secure to the people an effective control over it.

But more noteworthy still was the direction given to the All-India Congress Committee

to confer with the Committee that may be appointed by the All-India Moslem League for the same purpose and to take such further measures as may be necessary; the said Committee to submit its report on or before the 1st of September 1916 to the General Secretaries, who shall circulate it to the different Provincial Congress Committees as early as possible.

Accordingly the All-India Congress Committee invited proposals from the various provincial Congress Committees, considered all the suggestions and prepared a scheme at its meeting held at Allahabad on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th April 1916. In November a joint Conference of the All-India Congress Committee and of the Moslem League deliberated over the scheme for over two full days, discussed

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it again at Lucknow on the 25th, 26th and 27th December. The scheme was once again considered in the Subjects Committee of the Lucknow Congress and finally adopted unanimously amidst great rejoicings by the sessions of the Congress and of the Moslem League held about the same time in the historic city of Lucknow. While the Congress and the Moslem League Committees were preparing their scheme of reforms it was authoritatively known that the Government of India was at about the same time contemplating a Despatch to the Secretary of State on the question of the reforms and changes to be made in the constitution of the Government of India. It was then that the Nineteen Non-Official Elected Members of the Viceroy's Council felt it their duty to lose no more time in giving a reasoned statement of India's views and aspirations in a document to be presented in their name. This is the genesis of the Reforms adumbrated in the Memorandum of the Nineteen and in the scheme adopted unanimously by the Congress and the Moslem League and those that suggest that novel and revolutionary proposals have been sprung up on the authorities by the Indian people at a time when the Empire is in the throes of a tremendous struggle are consciously or unconsciously misrepresenting the motives and actions of the Indian leaders. Many of the reforms advocated are as old as the Congress itself and self-government has been the objective from the beginning. "Generations of British statesman have repeatedly laid down that policy, solemn declarations of successive Sovereigns have graciously endorsed it, and Acts of Parliament have given it legislative sanction."

To use the words of Sir S. P. Sinha : "Autonomy within the Empire has been the accepted political faith of the Congress."

> I appeal to the British nation to declare their ungrudging approval of the goal to which we aspire, to declare their inflexible resolution to equip India for her journey to that goal and to furnish her escort on the long and weary road. Such a declaration will be the most distinguished way of marking their appreciation of India's services and sacrifices—her loyalty and her devotion to the Empire. Such a declaration will touch the heart and appeal to the imagination of the people far more than any mere specific political reforms.

The country is therefore fully justified in demanding a declaration of the policy of the Government in this respect. Of the immense political and moral value such a course would carry with it, very little need be said. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Whitehead, the Lord Bishop of Madras, who has known service in different parts of India and who has had abundant opportunities to study at first hand the conditions of India and the aspirations of its leaders, has suggested the very same course in a recent contribution to the *Nineteenth Century and After*:

> I cannot help thinking that in the same way the British Government would enormously strengthen its position in India if it were to make the self-government of India as an integral part of the British Empire its avowed object and ideal, encouraging educated Indians definitely to look forward to this ideal and shaping its own policy consistently with a view to this one great end. The Government would then practically adopt the platform of the Nationalist Party. There would be no differences between them as to the end at which they are aiming, and though there would naturally be much difference of opinion, not only between Englishmen and Indians, but also between Indians and Indians and Englishmen and Englishmen with regard to the particular steps that might wisely be taken at any particular time, still both alike would be working for a common ideal. The difference that this would make in the relations between the Government and the educated Indians as a body, as represented by the National Congress, would be immense. It would alter the whole of the political situation and would do more than anything else to allay the unrest which has been such a disquieting feature of Indian politics during the last fifty years, and it would give a consistency to our work and policy which at the present moment they do not possess.

His Lordship has rightly pointed out with considerable insight:

> The danger of the present situation consists largely in the fact that, with notable exceptions, Englishmen in India are not only opposed to the feelings and sentiments of educated Indians, but also to the inevitable tendency of their work and policy. We need to realise that we cannot now base the Government of India upon any other foundation than that of the will of the Indian peoples, that we are here as servants of the Indian people and not as their masters, that a foreign bureaucracy can only be regarded as a temporary form of Government, and that our ultimate aim and object must be to enable India to become a Self-Governing part of the British Empire, and to develop her own civilization upon her own lines.

But the Congress will not be content with a mere declaration of the policy of the Government in regard to Self-Government. It must, as a first step in that direction, take early measures for the introduction of such changes and reforms as are directly calculated to achieve the high purpose in view. The first great step necessary is the reconstitution of the Indian Councils, the Legislative and Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of the Provincial Governments. And only if this is done "hope may come where despair holds sway, and faith where doubt spreads its darkening shadow."

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POST-WAR REFORMS : A SYMPOSIUM.

BY

THE RAJA VASUDEVA RAJA OF KOLLENGODE, C.I.E.

MY thoughts on the subject naturally arise mainly from the standpoint of the class to which I belong. I believe that no body of citizens is more vitally concerned in the scheme of political reforms than the large and ancient class of land-owning aristocracy which has been the backbone of the country. Any scheme that ignores or minimises this important class is sure to be disastrous to the country. In view of the esteem in which our Government have hitherto held the landholders, and in view also of the political position of the corresponding class in Great Britain, I feel assured that the interests and legitimate aspirations of the landholders will be duly considered in any scheme of Indian Reforms that may finally be sanctioned.

It is idle to deny that the people who ordinarily claim to represent Indian public opinion are not always friendly to the interests of the large owners of landed property. A certain class of politicians has almost adopted as its creed that members of the aristocracy are not much fit to hold offices or to represent general public interests. It is, therefore, not reasonable to expect that the aristocracy could feel safe in any scheme which will be dominated by this class of politicians. Unless, therefore, special arrangements are made for securing adequate rights and privileges to the landholders, they will, I am afraid, find themselves practically unrepresented, and exposed to serious risks in the name of representative Government.

While I agree to a substantial enlargement of the Legislative Councils, as suggested in the Memorandum submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy by the nineteen elected members of the Imperial Council, I am by no means convinced that a mere enlargement, however safeguarded, will assure adequate protection to all the varied interests of the country. If the Legislative Councils are to be invested with such vast powers as to give them practically complete control over the internal administration, the question has necessarily to be considered whether a single chamber system of legislature will be safe. I am speaking solely in the interests of the large landed classes. There are, no doubt, other important interests that would need protection. Democracies all the world over have shown a special tendency to tax property out of existence. It is always easy to propose and carry out measures of public utility if only the required money would come out of other peoples' pockets. In the present backward condition of industries and commerce in this country, the tendency to finance popular projects and industrial experiments by adding to the burden of taxation on land is all the greater. Under these circumstances, the desirability of constituting a second chamber of legislature consisting of representatives of the landholders and similar proprietory classes cannot be too strongly emphasised. The double chamber system prevails not only in England, but in all British Colonies and all countries which have adopted the British model. It is, perhaps, significant that while Indian politicians have persistently demanded self-government on colonial lines, they have not cared to urge the claims of the proprietory classes to have an upper chamber of Senate like those existing in the Colonies. Is it imagined that India alone can work representative institutions without the safeguard provided by a second chamber ? It seems to me that the power of veto vested in the Governor or Governor-General, or in the last resort, in the Crown, will be inadequate. For, in regard to contentious questions which arouse acrimonious discussion, the Governor or Governor-General may be seldom disposed to exercise the right to veto, for fear of being identified with the minority concerned. I would, therefore, urge my brother landholders to press at this early stage the demand for a second chamber of legislature in which they must have a preponderating voice, but which may also be thrown open to other large interests in the country. The details can be worked out if the principle for which I contend is accepted.

With regard to the suggestion that the legislature should have complete control over internal administration including finance, I fear there will be difficulties in practice. It is conceded that the Government of India should be independent of local control in respect of naval and military affairs, foreign relations, war, peace and treaties. Presumably in respect of these things, the Government of India would act according to the mandate of His Majesty's Government in England.

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I am afraid this division of responsibilities into internal and external is not so easy as it seems. For instance, should the Government of India, after a review of external affairs, decide largely to increase the army in India and also to provide a navy for India, how are they to carry out their object? They could not have the requisite funds except under a vote of the legislature in India. To give power to the Government to provide for the external defence of India, and to leave it to the legislature to grant or deny money for the purpose, is the surest way of bringing about a breakdown of the whole system. The crux of all administration is finance; the distinction between external and internal affairs is unreal, and any scheme based on such a distinction is like building a house on quicksand. By all means, let us ask for a very much larger share in the management of our affairs than we now have, but it would be foolish to ask for a great deal more than is at all practicable, or to put forward proposals which could be easily demolished.

Proposals have been made, as regards the Council of the Secretary of State, either to mend it or to end it. Should the Council be re-modelled, I would ask that a moiety of it shall be composed of Indians, and in view of the large interests of landholders, I would also ask that a clear third of the Indian Members shall be from our class. It is not clear what exactly we stand to gain by securing "men who have made their mark in British public life" in the India Council, or in our Executive Councils. Considering the way in which the party system of Government works in England, the chances are that men will be put in, not so much for their personal merits as for party services. The kind of men contemplated are probably those who, in the House of Commons and elsewhere, strive to serve Indian interests. But such men generally may not care to get into these Councils nor are they likely to be appointed. The whole thing will gradually degenerate into a matter of patronage and prove a fruitful source of complaint against the fitness of the persons selected. The idea underlying the proposal seems to be, that the English public men in the Council will make common cause with the Indian Members as against the Anglo-Indian officials. May not the end be achieved in a more direct manner by increasing the Indian element?

There is much to be said in favour of the proposal that half the number of members of the Executive Council should be Indians, and I trust that the authorities will be convinced of the justice and propriety of this idea. I would add that at least one of the Indian members should always be a representative of the landholders. I cannot, however, accept the suggestion to remove the statutory obligation that a certain proportion of the Executive Councils shall be selected from the public services in India. The effect of this will be that non-official Europeans, such as merchants and bankers, will be eligible for appointment to the Councils. Are not the non-official Europeans in some respects even more uncompromising opponents of Indian aspirations, as popularly understood, than officials? For instance, on the question of our economic advancement, do we not find English merchants and bankers so wedded to the existing system of exporting raw products and importing manufactured articles that it is difficult to convince them of the need for change? Can we reasonably expect them to support a policy of creating and enlarging local industries, such as would reduce the volume of our present export trade and also reduce our need of imported articles? As I have already said, it is very doubtful if we would secure the services of the right sort of men from British public life. If one-half of the members of the Executive Councils are Indians, that should be sufficient for the present.

I have also serious doubts as to the wisdom of the suggestion that all members of an Executive Council should go out when the Viceroy or Governor lays down his office. If the entire personnel of a Government suddenly changes, it will be difficult to maintain the equilibrium of the administration and a continuity of policy. Whatever may be the merits of such a system elsewhere, it does not appear suitable to the present or proposed constitution of India. The experiment was some time ago tried in one of the important States of Southern India, when the Dewan and his Councillors retired simultaneously, and the experiment has not been repeated.

I cordially support the other proposals, namely, the admission of our people into the Naval and Military services, allowing us to enlist as volunteers and to carry arms on the same condition as Europeans, and abolishing all racial or class restrictions on recruitment to the public services. It is also quite reasonable that, in any scheme of Imperial Federation, India should be given a place similar to that of the Colonies. I see no reason why the other partners of the great British Empire should not welcome our company in their deliberations affecting the common interests of the Empire, in which our stake is no less than theirs.

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THE MAXIMS OF TIRUVALLUVAR

BY

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE T. V. SESHAGIRI AIYAR.

AS a student in the college classes, I read portions of the Kural and of the Kambaramayanam, prescribed by the University. I loved them both. I have since been trying to acquaint myself with the glories of the Sanskrit literature. This desire has so possessed me that I could find no place in my heart for Tamil. Quite recently, I heard discourses on Valmiki. The Baghavathar is as great a student of Kamban as of the Sanskrit poet. The comparison and contrast which he brought out between the versions of the two great poets left in me a desire to go back to the love of my younger days, and I have since been having a peep into Kamban whenever I could find time.

Fate seems to have ordained that Kambaramayanam's twin sister, the Kural, should not be neglected. The Editor of the *Indian Review* has placed that temptation in my way. I have read the English rendering of the Kural by V. V. S. Aiyar * and feel that I have too long stayed away from the pleasures which I once keenly enjoyed.

The Kural marks the high water tide of the Tamilian culture and civilisation. It is not an adaptation from any known Sanskrit treatise. It is a deliniation of character in all its aspects which the ancient civilisation regarded as the ideal. If the first century of the Christian Era (which apparently gave birth to the poet) could have influenced ideals and thoughts in the way they are depicted in the Kural, the Tamils can justly boast that they had reached a standard of life and of polity when the world, as we know it now, was in its infancy, which have not been very materially added to since. The Christian missionaries, who translated portions of the Kural, have claimed for its teachings the influence of the first apostles of Christ. I consider this a great tribute to the universality of the lessons inculcated in the book.

The greatest merit of the book is its simplicity and directness. One feels as if he were sitting under the feet of a world-teacher in reading the verses through. There is absolutely no sectarianism in them. Another striking feature is the instilling of wisdom not by declaiming against the futility of the pleasures of life, but by and through them. A cheery and optimistic view of life is the predominent note. The author is at his best when he speaks of domestic life. A love of the things of the world—wife, children and wealth—is not regarded by Tiruvalluvar as so many hindrances in the path of salvation, but as easy gradient steps which when trodden on with purity and foresight would each bring the gate of Heaven nearer to the aspirer. In this, the poet excels even Lord Buddha. The blessings of a married life are the theme of many a beautiful verse ; "Those alone can praise the sweet sounds of the guitar and of the fiddle who have not had the good fortune to hear the prattle of their children." Nothing but human experience and an instinct which is the outcome of the liveliest home recollections could have given utterence to such a sentiment. As a tribute to the terseness of its sayings and the profoundity of its wisdom, it has been said of the Kural, that it is like a mustard seed into which had been extracted the essence of all that is best in the seven oceans. This is not altogether a hyperbole. Those that have the will and the knowledge to understand the Kural cannot fail to appreciate the truth of the saying.

The scheme of the book is in harmony with its teachings. The introductory portion begins with the praise of God and ends with the glorification of righteousness. Part I is divided into two sections. In the first section, the virtues of the householder are extolled. The second section deals with the life of an ascetic. It is clear that this second phase of life is not to be adopted by one who wants to fly away from the world ; but as a denouncement to be sought after after having lived the life of a virtuous house-holder. As Lord Sri Krishna has said before, Tiruvalluvar preached that the highest form of renunciation is not that in which helpful action is avoided, but is one in which ill-conceived desires are killed.

The second part is concerned with statescraft. It is much on the lines of the Panchatantara, the Arthasastra of Koutilya, and the writings of Machiavelli. There is more robust common sense in these verses than one can find elsewhere. Thiruvalluvar considered eloquence as a necessary adjunct for a councillor of the State. At the same time, he said "verily they have a passion for

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much speaking who know not to say their mind in a few well-chosen words." Many a platform orator might well follow this caution.

The third part depicts the course of true love. All writers of the old school have in this respect chosen for their theme a period of separation between the lovers. The strength of affection, according to them, is best tested when lovers meet again after a time of enforced absence. Kalidasa's "Megasandesa" is conceived in that spirit. So also the exile of Sita in Lanka. Similarly Thiruvalluvar makes the hero depart to a battle field after a brief spell of married life. The longings of the husband and of the wife and their subsequent reunion are told exquisitely.

I must say a word about the English rendering. It seems to me that Mr. Aiyar has rendered Thiruvalluvar in better English than Dr. Pope. The reason is not because Mr. Aiyar knows English better, but because he has understood the author more thoroughly. The translation brings out the meaning perfectly and deserves very high commendation.

I must not omit to say a word upon the well-written preface. It is a clear synopsis of the subject matter and explains satisfactorily the reasons which have led to the undertaking.

Lastly about the author. Unfortunately we have no authoritative records of his birth and antecedents. He is said to have been born of pariah parents. If that is so, the hold he has acquired upon the people of southern India testifies to the fact that high merit wherever found has been venerated in Madras. Nandanar, Nammalwar, Thiruvalluvar are names to conjure with. They are worshipped and venerated as saints. I do not wish to indulge in politics, but I would exhort my Brahmin brethren to continue to cherish for true merit and greatness, the same regard which their forefathers showed to the saints I have mentioned. If that is done, there must come love and co-operation. If the rallying point of all the sons of India be the exaltation of merit wherever it may be found, strife and lickerings must end and a common bond of brotherhood must prevail.

SUNDERING SEAS.

BY

D. G. D.

The day was loud with wind, and wild with rain,
"I know," he said, "she will not come again,
Alas! and I—I cannot go to her.
I have no blame to deal, she cannot stir
To wakefulness the old love that is dead,
The old dead love, ah me!" Above his head
The wind sobbed in the swaying ivy tree,
And, looking on the hills, he could not see
The grey rain reeling there, only he saw
A dark face, beautiful, rise up and draw
Near unto him from out the autumn day,
Gaze a brief instant there, and die away.
"Ah, thou art beautiful!" I heard him say
"My God how beautiful! Goodbye, goodbye."
The poor lips faltered as they spake the word,
The sad voice broke, sank as a sound unheard
Mingling with wind and rain; and then he tried
To call her name, but the word stumbling died
On twisted lips, and ere he turned to go
Seaward with his unfathomable woe
The tears (he had so long forbade to rise)
Came brimming through the brave reluctant eyes.
I saw his shoulders shaking in the rain,
And the writhing lips that fought to speak, in
[vain.

INVALIDID HOME TO INDIA.

BY

THEO. W. LA TOUCHE.

Lo! like a mother with her anxious arms
Outspread; with smiling eyes and radiant brow;
Her bosom pregnant with unutterable love,
Dear India greets our eyes, with dearer charms
Than when we left her shores; her peaceful
[palms
Waving gay welcomes to her sons, who now,
Sore bruised but cheerful homeward plough
The seas, from 'midst the battles deathful storms—
And now she clasps us fondly to her breast,
Exulting that her sons right nobly fought
And ranked amongst the bravest of the West!
While we, our deepest wounds at once forgot,
Rejoice with her, and wildly long again
To rush where glory shines—alas in vain!

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Company *Vs* State Management of Indian Railways

BY

PROF. PANCHANANDAS MUKHERJI, M.A., F.R.E.S.

ENQUIRIES have recently been started by the Government of India regarding the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the two existing methods now in force of administering State-owned railway lines. These enquiries were suggested by the fact that they will have to give notice before the 31st of December 1917, if they desire to terminate the contract with the East Indian Railway Company, which holds the contract up to the 31st of December 1919.

The complexity of the question will be evident from the fact that three such expert bodies like the Chambers of Commerce in Bengal, the United Provinces, and the Punjab should hold quite distinct and opposed opinions on it. The Bengal Chamber is an uncompromising advocate of company management: it approvingly quotes the words used by Lord Dalhousie in his famous Railway Minute of April 20, 1853, namely, that—

> The conduct of an enterprise which is undertaken mainly for commercial purposes, and which private parties are willing to engage for, does not fall within the province of any Government: least of all, should it be taken as any part of the Government of India. One of the greatest drawbacks to the advance of this country in material prosperity has been the total dependence upon the Government in which the community has placed itself, and its apparent utter helplessness to do anything for itself. . . . The enlistment of private enterprise for the formation of these works, directly, but not vexatiously, controlled by the Government of the country, acting for the best interests of the public, was a principle for which I contended several years ago when closely connected with that branch of public works.

The Bengal Chamber also agrees with the more or less similar view taken by another authority, the late Earl of Cromer, when serving as Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council:—

> It is true, he said, that a railway is generally a practical monopoly. The State should, therefore, exercise so much supervision over its working as will prevent the monopoly from being exercised in a manner detrimental to the public interests. Thus the State should possess a right of inspection in order that the line may be certified by competent authority to be safe for the transport of goods and passengers. It should regulate the maximum tariff, and fix the gauge on which the line is to be constructed. It is specially necessary that a conditional right of purchase, after the lapse of a certain period, should be reserved. But when provision has been made for these, and some other points which I will not now enumerate, the necessity for State interference ceases.

The Committee of the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce are, on the other hand, of opinion that the Government should have the direction and working of all State-owned railways in their own hands in preference to entrusting them to private companies. They urge that almost all the principal railways in India belong to the State and that it is of greater advantage to the country that they should be worked directly by the State than that the management should be handed over to the companies.

The Committee of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce adopt a view which is a compromise between the two opposing views. They are of opinion that the well-balanced arrangement that at present exists of Company and State management under the control of the Railway Board should not be disturbed.

When there is such pronounced diversity of opinions on this question, it would seem to be presumptuous on my part to enter into a discussion. But I believe that a useful purpose would be served if the arguments pro and con could be dispassionately examined and criticised with a view to arriving at some sort of a workable policy. But before doing so, it would be useful to know the true position of existing railways in India, in order to understand the precise nature of the alternatives we are discussing.

As is well-known, the railways first constructed in India were built between 1850 and 1869 by companies under contracts with Government, which guaranteed to them a fixed interest on their capital; and they were also given their land free of charge. Under all these contracts the State reserved the power to purchase the lines at the end of 25 or 50 years—this power of the State to purchase railways on certain conditions and at stated periods has all along remained the bedrock policy of the British Indian Government, which has frequently exercised this power.

It was Lord Lawrence who, in 1869, wrote a very able minute on the question of Company management *vs.* State management, strongly advocating the entire reversal of the Guarantee policy and replacing it by a system of State construction and direct State management. His policy was accepted by the Duke of Argyle, the

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then Secretary of State for India, and remained in force for ten years. Meanwhile famine, war and currency difficulties conspired to make the Government give up the newly adopted system. So, in 1879, companies were again allowed to enter the field, and from that year till now the construction of railways has been carried on, partly by the State, and partly by companies with capital raised partly by Government and partly through the agency of companies. A great majority of the lines taken over by the State were leased to the then existing companies, and have continued to be worked by them; but three important lines, the North-Western, the Oudh and Rohilkhand, and the Eastern Bengal, are worked directly by State administration. The only lines of any magnitude, which are not owned by Government, are the Southern Punjab and the Bengal and North-Western, but of these and also of the branch line companies, Government holds the right of purchase at certain dates.

The actual position, then, is that Government either owns, or can be the owner of, all the important railways in British India, and that of those which it does own, it works three itself, representing a total mileage of 7,000 miles and has leased the remainder to companies representing a total mileage of about 19,000 miles. But its responsibility does not end here. Under its contracts with the Companies, the State undertakes to supply the companies with capital. The raising of capital by the companies themselves is also provided for, but the amount so furnished represents relatively a small proportion of the whole. The contracts also give the State power to require companies to carry out alterations or improvements in the line or in the working, such as may be thought necessary for the safety of the public or for the effectual working of the line, and the rates and fares charged are subject to maxima and minima fixed by Government. The relationship between the State and the Companies is, in fact, not unlike that of a partnership in which the State, having in the past provided the bulk of the capital, and still providing the bulk of what is now needed for the extension of the business, is the senior, and the several companies, the junior, partners. This is, of course, a very different position from that which usually obtains in a country like the United States, where railway management is left entirely to private enterprise.

In the very beginnings of railway development in India, in the year 1853, Lord Dalhousie recorded in his Minute this governing principle of the maintenance of control in the hands of the State; to this policy, whatever other fluctuations of railway policy there may have been in the past sixty-three years, the Government of India have steadily adhered.

> I heartily trust, he wrote, that the East India Company and the Government of India may hold by the principle on which they have acted in the present case. I trust they will ever avoid the error of viewing railways merely as private undertakings and will regard them as national works over which the Government may justly exercise, and is called upon to exercise, a stringent and salutary control. This control should not be an arbitrary right of interference, but a regulated authority defined and declared by law, which is not to be needlessly or vexatiously exercised, but which, in my judgment, is necessary at once for the interests of the State and for the protection of the public.

The fact that this principle has been steadily maintained means that any discussion of what is loosely termed nationalisation of railways starts from very different data in India than in most other countries, where railways are managed by private enterpise. For the greater part of our railways are, in one sense of the word, nationalised already in that they belong to the State. Those which are worked by the companies are subjected to a far greater measure of control than is usually associated with working by private enterprise. What I mean to discuss in this paper is not *nationalisation*, as it is usually understood, but the important problem of whether, as opportunity offers, the sphere of Company working, or the sphere of working by the State, should be extended.

Ideas of State socialism have a very strong hold on the minds of the majority of Indian publicists, who advocate the Belgian and Prussian system of entire State construction, State management and State development of railways in India. In the sessions of 1914 and 1915, resolutions were moved in the Indian Legislative Council advocating the State management of Indian Railways on the following, among other, grounds:—

1. The saving to the State of the shares of profits now paid to the Managing Companies and the consequent relief to the Indian taxpayers.

2. The development of trade and commerce on national lines instead of the present artificial diversion by means of block rates.

3. The promotion of inter-provincial trade.

4. The growth and development of interests, specially in the interests of this country.

5. The centralization of control in a single State Department located in India and amenable to Indian public opinion, instead of in Boards of Directors in London.

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6. The possibility of improving the conditions of third-class passengers and of facilitating easy movement of labour from province to province.

7. The provision of employment of larger numbers of Indians.

8. The removal of any future possibility of strikes among railway employees.

Without going into a discussion of the validity or sufficiency of these arguments for supporting the State management of railways in India, I desire to point out my doubts and difficulties about some of them. The present cry for direct State construction and management of railways in India would seem to imply a policy which would leave the promotion and development of all future railway enterprises in India to Government and Government alone. But would it be possible for the State, unaided by private effort, to afford railway facilities throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent? There are specially times of stress and difficulty when the State would find it almost impossible to divert its funds to railway construction. Moreover, feeder railways, which are an urgent necessity in most parts of the country, can develop rapidly and on sound lines with the aid of private companies.

In these days of decentralization and devolution, it is not prudent to centralize such a big administrative department: in a vast continent like India, the whole administration of railways in one hand will not be easily manageable. The Government of India is already overburdened with diverse economic activities which are left in private hands in other countries. To saddle them again with another such heavy charge would be an undue and needless change of policy.

I cannot understand why it is supposed that State management of railway would put an end to all possibility of strikes among the railway employees. The following extract from Pratt's "State Railways" (p. 37) will show that strikes are as likely to take place under State management as under Company management:—

> The danger which may arise from the fact of a large body of workers in a country or a colony being in the direct employment of the State was well illustrated by the strike of engine-drivers and firemen in Melbourne in 1903 . . . . . The engine-drivers and firemens' society gave 15 hours' notice to the Premier that unless he withdrew his own notice, all the men would leave work.

Happily in this case the public took the side of the Government and the strike collapsed. If the strike happened under company management, the State, as an impartial authority, could intervene and bring about an amicable settlement. If it took place under State management—there would be no appealing authority and either party must have to submit. Indeed, it has always seemed to me that the reason which was adduced by J. S. Mill to support a second legislative chamber equally supports the policy of the State's holding aloof from the direct management of railways and acting the part of a second chamber in railway administration. One of the chief arguments brought forward in favour of the State management of railways is, that the profits which now go to the pockets of the Company will fill the coffers of the State. I venture to think, however, that if the various (very reasonable) demands that are made on railway companies (*e.g.*, the improvement of the conditions of travel of third class passengers, the encouragement of indigenous industries, etc.,) were to be satisfied by the State when it took over the management of the railways, the railways, instead of showing a margin of profits, may prove to be a burden on the taxpayer, specially when it is borne in mind that the cost of State-management is greater than that of Company management.

The doubts and difficulties expressed above make me hesitate to support a policy of entire State management of railways. At the same time I do not think that the present system is faultless. Some defects of the present system are very glaring and need prompt remedy. Great harm is done to agriculture and industry by the system of block rates followed by almost all railway companies in India, except the East Indian Railway Company—the system through which one railway company is enabled to charge a specially high rate, generally the full maximum rate authorised by Government, for short distances over its own railways in order to prevent goods getting on to another line.

Complaints are not uncommonly heard—specially in the course of the evidence before the Indian Industrial Commission—about difficulties being experienced by new industries in the matter of railway facilities for the transport of raw materials and of finished products. Indeed, there is a close connection between the manipulation of railway rates and the industrial development of the country. Small concessions such as those made to the Tata Iron and Steel Works mean a great deal to new industries. It is gratifying to note in this connection that the East Indian Railway Company has taken the lead in making concessions to industries: it is to be hoped that its example will be followed by all the other railway companies. This will remove a grievance and help to develop Indian industries and manufactures.

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I think it has been rightly urged (*a*) that extra profits in excess of the maximum 8 per cent. dividend earned by non-Indian private companies should be employed in further development of railways; (*b*) that the capital of railway promoting companies should be as largely indigenous as possible; and (*b*) that the higher railway appointments should gradually be thrown open to educated Indians.

To remove these defects and to effect these improvements, I do not think it is necessary for the State to take over the management of *all* the railways now managed by companies. On the other hand, the present system, under which Company-managed and State-managed railways *co-exist* and work under common regulations, should be continued. The chief reason for the co-existence of the two systems of railway working is thus admirably set forth by Thornton* :—

> The strongest, if not the only really valid, argument of general application in favour of non-purchase, and of leaving the companies in possession of their railways as long as they may be willing to retain them. Government proprietorship being meanwhile restricted to the lines which *Government itself has constructed, is the healthy emulation which might be expected to arise between State agency and Companies' agency when operating in close juxtaposition and almost within sight and hearing of each other.* Both agencies would then be, as it were, constantly on trial: both agencies would be ever aiming at an ever-rising standard of combined economy and efficiency, would show themselves studious to avoid waste, eager to adopt improvements, solicitous to attract customers by continual offers of additional accommodation; would, in short, present a spectacle of commercial competition conducive to the general good.

The State should, however, stipulate in future contracts with Companies to exercise more strict control over them, so that improvements necessitated by changed circumstances and altered public opinion may be carried out within the period of the contract. I think it can very well be stipulated in the new contracts, that resolutions on the railway administration of any line passed by the Indian Legislative Council, and approved by the Government of India, shall be binding on the companies. This would, I think, obviate many of the present disadvantages of company management and would also keep open the door of future reform on approved popular lines. Finally, it is very necessary that there should be greater publicity in the matter of railway administration in India—specially as regards the methods and principles of fixing rates and fares within the fixed minima and maxima.

* Indian Public Works, p. 70.

Why India Should Help the War Loan

BY M. DE. P. WEBB, C.I.E.

THE Indian War Loan has at length come to pass, and India can now stand proudly shoulder to shoulder with the other great Divisions of the Empire in the all important work of hurling back the forces of Evil by which we all are now attacked.

Many reasons have been given why the people of India should subscribe to the utmost of their ability towards the Indian War Loan just opened by Government. But there two which seem to me to stand out above all others; and they are these:—Firstly, *Self-preservation is the first law of nature.* India is being wantonly attacked by a treacherous inhuman foe both by land and by sea—by sea *via* the vast oceans away to the south, and by land *via* Persia, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Therefore, India *must* defend herself, or run the risk of being ravaged, pillaged, and destroyed. To defend India means a great Navy and a powerful Army, both of which cost money.

The second reason is that India is herself a great and powerful country with a history as glorious as that of most other great countries, and with a civilisation, a gentleness, and a philosophy that place her in the front rank of civilised nations. India well understands and thoroughly appreciates the obligation that rests upon every civilised human being to protect the weak, fulfil the promised word, and maintain name and honour untarnished. And so, when India sees the peace of the world and the very foundations of civilisation jeopardised by the covetous brutality of a military oligarchy in Central Europe—when India sees, innocent little countries like Belgium, Poland, Serbia and Montenegro "trampled into a bloody mire" by hordes of German savages in their insane efforts to overthrow France, Russia and Great Britain, then India claims in view of her traditions, her wealth and her power—nay, India *demands* that she shall be allowed to take her full and proper part in hurling back the enemies of civilisation and in restoring peace and order to an outraged world.

These are, to me, the two chief reasons why India which has already helped magnificently with men and materials, must now help with all her might and to the very utmost of her resources with her great monetary forces.

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MR. V. P. MADHAVA RAO, C.I.E.

BY MR. CHIMANLAL MAGANLAL DOCTOR, M.A., LL.B.

Asst. Legal Remembrancer, Baroda.

MR. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., is one of the most prominent of Indian Administrators at the present day. He has had the unique distinction of having held the high office of Prime Minister in three of the most enlightened Native States, *viz.*, Travancore, Mysore and Baroda.

Mr. Madhava Rao has had the rare advantage of acquiring administrative experience and achieving distinction both under the British Government and the Governments of Native States. For, he entered Mysore service fully over a decade before the Rendition of 1881 and had already risen to a high position in that service when the State passed into the hands of His Highness the late Maharaja Chamarajendra Wodayar. Mr. Madhava Rao's career is particularly interesting as he is essentially a self-made man and has risen to his distinguished position by sheer force of character and by dint of honest substantial work. He proved a success in many departments of public service and showed beyond doubt that an Indian could fill with distinction any post however onerous and responsible the duties attaching to it may be.

Viswanath Patankar Madhava Rao comes of an ancient family of Mahratta Deshastha Brahmins, long settled in Tanjore, who are supposed to have emigrated from the Satara District to South India, in the wake of the Mahratta conquest of Tanjore. Born in 1850, he was educated in the Kumbakonam College under the distinguished educationist, Mr. W. A. Porter, and took the B. A. degree of the Madras University in 1869. Even in his College days, he was thought of highly by his Principal, who was much attached to him and who, struck by his "independence of thought" entertained a "high opinion of his personal character." In 1870 Mr. Madhava Rao entered the Mysore service as a clerk in the office of the Guardian of His Highness, the late Maharaja, and was soon made Head Master of the Royal School, where His Highness the late Maharaja was being educated under the guardianship of Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I., Mysore being at that time under British Administration.

Mr. Madhava Rao was not long in service before he came under the notice of the British officers, who gave him a start in the general administration as Public Prosecutor. Captain T. G. Clarke, who was Commissioner of the Nandidroog Division, predicted for Mr. Madhava Rao even at such an early date, a brilliant future and wrote that :—

> Colonel Malleson under whom he (Mr. Madhava Rao) served, has also spoken of him in flattering terms and in entering the administrative branch of the service, therefore, he starts with a high promise of obtaining distinction in the public service.

Sometime later, Colonel T. Clerk, Commissioner of the Mysore Division, recorded of him, that :— "Mr. Madhava Rao's character was good and his abilities were of the highest order." In the course of a decade, when the administration was handed back to the late Maharaja, Mr. Madhava Rao had worked his way up through the different grades to the position of a Subordinate Judge.

Mr. Madhava Rao had, from the beginning, the rare good fortune of being associated with the ablest and most popular of the Dewans of Mysore, *viz.*, the late Mr. Rangacharlu. In fact, Mr. Rangacharlu had gathered about him a few of the rising and talented young men in the service. Mr. Madhava Rao was the youngest and the most privileged member of the circle, one of the most distinguished of the others being the late Sir Sheshadri Iyer, Mr. Rangacharlu's successor in the Dewanship. In this select circle the various administrative reforms set on foot by Dewan Rangacharlu were freely discussed and given shape to. Mr. Madhava Rao thus came to have intimate acquaintance with the details of administration, even before entering the administrative branches of the service. It is no wonder that, thus equipped, he was able to effect those administrative reforms in Travancore and Mysore as Dewan, which have already earned for him the warm appreciation and regard and gratitude of the people and of the Government.

On the death of Mr. Rangacharlu, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Seshadri Iyer succeeded to the Dewanship of Mysore, and Mr. Madhava Rao exchanged the Judicial for the Revenue Department and was, in a few years, posted as Deputy Commissioner of the Shimoga District. In Shimoga Mr. Madhava Rao proved himself an executive officer of the best type. His accessibility to men of all grades, his readiness to hear and redress grievances, the interest he took in the welfare of the agricultural population and the many works undertaken by him for improving the sanitation of towns and villages in providing drinking water, in opening out roads and in planting avenues and restoring irrigation tanks

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and generally looking after the interests of the people, won for him their love and respect. It was when he was Deputy Commissioner of Shimoga that the first town extension in the State was carried out by him in Sagar and the extension was named after the late Maharaja of Mysore. Sir Oliver St. John, the then British Resident, who happened to be touring through the District, formed a high opinion of him and congratulated the late Maharaja of Mysore in having in his service an officer of Mr. Madhava Rao's stamp. As Deputy Commissioner of Bangalore he devised and successfully carried out the system of granting relief to weavers who were almost the first to suffer when famine appeared. This system was subsequently adopted in Madras and has now become a recognised method of relief.

After being a District Officer for nearly seven years, Mr. Madhava Rao was appointed Inspector General of Police, and he has laid the Indian Community under a heavy obligation to him by having, as the First Indian Inspector General of Police, helped to dispel the then prevailing idea that Indians were unfit to hold independent charge of any office in which power of organization, firmness, initiative and resourcefulness are essential for the efficient discharge of public duties. As Inspector General of Police, he re-organised the force, improved its tone and established the well-known Police School at Bangalore, which has done so much useful work since and has served as a model for similar schools in Madras and Bengal. It was in connection with the Police School that Mr. Madhava Rao solved the problem of giving equality of opportunity to the different classes of the community for gratifying their legitimate ambition to serve in the Government of their country. Knowing that the classes who made good executive officers were rather backward in intellectual capacity, he decided to start a training school for the officers and graduated the test for admission so as to permit of young men of the intellectually backward communities getting an entrance into it equally with the more forward classes. Accordingly if the candidate was a Brahmin he insisted on his having passed the Matriculation examination as the minimum qualification in his case. For non-Brahmin Hindus he fixed the middle school test and for Mahomedans he was satisfied if the candidate could read and write and knew some arithmetic.

Such was the reputation Mr. Madhava Rao had acquired for himself as a capable administrator that when Mysore was threatened with plague, the Resident, Sir Donald Robertson, at once recommended him as the only officer who could be entrusted with the delicate and responsible duties connected with plague administration. Her Highness, the Maharani Regent, accordingly appointed him as Plague Commissioner in addition to his duties as Inspector-General of Police. This appointment afforded Mr. Madhava Rao an excellent opportunity for giving full play to his powers of organization and administration.

The difficulties connected with the enforcing of the rather severe measures which were then in vogue, such as compulsory evacuation and disinfection and getting the people exposed to infection to submit to inoculation are now matters of history. In Mysore there was even greater opposition to these measures than in other parts of India, but Mr. Madhava Rao rendered a good account of himself by carrying on the campaign with great humanity and firmness.

For his services as Plague Commissioner the Regency granted him a substantial bonus and the Government of India conferred on Mr. Madhava Rao the Companionship of the Indian Empire and also gave him the Kaiser-i-hind Gold Medal in the first year of its Institution.

While still engaged in the arduous work of Plague Commissioner, Mr. Madhava Rao was appointed a Member of the Council of Regency and was entrusted with the Revenue portfolio. In 1901 when his Highness the present Maharaja of Mysore was installed on the throne of his ancestors, Mr. Madhava Rao was specially selected to improve the working of the Revenue Department and was appointed Revenue Commissioner.

Mr. Madhava Rao was the first to be appointed as Revenue Commissioner, an office which was created with a view to securing greater and more direct control and supervision for the important branch of the administration which deals with land revenue and allied matters.

AS DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE.

After a couple of years' service as Revenue Commissioner and Councillor, Mr. Madhava Rao was, in March 1904, invited by His Highness, the Maharaja of Travancore, to be his Dewan. On the eve of his departure to Travancore he was specially entertained by the European community of the Civil and Military Station, Bangalore, in the Mayo Hall. Sir James and Lady Bourdillon attended it and Mr. Madhava Rao who was as great a favourite with the European as with his own community had a splendid send-off. The Resident, Sir James Bourdillon, used to say that

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Mr. Madhava Rao's career had much in common with that of Sir Dinkar Rao of Gwalior. He was also entertained in the Mylapore Club, in Madras, where Sir S. Subramania Iyer and Sir Bhashyam Iyengar and the elite of Madras society joined in congratulating him and Travancore on his selection for the Dewanship of that State.

Within the short period of two years, as Dewan of Travancore, Mr. Madhava Rao managed to introduce reforms of a far-reaching character—reforms which any administrator would consider himself fortunate in being able to achieve during a whole life-time. First and foremost, stands the re-organization of the settlement department. The new scheme has since been worked out and has proved an unqualified success. It must also be mentioned that, in introducing the new scheme of settlement, Mr. Madhava Rao was able to abolish the obnoxious system of levying fines on Service Inam Lands, sometimes amounting to 25 and 40 times the assessment, before they were confirmed to the holders, as also the extortionate fines sometimes amounting to 40 times the assessment on what were called "escheat cases."

The accounts and finances of the State, which were in great confusion, were entrusted to a financial expert and the re-organization of the accounts and audit department within such a short time, elicited the warm approval of the Government of Madras.

Mr. Madhava Rao's energies were directed to other departments as well. A new Department called the Excise Department was organised and was made responsible for the management of salt, abkari, tobacco, customs and other items of separate revenue, yielding 45 lakhs or nearly half the total revenue of the State.

Much had been done for education in Travancore in previous administrations and in fact, Travancore stood first in point of expenditure on education in proportion to revenue and also in regard to literacy. During Mr. Madhava Rao's administration, the principle was laid down that no child in the State, whatever his caste or social position, should be allowed to grow up without the rudiments of education. As a first step towards realising this ideal, free education was given to all the backward classes.

Great abuses had grown up in connection with the management of temples in Travancore. Non-Hindus and the lower classes among the Hindus had to pay fines for polluting Hindu temples and sacred tanks without being given a chance to be heard in their defence. In performing the purificatory rites, the priest's decision as regards the ceremonies to be performed and the sums to be spent on the same was final and the civil authorities summarily levied the fines fixed by the priests. Minister after minister had allowed these abuses to take their course without check, but Mr. Madhava Rao was a man of a different stamp altogether. Within a few weeks of his taking charge of his new duties, he had to deal with a case in which unjust fines had been levied from innocent owners of animals and from Christians who were supposed to have polluted a temple. He quashed all the proceedings as illegal and the Maharaja of Travancore was soon persuaded to declare that the practice should be discontinued. The scale of expenses for the purificatory rites was to be fixed by a commissioner appointed for the purpose and thousands of rupees have been saved to the State as the result of this reform.

Another important measure and the one that will stand for ever as a memorial to the far sighted statesmanship of Mr. Madhava Rao's administration of Travancore is the institution of the Popular Assembly which meets and discusses public questions every year at the capital, under the presidency of the Dewan. Mr. Madhava Rao was later on able to secure from the enlightened Maharaja of Travancore the privilege of election for this unique institution.

But the measure that will ever be associated with his Dewanship and which has benefited the people most and entitled him to their lasting gratitude, is the abolition of what is known as taxation in kind.

The substitution of money payments at a reasonable rate was hailed by the ryots as an immense relief and when the abolition of payment in kind was announced, the Dewan was flooded with congratulatory telegrams and addresses from all parts of the country.

AS DEWAN OF MYSORE.

While engaged inseeing these reforms carried out, Mr. MadhavaRao was offered in March 1906, the Dewanship of Mysore, the State in which hehad spent the bestpart of his life. On the eve of his departure from Trivandrum Mr. Madhava Rao was given a magnificent send—off and presented with an address.

Mr. Madhava Rao's return to Mysore was hailed with acclaim by all classes of the people.

During the three years of his Dewanship the State made considerable progress in several directions. The machinery of Government underwent some notable changes. The Civil Service was re-organised and the competetive system re-

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introduced on an improved basis. A Legislative Council was established for the first time in Mysore. First steps were taken for the separation of Executive and Judicial functions. Rules were framed for the more efficient working of the district and taluq establishments. By means of agricultural exhibitions and demonstration of the working of improved implements and through the medium of the agricultural journal, knowledge of scientific agriculture was spread among the rural community. The co-operative movement received his special attention and a large number of societies were brought into existence replacing the agricultural banks which had proved a failure. The financial system was thoroughly overhauled. A famine relief fund was created in 1906-07 without dislocating the finances of the State and every year a sum of Rs. two lakhs is being added to it. A committee consisting of two Councillors was formed with a view to effect retrenchments in the departments in which costly establishments were being maintained without any adequate return for the money spent. Mr. Madhava Rao's policy was one of Retrenchment and Reform and Reduction of Taxation.

Among the more important of his fiscal reforms may be mentioned the abolition of the *Halat* tax which was a kind of export duty on supari and bore heavily on the supari industry. The abolition involved the surrender of a revenue of nearly 4 lakhs of Rupees. . . .

The rates were reduced by more than 50 per cent. and the tax abolished altogether. The result of this far reaching relief was seen in the revival of the industry within a few years and the return of prosperity to the tract. New gardens are springing up and depots for supari have been opened in Shimoga itself since the extension of the Railway to it. The evils of sandalwood monopoly were greatly mitigated and the ryots were given a share in the value of sandalwood growing on their lands. The municipal regulation now in force in the State, which was passed during his administration, bears evidence of his democratic tendencies. He was instrumental in giving a pure water supply to the important towns of Shimoga and Haripur. He was the first to realise the claims of outlying stations to have their requirements in the way of drainage and water supply attended to equally with those of the capital cities. A scheme for the improvement of the famous place of pilgrimage, Melkote, was sanctioned.

It was during his Dewanship that the question of the institution of the Department of Public Health assumed a practical shape and a regularly organised department with a qualified staff of sanitary officers for districts and taluqs under the control of a Sanitary Commissioner was brought into existence and it has demonstrated its usefulness by the good work it has turned out. Indigenous medicine received support, and a college for teaching Ayurvedic medicine was established in Mysore. The third installation of the Cauvery Power Scheme cost the sum of Rupees 12 lakhs, Electric light to the Civil and Military Station, Bangalore, was supplied and formally inaugurated on the 1st January, 1906.

That important branch of the administration *viz.*, Education, received full attention from Mr. Madhava Rao. It was during his Dewanship that Primary Education was made free, that the minimum pay of the village school master was raised to Rs. 10/-; that manual training and kindergarten were introduced in all the schools, as also religious and moral instruction.

But the distinctive feature which distinguished Mr. Madhava Rao's career from that of other Indian administrators is the recognition by him of the fact that no substantial or permanent good will result from merely improving the machinery of Government if the people are not trained in habits of self-reliance and self-help. Having been brought up in a district in which the village communal life was still alive although nearly smothered by the over-government of the bureaucracy, his ambition was to see the old village panchayet and village self-government restored to its pristime purity. The utter neglect of the village tanks in Mysore and the hopelessness of getting their repair and upkeep attended to by the Government agency suggested to him the idea of awakening and bringing into full play the old communal spirit which had helped to cover the whole face of India with self-governing village communities and which were described by early British administrators as so many little republics. He worked at this idea long and the presence of the Irrigation Commission at Bangalore afforded him an opportunity of framing a scheme of village self-government by first formulating proposals for the tanks in villages being handed over to a Committee of members elected by the villagers themselves.

Mr. Madhava Rao has had his full share of blame allotted to him in regard to two distinct measures. The first is the Mysore Mines Regulation of 1906. In regard to this legislation no elaborate attempt at justification is necessary. Sufficient answer to the criticisms passed on it is

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provided by the fact that it is no innovation and the Regulation was based on the facts bearing on the working of gold mines in Australia and South Africa. It must also be noted that he was only responsible for publishing the Regulation, it having been passed during the previous regime. The Newspaper Regulation is another measure that has been disapproved. It is true that certain of its features deserve to be reconsidered and Mr. Madhava Rao himself had prepared an amended Regulation in accordance with a promise he had given in the Representative Assembly but his term was over before it could be passed.

It will thus be seen that, on the whole, his three years of Dewanship in Mysore were marked by continued financial prosperity and he had a large share in the retrenchments made and reforms introduced in the different departments of the State. This is what the "Vokkaligara Sangha," an association formed for promoting the interest of the agricultural community of Mysore numbering nearly a third of the total population, said of his Dewanship, in an address presented to him immediately on his retirement:—

During your regime you inaugurated a number of reforms conceived in a liberal spirit, and there is no doubt, that they will promote the prosperity and the good of the people. The establishment of the Legislative Council for making Laws and Regulations, the organisation of a Department of Public Health for the prevention of disease and improvement of sanitation, the appointment of a veterinary officer to look after the condition of cattle, the publication of an agricultural Gazette for the dissemination of improved knowledge in agriculture, the popularising of the cattle shows and agricultural exhibitions, the gradual displacement of old agricultural banks by Co-operative Credit Societies, the creation of a Famine Reserve Fund, the raising of the minimum pay of the village school masters, the introduction of religious and moral education in schools and colleges, the abolition of school fees in village schools in order to place the benefit of elementary education within the reach of the poorest classes, the introduction of Sloyd and kindergarten instruction into schools, the elaboration of a system of local self-government based on the ancient Panchayat system in connection with the village Tank Panchayat Bill, the abolition of the sandal monopoly and of *Halat* or duty on arecanut are all notable events in your administration for which you have earned the gratitude of the people of Mysore.

Since his retirement from the Dewanship of Mysore Mr. Madhava Rao toured through the whole of India with a view to study the conditions of the different parts of the Empire. He like Swami Vivekananda, has been of opinion that for the uplift of India it is essential that facility should be given to the masses to learn Sanskrit, as it is through that language that direct access can be had to the ancient stores of Hindu culture and spirituality. He was of immense help to his Holiness the late Jagadguru of Sringeri, in founding what is known as the Indian Sanskrit Institute in Bangalore, where higher learning in Sanskrit is being imparted under the ancient method. There is a movement on foot to make the Institute the centre for combining the Pandit method with the critical method of Western nations.

As regards social reforms Mr. Madhava Rao's belief is that reform should proceed from within, to be of any value or permanence, as was seen in the Tiruvadi Parishad of Pandits, in December 1912. He is a staunch Hindu and his views on Hinduism may be gathered from the address which he delivered at the Parishad in Tiruvadi. He said in that memorable address:—

We have at the back of our religion and institutions philosophical truths, the validity of which has not been shaken hitherto and is not likely to be shaken in the future, and these central truths are common to all the sects that had their origin in India. . . . . Dr. Lefroy, Bishop of Lahore, is said to have remarked that even the poorest and wholly illiterate Hindu peasant will engage in the discussion of or in speculation in, the deepest philosophical or ethical questions. This is the culture which Hindu philosophy, which is at the back of the Hindu Religion has secured for India and on which the institutions which help man in his journey through life are moulded.

So far as I have been able to judge, Purusharthas mean that even in the pursuit of wealth, or rather in securing the means of livelihood and satisfying the reproductive instincts of the race, the Hindu is governed by the ideals of Dharma or Hindu ideals of social order and righteousness and that all his activities have emancipation as their final end.

Mr. Madhava Rao holds Indian ideals in high respect and thinks that Indian institutions are not as inelastic as people suppose.

This is what he said at the Parishad:—

Taking the broad periods from the Vedic times to the times of the Epics and from the times of the Epics to the time of Buddha and from the time of Buddha to what is known as the Puranic period and from the puranic period to the time of Sankara, there have been changes in doctrine, in practice, in institutions and customs and in the very Gods that were the object of worship, and even in the physical character of the people; but the basic ideas have persisted and maintained the underlying unity and the essential spiritual ideals of Hinduism.

The Parishad proved a great success and the opinions expressed by its members on various questions of social reform showed that the pandits were alive to the needs of the times and a large number of them gave Shastraic support to some of the social reforms. It will thus be seen that Mr. Madhava Rao is an enlightened Hindu with conservative instincts and not an iconoclast

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in matters of social reform and religion. He seems to have a stern historical sense in recognising the organic growth of Hindu society and its institutions, and does not wish to break away from India's past, but only looks to the evolutionary process for progress in such matters. In one word he has faith in evolution and not in revolution.

Mr. Madhava Rao identified himself with the District Conference in Tanjore and delivered an address at the annual meeting in 1913 at Shiyali. His address created some sensation as it contained a vigorous attack on the land policy of the British Government in ryotwari tracts. He condemned the system of the recurring settlements and said that that system had no justification either in ancient Hindu practice or in the teachings of economic science. His contention, in brief, was that there is no such thing as an unearned increment in regard to agricultural land.

In the beginning of 1914, he had taken up the question of the necessity of imparting instruction in non-language subjects through the medium of the vernaculars. One of the reasons which induced Mr. Madhava Rao to advocate the system was that it was necessary in order to bring the light of modern knowledge to the masses and to bridge the gulf between them and the English educated classes. In order to facilitate the making of vernaculars the medium of instruction, it is necessary, in his opinion, to have our provinces redistributed on a linguistic basis. These and other problems were engaging his active attention in his retirement. When he was thus engaged in public movements of various kinds, the call came from His Highness, the Maharaja Gaekwar, inviting him to take up the Dewanship of Baroda in March 1914.

AS DEWAN OF BARODA.

Soon after he took his office, Mr. Madhava Rao presided over the sessions of the local Legislative Council when the celebrated Baroda Purohit Bill was hotly discussed. The object of the Bill being laudable, the need for such a piece of legislation was accepted by a majority of the Legislative Council. Before discussing the details, Mr. Madhava Rao announced the postponement of the discussion on the Bill *Sine die*, so that both the people and the Government may have sufficient time to give fuller consideration to the details. Mr. Madhava Rao had a great hand in the modification of some of the objectionable features of the Bill, which he thought would work harshly upon the people affected, and the Baroda Purohit Act as sanctioned by his Highness the Maharaja Saheb, was published in the local "Government Gazette" at the end of the year 1915. On August 4th, 1914, war broke out between England and Germany, and soon after its declaration, Mr. Madhava Rao presided over a public meeting of the citizens of Baroda, when in a neat little speech he vioced the deep and abiding loyalty of the people and appealed to the people to subscribe to the Imperial War Relief Fund. In the year 1915, a Health Exhibition was held in Baroda to promote sanitation under the inspiration of Mr. Madhava Rao. It was the first of its kind in Baroda and was a great success.

In the same year Dr. Harold Mann of Poona, visited Baroda and gave some lectures at one of which Mr. Madhava Rao presided, when he, although the responsible minister of an important state, boldly advocated permanent settlement, and strongly denounced the policy of enhancing the land revenue assessment at every revision settlement.

By a strange coincidence, a few days after, the revision settlement of Mabuva Taluk of Navsari District came for sanction when Mr. Madhava Rao is said to have strongly advocated the cause of the ryots. In the end a settlement for sixty years was granted instead of for thirty years as originally proposed. The rates were heavy, but it was some consolation that they were not liable to be enhanced for at least sixty years.

During the same year the First Sanskrit Conference was held at Baroda, and a Sanskrit Pathshala was established as a result. The credit for the idea of holding such a Conference was given to Mr. Madhava Rao, by no less a personage than His Highness the Gaekwar.

In 1916 Mr. Madhava Rao organised the First Music Conference, and it is noteworthy that the sessions of that Conference proved a great success.

Mr. Madhava Rao, prior to retirement, went on a long leave of three months from 8th May 1916 with a reputation for sound statesmanship, independence, boldness, and as a tactful administrator.

He is essentially the people's man and as such his views on Local Self-Government and village panchayats and on the institution of Madhyastha Panchas (conciliators) are quite sound and democratic, as may be seen from his remarks regarding these subjects in the Baroda Administration Report, for 1914–15 which has been recently published. In the same Report he advocates the recruiting of the public services of the State by competitive examinations,

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view with which all men with practical wisdom will concur, in as much as we cannot expect a long succession of rulers, as able as the present enlightened Maharaja of Baroda who has the knack of selecting the right person for the right place. His views on the industrial problems of the State are full of sound statesmanship, and, if acted upon, it is quite certain, the State will very shortly reach a high stage of industrial efficiency. He also advocates improvements of administrative methods by the establishment of administrative research in order to bring the several departments of the State to an up-to-date condition and to remove antiquated methods and generally improve the methods of work. The writer of this sketch would like to draw special attention to the said Report for fuller information about Mr. Madhava Rao's bold and intrepid views on the several problems of the Baroda State. Its concluding chapter is the most important one, summarising as it does, Mr. Madhava Rao's opinions, while the chapter on local self-government will give the reader an idea of what Baroda has done and is doing with regard to village panchayats, taluk and local boards, district boards, municipalities and vishisht panchayats (special municipalities.)

Suffice it to say that his great administrative abilities, his democratic leanings, and his love of justice and fair play are bound to confer immense benefits upon the State and its subjects.

It can be seen from the facts already set forth, that Mr. Madhava Rao was out and out a people's man. A broad-minded toleration and a large-hearted sympathy for the wants and grievances of the people committed to his charge, and, a keen sense of justice to secure for them their just rights, are the characteristic and outstanding features of his administration. The establishment of the Popular Assembly in Travancore and the Legislative Council in Mysore was undoubtedly the outcome of Mr. Madhava Rao's liberal proclivities.

While Mr. Madhava Rao is out and out a people's man, he is not quite blind to the faults of his countrymen, and when he was Dewan of Travancore, he administered a well-deserved rebuke to the presenters of an address for representing only class interests, and during the course of his speech on that occasion in Trivandrum, he said :—

> I would advise you not to dissipate your energies in spasmodic efforts to ventilate class grievances, but proceed to form local and provincial associations on a broad basis, sinking all differences of caste and creed, and place before you the single aim of the good of your country and your fellowmen.

This is a piece of advice that is very often required as there is many times a tendency in our people to split and care only for their own communal interests.

Both as a man, and administrator, Mr. Madhava Rao is entitled to the admiration of his countrymen. His official career has been briefly noticed above and a passing reference made to his views on matters of social and religious reform. His force of character, his strong personality, his selfless devotion to the cause of the social amelioration of the masses, and his unpretentious religious life have always struck those who have come in contact with him as the keynote of his success in life.

Let us conclude this sketch with Mr. Madhava Rao's views on Native States, as he is the best living authority on the subject.

He thinks that the Native States are a great national asset and will play a great part in the work of National regeneration. The rulers and the ruled are bound together by ties of common traditions and sentiment, and the Native Rulers are always accessible to the humblest peasant to patiently hear his complaints, treat him with sympathy and then and there redress his grievances if they are convinced that a wrong has been done. The chord of sympathy that binds the rulers and the ruled makes the administration not a mechanical lifeless thing but a living reality to the people. There is a greater security of life and property in well-governed Native States like Mysore, Baroda, Travancore etc., than in British India. Native Princes have a better insight into the needs of their country and are enabled to introduce social legislation for the betterment of their subjects. Reforms like the Separation of Judicial and Executive functions and Compulsory Education, for which British India has yet to wait, have been introduced long ago in progressive Native States like Baroda and to some extent in Mysore, which shows the advantages of Native rule.

To these views of Mr. Madhava Rao, it may be added that the Native States have afforded the best field for the development of administrative gifts, powers of initiative and organisation in Indian administrators. They have produced such brilliant administrators as Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, Raja Dinkar Rao, Sir Salar Jung, Rangacharlu, Sir Seshadri Aiyar and Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao himself who would have shed glory upon the cabinet of any European nation had they been born in those countries.

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IN BRITISH INDIA.

Since his retirement from Baroda Mr. Madhava Rao has found time to devote himself more freely to the political, social and religious movements in British India. On the publication of the well-known Memorandum of the Nineteen Non-Official Members of the Imperial Legislative Council on Post-War Reforms, Mr. Madhava Rao gave his weighty support to them in an excellent contribution to the *Madras Mail*.

Presiding over a meeting of the citizens of Tanjore, he criticised the land policy of the British Government in unmistakable language :—

The survey *patta* was the first place, they have any policy at all (otherwise where is the difficulty in embodying in an enactment the principles on which land revenue should be assessed and settlements revised?) Just apply this principle of leaving everything to the bureaucracy, to the state of things that prevailed in England at the commencement of the present war. We should have had by this time the whole of India under the heel of Germany, not to speak of the humiliation of England herself and her reduction to a second rate Power. It is the fierce and relentless criticisms of the Press that showed up the weak points of the Cabinet and drove it to put its house in order. Contrast this with the state of things in India where, regardless of the teachings of the modern the charter of emancipated serfs. Taking the last pronouncement of the Government of India in resisting the proposals of the Deccan Decentralisation Commission, that from time immemorial the State is entitled to a certain proportion of the produce of the land, and the Government and its agents are the best judges of what the proper assessments should be in regard to different tracts of the country, the question arises how is the proportion to be fixed, who is to fix it, and whether the ryot, who is affected by the assessment, should be heard before it is fixed, so that agricultural industry in the land may be maintained at its highest efficiency. The contention of the Government is that its highly trained officers may be trusted to fix the assessment in a manner that will make the rates sit lightly on his ryots, and that, as a matter of fact, as the enquiry conducted during Lord Curzon's time showed the assessments were not excessive, that the settlement officers are sympathetic to the ryot and try to make his lot an easy one on the whole. All these proceed on the assumption that the Government agency is infallible, that all its members at all times are animated by the same feeling of sympathy and desire to be moderate in their demand, and that we can place implicit trust in their discretion. This is neither the place nor the occasion for discussing the question whether the Government have been consistent in their policy, whether, in science of economics, the destinies of 80 per cent. of the population of India are left to be regulated by antiquated ideas of a tradition-bound bureaucracy, who would have been cured of their subjectivity long since in a country in which public men and their measures receive the freest criticism.

Mr. Madhava Rao's interest in social and religious problems in India is well-known. During the Christmas week of 1916, he was invited to preside over the third All-India Hindu Conference at Lucknow. In the course of his presidential address he held :

"On social and religious questions the Government take little or no interest. This is of course proper from their point of view. But when the Government becomes truly national, socio-religious questions will become recognised fields of activity for Government as may be seen from the legislation adopted in Mysore and Baroda on the question of infant marriage. But the fact of our having an alien Government now throws additional burden on the community as it will have to look after its social evolution and the adjustment of social institutions to changing conditions. These functions the Hindu Sabha will have to exercise even on a larger scale when self-rule has been given to India composed as it is of different races and creeds. It is thus that the question of having a Hindu Sabha becomes all-important."

Mr. Madhava Rao's interest in educational matters is no less keen. Presiding in April 1917, at the Jubilee Celebration of the Kumbakonam College, which he left about 48 years ago among the very first batch of graduates, he laid stress on the need for scholarship in Sanskrit and announced that he would set apart funds that would yield an annual income of Rs. 100 to be associated with the honoured name of Mr. Porter.

I select Sanskrit, as it holds the key to literature in philosophy and religion which affords the best solution for the problems of life and is calculated to promote spiritual culture in those that study it. The value of this study in the scheme of education will be all the better appreciated just now when there is moral chaos in the western world, where religion, divorced from sound philosophy, has undermined the basis of ethics and led to the promulgation of the doctrine that, where a State is concerned, the eternal principles of justice, mercy and humanity have no place in the dealings of one human being with another. We are better placed than those western people. As far as our education is concerned, we cannot always command the services of men of the ethical greatness of Mr. Porter, but we have in our Epics and Puranas, not to mention the Vedas, examples of lives led, where truth, dharma and justice have been placed above all personal considerations and men and women, born and brought up as gentle princes and princesses have undergone physical and moral sufferings of the most severe character rather than surrender truth or perpetrate an injustice.

In recognition of his ripe experience and varied activities in public life, Mr. Madhava Rao has now been invited to preside over the Madras Provincial Congress at Cuddalore in May 1917. It is hoped that he will continue to take the same interest in the political life of British India that he has already taken in three of the important Native States.

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Shakespeare and Everyday Expressions

BY MR. LIONEL BURROWS.

AN acute correspondent of a Calcutta contemporary recently announced the interesting discovery that the popular and pregnant "I don't think" has descended to us from Shakespeare. This naturally raises the question whether such phrases of everyday expression were really the children of the writers in whose pages they are found or were merely adopted by them from the colloquialisms current at the time. The truth seems to be that a living language grows by an evolutionary process in which the survivals are selected on the common sense principle that men speak and write in order to be understood; there is thus a continual barter between speech and writing, usage being the sole and absolute arbiter as to what shall be retained and what rejected. Sometimes writing borrows from speech and, if usage approves, the protests of pedantry are futile. Montaigne said long ago that "they who would fight custom with grammer are fools," and we know that Swift denounced 'mob' and 'banter' as vulgarisms in vain. Sometimes speech borrows from writing and literary expressions are converted into popular sayings unconscious of their superior origin. The greater the writer and the truer his presentation of life, the more is this likely to happen; and the benefit of any doubt as to whether, in a particular case, proverbs and other common expressions have sprung from literature or literature from such expressions, may generally be given to such a writer, for it is safe to presume, until learned research has proved the contrary, that current phrases found in his work have as respectable and individual a paternity as Mr. Churchill's "terminological inexactitude" and Mr. Asquith's "wait and see." Even where it can be shown that a particular phrase was used by the people before a great writer borrowed it, it is probable that the prominence given to it by him has ensured its permanence.

We may thus assume that Charles Lamb's "Dodd was it" is responsible for a common colloquialism of to-day, that Dickens originated "how not to do it," and that other well-known writers have bequeathed us "at sixes and sevens," "turn over a new leaf," "by hook or crook," "smell a rat," "through thick and thin," and "plain as a pike-staff." It is Shakespeare, however, who has most enriched our expression in this way. Inspired by the discovery of "I don't think," we have run through his comedies and have been rewarded by many similar finds. Some of them have become absolute colloquialisms debarred from polite literary society, others are used freely both in speaking and writing without reference to their origin; some have preserved their first form, others have been altered without being disfigured beyond recognition. In *Love's Labour Lost*, that satire on the folly of words, Biron offers to "lay my head to any good man's hat" and would have won his bet. The Julia of *Two Gentlemen of Verona* gives us: "And seal the bargain with a holy kiss," while one of the outlaws asks Valentine to be their captain with the words:—

"To make a virtue of necessity,
And live, as we do, in this wilderness?"

In the farcical *Comedy of Errors*, Dromio of Syracuse says: "Every why hath a wherefore," and again: "Mary, he must have a long spoon that must eat with the devil," an expression that achieved fame in the Boer War. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Theseus talks of "single blessedness," Lysander observes that "the course of true love never did run smooth," and Helena says that her heart "is true as steel." From *The Merchant of Venice* come the words of Shylock:—

"If I can catch him once upon the hip,
I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him."

Portia, in the same play, informs us that "it is a good divine that follows his own instructions," Antonio that "the devil can cite Scripture for his purpose," and Launcelot Gobbo that "it is a wise father that knows his own child" and that "truth will out." The expressive "in the twinkling of an eye" is also the engaging Launcelot's. *As You Like It* is one of the most prolific of the comedies as the following will show:—

Celia. . . . "that was laid on with a trowel."
Rosalind. . . "one out of suits with fortune," and "too much of a good thing."
Jaques . . . "with lack-lustre eye".
Touchstone "an ill-favoured thing, sir, but mine own;" also "the Retort Courteous" and "the Lie Direct."
Orlando . . . "Neither rhyme nor reason can express how much."
The Duke. . . "Sweet are the uses of adversity,' and "we have seen better days."

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In *The Taming of the Shrew*, the tinker Sly says; "let the world slide;" Petruchio, who has been called all sorts of names from a selfish boar to a sensible madman, tells us of his "way to kill a wife with kindness," and Baptista remarks: "Pitchers have ears." Lavache, the clown in *All's Well That Ends Well*, tells his mistress that one of his reasons for wanting to marry Isbel is that "he must needs go whom the devil drives," and later on relates how a melancholy man of his acquaintance "sold a goodly manor for a song." In the same play, Lafeu calls Parolles of the famous drum-bringing episode "a general offence," and Parolles himself opines that "a young man married is a man that's marr'd." During their early bickering in *Much Ado About Nothing*, Benedick calls Beatrice "my dear Lady Disdain," and she responds: "I know you of old;" Benedick also gives us: "Sits the wind in that corner," and "paper bullets of the brain," while Beatrice adds: "as merry as the day is long," and the undying Dogberry declares, in his best malapropish manner, that "comparisons are odorous." *The Merry Wives of Windsor* makes a poor play, but is much to our purpose. In it, that very potent piece of imbecility, as Hazlitt calls Slender, agrees to marry Anne Page in the hope that "upon familiarity will grow more contempt;" Mistress Quickly talks of "an old abusing of God's patience and the king's English," and leads the decadent Falstaff on with "the short and the long of it." Mrs. Page cannot recollect "what the Dickens his name is," and Falstaff, though a sorry spectacle as a general butt, gives us "As good luck would have it," is indignant that "a man of my kidney" should be made acquainted with the inside of a buck-basket, and is almost his old self in "let the sky rain potatoes." In *Twelfth Night* Olivia's sprightly maid talks of "a horse of that colour," and tells Toby Belch and Aguecheek that they will "laugh yourselves into stitches" over Malvolio's discomfiture; Fabian mentions "the windy side of the law," and the disguised Viola relates how

> "She sat like patience on a monument,
> Smiling at grief."

The inviolable Isabella of *Measure for Measure* dwells on the fantastic tricks of men which "make the angels weep," while that pleasant *deus ex machina* of a Duke tells her at the end that "what's mine is yours, and what is yours is mine," a sentiment that has been somewhat perverted in its popular form. In *The Winter's Tale*, Leontes says that his son and he are "almost as like as eggs," and that cheery rogue Autolycus describes himself as "a snapperup of unconsidered trifles."

Village Government in British India

BY "AN INDIAN."

THIS is one of the series of monographs by writers of the London School of Economics and Political Science and edited by the Director of the School. Mr. John Mathai is a brilliant graduate of the Madras University and has spent no less than two years in going through the books and records relating to the subject, in the Library of the India Office, in London. The book* "lays no claim whatever to any special understanding of the Hindu village community in its palmy days or to having made any research in that direction," but aims at presenting a connected picture of the methods by which the village communities have met their simple administrative needs, excluding the holding and cultivation of land, "so far as they may be gathered from the relics which have survived and have been recorded."

Mr. Sidney Webb, Professor of Public Administration in the University of London, whose sympathetic interest in Indian affairs is too well-known to need mention, has contributed a valuable preface to the book wherein he points out that in the most advanced countries of the present day such as the United Kingdom, Germany and the United States of America, "we find that by far the largest part of government is now that which is not carried on in the capital cities, at the bidding of Parliaments; but that which is being administered locally in village or parish or commune, in municipality or county or district, by the direction and for the advantage of the people of these localities;" that in the course of this century there is bound to be a very great development of local government in India; and that the aspirants for Indian Self-Government, a large number of whom have hitherto attended exclusively to the affairs of the Central Government, will do well to pay more heed to municipal and rural administration which indeed concerns the

* "Village Government in British India." By John Mathai. With a Preface by Sidney Webb. 4s. 6d. Fisher Unwin, London.

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people more intimately and gives greater scope for the exercise of autonomy.

Mr. Mathai has devoted the first chapter, which is introductory, to the consideration of the village community in general and in the subsequent chapters has dealt with education, poor relief, sanitation, public works, watch and ward, and administration of justice, respectively. Much of the matter is necessarily familiar to the Indian reader as it deals with features of village administration now obtaining or obtaining till very recently; but there are some very interesting references to old inscriptions which should effectively silence those Western critics of ours who would deny to us the capacity and therefore the opportunity to govern ourselves or to work representative institutions. Thus two inscriptions recently discovered in a temple at Utteramallur, in Chengleput District, which belong to the 10th century A.D. speak of the existence of small committees, six in number such as the Garden Committee, the Tank Committee, and the Committee of Justice for the administration of the village; of the village being divided into wards of which there were as many as thirty; of the committee members being selected by lottery according to certain rules and observances at the rate of one member per ward; and of their being required to possess certain qualifications regarding property, age, education, business capacity and character. In fact there are references to show that women sometimes served on these committees, thereby proving that the constitution of the village was more advanced than that of our proudest municipality! Those who injured the interests of the village or the temple were known, according to an old inscription, as *Grahma-drohins* or *Grahma-kantakas* and liable to punishment and they were debarred from participating in certain ceremonies connected with the temple.

The following extract about how a village tided over a famine will be found interesting:—"A South Indian inscription sets forth the story of a village which suffered from famine:—

"In A D. 1054, the village of Alangudi (in the Tanjore District) appears to have been afflicted with a famine caused probably by failure of vain. The villagers had consequently no funds to purchase paddy for their own consumption or seed, grains and other things necessary for cultivation. Whatever the cause the famine-stricken inhabitants of Alangudi could expect no help in their distress from the royal treasury. They had to shift for themselves as best they could. Accordingly they applied to the local temple treasury from which they obtained 1,011 *Kalanju* of gold and 464 *Palam* of Silver, consisting of temple jewels and vessels. In exchange for this, the members of the village assembly alienated 8¾ *Veli* of land in favour of the god. From the produce of this land the interest on the gold and silver received from the temple was to be paid. . . . ."

It was not by any means the violation of the sacredness of temple funds in desperate circumstances; for the temple was looked upon as a general benefactor of the village, aiding in education, feeding strangers and the poor, and affording relief to the village in famine times, as is borne out by the early inscriptions.

In the chapter on the administration of justice Mr. Mathai has warmly defended the village courts of our Presidency and the village panchayats generally commenting on the opinion of Sir Henry Maine who held that the village panchayats were 'barbarous institutions' with 'accompaniments which are condemned by modern morality and modern civilization' Mr. Mathai says somewhat sarcastically: "They had no codes of law, either substantive or adjectival, in which whatever ideas they had could be embodied in any fixed form, nor, so far as we may make out, had they any written record of their decisions spreading over many generations. They merely trusted to their native wit, to experience, to a shrewd sense of passing events to a fleeting memory of what their fathers did. They were plain men of the world, unsophisticated by much education, who, in spite of frequent failures, tried by whatever means lay in their power to heal quarrels and make peace and knew by bitter experience how good a thing it was for brethern to dwell together in unity. That the revival of such an institution should bring back with it any fixed system of revolting ideas is incomprehensible." He has naturally great hopes in the beneficial influence of co-operative societies some of which with the consent of their members have gone beyond their bye-laws and settled disputes between litigants, started schools and reading rooms, carried out small sanitary works and in other ways furthered the corporate life of the villages. "Even amid the sound of war and the birth—throes of a new world, there is no higher call in India to the men of our generation than to see this process go forward." The book deserves to be widely read and ought to find a place in every library.

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INDIAN LABOUR EMIGRATION.*

BY

MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

I am aware that the conclusion I have reached on this subject must appear revolutionary, in the light of what I have written before. But I have been driven to it by what appears to me the inevitable logic of facts.

Originally I had a firm conviction that it was good for Indians, even of the "coolies" class, to emigrate. My one objection was to the indenture system itself; and I expected that, if the indenture system were removed, other things would right themselves. But I have been forced, step by step to the conclusion, that at present any form of recruited emigration of the ordinary Indian villagers to far distant lands under strange conditions is likely to lead to great moral evils.

There are other grounds of objection to Indian recruited labour emigration. The political argument for instance is very strong indeed. The economic argument, also, that India itself is short of labour is not without weight. But the moral argument appears to me to go deepest. And, as far as my own personal judgment is concerned, the verdict on that side is final.

It is difficult to set down in any detail the causes of this moral deterioration which, I have noticed in South Africa and Fiji and I shall not attempt to do so. But it is easy to grasp the central fact, that Indian village life is a very complex growth, which needs much greater knowledge of its conditions, before you can successfully traasplant it. The following extract written by a planter, who knew the conditions of Fiji, appears to me to go to the root of the matter:—

Coming to the actual conditions of the Fiji people it was clear that they could not be tolerated. The causes of the disgraceful depravity were indicated as:—(1) the breaking of family life, (2) the herding of the people together in barracks, (3) no provision for the rites and customs of their own home surroundings.

It seems to me that the chief offenders were the Indian Government, who ought not to have sanctioned the emigration without themselves undertaking to provide the people, which they would have had to do by transplating bodily whole viliages, or a considerable part thereof.

As any scheme for transplanting the whole villages to Fiji is not a practical question, there seems no need to discuss it at this juncture. What now appears to me as certain is that just as individual indentured labour recruiting has failed in the past, so in the long run 'family' recruiting would be a failure also, though for a time it might mitigate the moral evil. It will be seen that this point goes far beyond the mere question of abolition of indenture.

In taking up this position, I am well aware that I am going much further than anything published in Mr. Pearson's and my report on Fiji. I have not had any opportunity of going over with Mr. Pearson the reasons which have led to this new conclusion, and therefore I would wish it to be clearly understood that I speak only for myself. One point, however, should be noted, viz:—Now in the report itself, we urged that a break, or pause, of at least two years should be made in Fiji Indian labour before any new system was tried.

For my own part, I can see that this suggestion was inadequate. My present opinion is, that no alternative system of distant emigration of unskilled Indian labour is likely to succeed at present, least of all in those countries which have suffered from the moral evils of indenture. The simpler problem of transplanting Indian labour within the borders of India itself should first be tried. Perhaps in some future generation wider range of emigration, under much more intelligent conditions, may be undertaken by Government. But the acknowledged failure of the past should make us very careful before we start another State-attempt in this direction.

Statement sent by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the Government of India for the Inter-Departmental Conference in London.

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[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THE SECTION.]

Political and Literary Essays. By the Earl of Cromer. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

Now that we have it on the authority of Lord Curzon that on the conclusion of Lord Cromer's career in Egypt he was offered and refused the Viceroyalty of India, the Essay on *Political Ideals* in this volume will probably prove of some interest to readers of this *Review*. Lord Cromer quotes with approval the principle, enunciated in the Government of India Despatch of December 1911, to the effect that "the only possible solution could appear to be gradually to give the Provinces a larger measure of Self-Government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of mis-government, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern." Like most statesmen and writers, however, who have not come into personal touch with problems of Indian Government he thinks the system to be introduced at the close of the war in relation to the Self-Governing Colonies and in relation to India must be "very different." Then or take leave to disagree with him.

For the rest there is little in the volume before us of more than ephemeral interest, and a section to doubt whether it was worth while to enhance the Essays from the Reviews in which they first appeared. We all know now that "when the Allies come to discuss terms of peace they will be treating with a Government and a nation who in the past have shown the most cynical disregard for all the engagements which they have taken, and that therefore no sort of reliance can be placed on any engagements which they may take for the future." And though it is interesting to learn that so proved an administrator as Lord Cromer regards Lord Curzon as "the most able exponent of that same Imperialism to which Great Britain is wedded as a necessity of its existence," we in India who admire to the full Lord Curzon's virtues know something also of these "defects of his qualities" to which every great man is necessarily subject. One last quotation from a very illuminating Essay entitled "The Suicide of the Turk." "There is every reason for dissociating the Turkish regime, whether past or present, from the true teaching and real interests of Islam." We sincerely trust the Ulemas will subscribe to this pronouncement.

Town-Planning in Ancient Deccan. By C. P. Venkatarama Iyer (Saidapet.)

This book throws considerable light on a very important subject. Ever since the advent of Professor Geddes, the intellect of the country has been in a state of ferment in regard to the problems of town-planning and architecture. As Professor Geddes says in his Introduction to the book: "But when all reasonable scepticism is allowed for, the main impression of the book is unshaken—for ancient glories there were; and these on a scale exceeding not only our modern wealth and well-being, or the modest hopes of our social improvers, but even the constructions of our would-be Utopia-makers. That India, and particularly South India, was, and this up to a not so remote past, one of the greatest city-making regions of the world, is ever being more plainly re-established by the investigators of books and of buildings alike; and I have been fully convinced also by my own eyes." The book deals at first with the origin and growth of Deccan cities. The author points out how in India cities have mostly grown around temples. The author then describes the famous towns of Madura, Vanji, Conjeevaram and Kaveripattinam and gives also the old and excellent rules as to the construction of houses. The past unexplored mines of Tamil classical literature have to be thoroughly worked to bring into the light of day all the precious nuggets of our old and noble civic and national ideas and we hope this great work will be done soon by the author and other Tamil scholars.

English Biography. By Waldo H. Dunn, M.A., Litt. D.; J. M. Dent & Sons Ld., London.

Professor Dunn's "English Biography" follows the line adopted by other writers in the series entitled the "Channels of English Literature." The history of biographical literature has seldom been the theme of any adequate enquiry and Prof. Dunn's exhaustive study of this peculiarly fascinating branch of literature must be welcome to all lovers of this art. However, students of Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee who have made biographical literature so invaluable and charming will come across many a new and unfamiliar name in this treatise. The volume gives an admirable account of the history and a criticism of the art in its varying aspects and serves equally as a compendium of reference in biographical literature.

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Dewan Amarji : The Soldier Statesman. By J. P. Joshipura, M.A., Published by B. V. Chhaya, B.A., LL.B., Rajkot.

The story of this great Soldier-Statesman of Junagadh is told with appropriate eloquence and enthusiasm. Dewan Amarji was a rare type of Soldier-Statesman and could only be compared with the great Sivaji alke in his daring and his genius. This Brahmin-statesman typifies the two great virtues of the Mahratta Chieftain, devotion and courage. And though Amarji had a more limited field of work in Kathiawad and Gujarat in the latter half the eighteenth century, the story of his adventures is full of the pluck and daring worthy of Shivaji himself. The stirring nature of his career is matched by the dramatic character of the end so tragic yet so fitting for a hero.

Indian Architecture. By Messrs. A. V. Thiagaraja Iyer and M. A. Ananthalwar. Part I A. V. Thiagaraja Aiyar & Sons, Madras.

We have before us the first part of a great work on Indian Architecture published in monthly parts by Messrs. Thiagaraja Iyer and Ananthalwa- of Mysore. The undertaking is a most patriotic one and judging from the first part, we have no doubt it will be a most useful compilation. The authors have brought to their work not only special training and knowledge of Architectonics but a vast knowledge of Indian languages, religion and history. In the part before us, there is a General Introduction dealing historically with Indian Architecture accompanied by illustrations of choice specimens of various styles with maps to show their geographical distribution. The main subject is distributed into three books : Book I dealing with the Ancient Literature or Architectonics ; Book II with the study and description of the several styles and monuments of Indian Architecture and Book III with modern Architecture. In the part before us, we have the first few pages from each book. The chapter II of Book II is devoted to the temple at Srirangam. We have therein an account of the origin and foundation of the temple, its plan and measurements, its architectural value. The whole is illustrated with beautiful photographs.

A Political History of Japan During the Meiji Era (1867-1912). By Walter Wallace McLaren. (London : George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., pp. 380. Price 12/6 net.)

The book before us endeavours to supply information which is essential to the formation of an accurate judgment as to the real meaning of Japan's unprecedented political development during the past half a century. A right understanding of the real nature and extent of Japan's political ambitions, not to speak of her desire for economic and commercial expansion, is more necessary now than ever, since for the past two years and a half Japan's action, as a member of the group of the *Entente* Allies, is in many aspects shrouded in mystery, and seems to casual observers to be devoid of any settled final objectives. The author, an American, with some experience as a professor of politics in Tokyo, reviews in the first part of the book the movement for the restoration of the Emperor, which was rendered possible by the self-abnegation of the feudal magnates, and presents a careful survey of the evolution of the existing political institutions and the powers exercised by each. In the latter part of the book, he traces the history and character of the Parliamentary *regime* ever since its inception in 1889, and sketches the political parties in the country, their internal dissensions and their struggles with the various oligarchical cabinets ; and he estimates also the influence on Japanese politics that the recent growth of her militarism and political power has brought about.

The chapter dealing with the growth of representative institutions is particularly clear while the close identity, which has always existed between what is known as 'the clan government' and the dominance of the military party, has ben sketched out both historically and causally. The effect of the Chino-Japanese War is reviving the militarist spirit, the constitutional crisis which followed that war, the growth of the power of the parties in the successive cabinets, and the effects of the Russo-Japanese War, have all been traced in a clear and lucid light. The growth of Japan's power, whose net result was to consolidate and strengthen her position in the Pacific and in Asia, the steady bulging out of American hostility of, and distrust in, the growth of Japan—these complete the story of her development into one of the great powers of the world. The whole of the Meiji era has been marked by the continuous dominance of the military party in spite of the repeated attacks of the popular leaders—a circumstance which is

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explained by the author to be due to the inherent chauvinism of the Japanese, to which the militarists have always and successfully appealed, and to the weakness of the political parties consequent on their lack of cohesion, absence of principles and their venality. The origin and progress of Japanese national spirit is traced to its beginnings in the pre-Meiji feudal soil, one of the earliest fruits of which was the Restoration. One note of warning, which the author sounds, is the apprehension with which the world at large and the Chinese in particular have viewed the sudden growth of the military power and spirit of the Japanese. This is all the more disquieting, because of the absence of any constituted opposition to the military party dominant. Though the future alone can demonstrate the truth of this foreboding, yet we may say with justice that circumstances are, to some extent, seemingly forbidding; as an instance, it may be mentioned that the whole of Eastern and Southern Asia is represented as the field for the spread of Japanese *Kultur*, that there are various associations to propagate this ideal of world domination, and that militarism has for the present captured the various political organisations and almost silenced the demand for constitutional reform and popular government. We commend this book to the careful and serious attention of the public.

Shakespeare's Chart of Life

BEING STUDIES OF
HAMLET, KING LEAR, OTHELLO AND MACBETH
BY THE REV. DR. WILLIAM MILLER, C.I.E.

CONTENTS.

KING LEAR AND INDIAN POLITICS
HAMLET AND THE WASTE OF LIFE
MACBETH AND THE RUIN OF SOULS
OTHELLO AND THE CRASH OF CHARACTER

Dr. Miller does not appear as an annotator or critic. He fixes his student's attention especially on the ethical side of Shakespeare's teaching. According to him the plays of Shakespeare, whether designedly or not, are not calculated merely to amuse. They have each "an inner meaning," a "central idea," which it does the student good to search out and assimilate.

The Madras Mail.—Dr. Miller has taught Shakespeare for over 40 years to hundreds of students, who have passed through the Christian College. And in his classes, if he has enforced one lesson more than another, it has been that these plays must have been written with the object, among others, of making plain the moral principles, which underlie the ordinary occurrences in human life, and that it is this feature of Shakespeare's plays which makes them not only an intellectual discipline but a means of real benefit to those upon whom they have their full and proper influence.

Rs. 4. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," Rs. 3.

Available Separately Re. One each.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

HEROES OF ALL TIME. Abraham Lincoln. By Edith L. Elias. George G. Harrap & Co., London.

THE CYCLE OF SPRING. By Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan & Co., London.

AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION IN DENMARK. By Rai Sahib Pandit Chandrika Prasada. Scottish Mission Industries Co., Ajmere.

THE LIBERAL YEAR BOOK FOR 1917. The Liberal Publication Department, National Liberal Federation, London.

THE STARS IN THEIR COURSE. By Hilda M. Sharp. T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., London.

NOTES ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE EMPIRE. By the Rt. Hon. J. A. Murray Macdonald, M P., P. S. King & Son, Ltd. London.

A LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA. By Lionel Curtis. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London.

A TEXT-BOOK OF MORAL TEACHING. Compiled by The Rev. A. W. De Mel, M. A., Colombo.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA,

A BRIEF HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE HEBREW PROPHETS (Tamil). By Rev. A. O. Brown. The C.L.S.I., Madras.

THE HIGHEST FACTOR IN MODERN EDUCATION. By Maneck B. Pithawalla, B.A., B.Sc. Arsenal Road, Poona.

MADHURAVIJAYAM OR VIRAKAMPARAYA CHARDTAM. Edited by Pandit G. Harihara Sastri and Pandit V. Srinivasa Sastri. The Sridhara Press, Trivendrum.

REPORT OF THE ELEVENTH INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE AT BOMBAY. The General Secretary, Amraoti.

YOUNG INDIA. By Sir S. Subrahmanie Iyer Commonweal Office, Adyar.

SUPPLEMENTARY ACT TO THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDIA ACT, THE INDIAN JUDICATURE. The "Commonweal" Office, Adyar.

HOME RULE AND THE EMPIRE. By Annie Besant. "Commonweal" Office, Adyar.

MODEL AND OBJECT DRAWING (Tamil). By Mr. A. Subrahmania Iyer. C Coomarasamy Naidu & Sons., Madras.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

March 24. A deputation of ladies from various provinces of India waited on His Excellency the Viceroy to present an Address on the subject of Indentured Labour.

March 25. Allies' continued success in the west and capture of more villages.

The New Russian Government has issued a proclamation to the people.

March 26. The Earl of Ronaldshay accompanied by the Countess arrived at Calcutta to-day and took his seat in the Throne room when the warrant of his appointment as Governor of Bengal was read by the Chief Secretary. Lord Carmichael, after handing over charge, left for Bombay *en-route* to England.

March 27. Mr. Setalvad has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University *vice* the Rev. Dr. Mackichan who is proceeding home.

March 28. Fall of St. Quinten.

Mr. Asquith moves a Resolution in the Commons demanding franchise for women.

A Gazette extraordinary publishes rules *re* : the Indian Defence Force.

March 29. Martial Law has been proclaimed in Spain.

March 30. The German Chancellor, speaking in the Reichstag, blames England's blockade as the cause of German submarinism and appeals for American sympathy.

March 31. His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay receives welcome addresses from eight public bodies at Calcutta.

Three great meetings in London conveyed resolutions congratulating the Russian Democracy.

April 1. Dewan Amarnath, Chief Minister of Kashmir State, died at Srinagar.

April 2. Sir William Meyer's conference with the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry speaks at Lucknow on "Our Political Critics" with Mr. Syed Nabiulla in the chair.

April 3. King George's message to the Imperial War Conference.

The American President's great speech to the Congress for participation with the Allies against the German Government.

April 4. American preparedness ; Colonel Roosevelt called at the White House and offered to raise an American force for service in France. Frantic enthusiasm throughout U. S. A.

April 5. The American Senate voted for War, 82 for and 6 against, which the Congress has ratified.

April 6. An explosion of shells occurred at Essen and thirty eight persons are reported to have been wounded.

April 7. The sixteenth session of the Nadwat-ul-Ulema or the assembly of Muslim theologians was held at Madras with Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim in the chair.

April 8. Meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Calcutta decided to hold the next Congress at Calcutta and to send a deputation of eight members to England for Congress work.

April 9. America's break-up with Bulgaria. Brazil's entry into the war.

April 10. British Victory at Vimey.

German plots in China and South America.

Capture of Monchy.

April 11. German intrigue in Russia.

Sinking of Spanish steamers.

April 12. Mr. Lloyd George's great speech at the American Luncheon Club, the American Ambassador presiding.

April 13. Mr. Asquith's vindication in the Commons of Lord Kitchener in the Dardanelles enterprise.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speeches at Lahore.

April 14. Big French offensive.

Reported fall of Lens.

British advance in Mesopotamia.

April 15. Exposure of German plots againstIndia

Capture of 10,000 German prisoners.

April 16. Dr. Wilson's inspiring appeal to Americans.

Labour troubles in Germany.

April 17. Anti-German riots in Brazil.

The Australians in London reviewed by H. M. the King.

April 18. Mr. M. K. Gandhi has been prohibited from entering the District of Champaran by order of the Magistrate under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

April 19. Violent fighting round St. Quinten. Sinking of Enemy destroyers.

April 20. Resignation of the Cabinet in Lisbon. Martial Law in Spain terminates to-day.

April 21. The Bengal Provincial Conference meet at Bhowanipur under the presidency of of Mr. C. R. Das.

Mr. Gandhi has been allowed to proceed with his investigations and the order against him withdrawn.

April 22. The Secretary of State for India announces that it has been decided that India should be fully represented at all future Imperial Conferences.

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Blackstone as a Jurist.

Mr. J. E. D. de Montmorency, writing in the *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation*, (January 1917), describes Blackstone's achievements as a great jurist and lawyer. His work has been very vehemently attacked by the chief legal theorists of his own and of the succeeding ages, viz., Bentham and Austin. Blackstone's theory of law, though vigorously assailed is neither confused, nor a pure figment of the mind without any basis in experience. He differentiates between 'laws of physical nature' which are not laws at all, but inherent conditions of stability and permanence in a non-conscious material structure, and 'laws of man' which are commands consciously imposed upon conscious personalities by a personality capable of enforcing such commands. Blackstone's view of the *Jus Naturalæ* is based on that of Hobbes, Selden and Plowden who in their turn largely took their views from Christopher St. Germain who is the direct link with the Schoolmen, Dante and Marsilio, and the classical sources from which they drew. Blackstone took the same view of the law of nature (*Jus Naturalæ*) that the profoundest thinkers before and since his time have taken. There is in man, an unvarying intuition of right and wrong, and it is of the same fundamental nature as the orderliness that is manifest in material nature. There are critics who complain that Blackstone has thought it necessary to supplement inherent law by direct, revealed or divine law as set forth in the Holy Scriptures; but he especially declares that this is really a part of the original law of nature, and is closely part of it.

Blackstone was really the first of the moderns, the frank adopter of the new ideas of Montesquieu promulgated in *The Persian Letters* and *The Spirit of the Laws*. He adopted without hesitation the new theory of heredity and environment in law. The law at any moment is the result of the processes of growth and environment. Such a conception was unspeakably repellent to Bentham whose one idea was 'that men should break loose from the trammels of authority and ancestor-wisdom on the field of law. Blackstone argued in effect that time and the process of history are the only tests of true utility and he believed that time and history had given to English Common Law, as long before it had given to Roman Law a prominent position, in view of its permanently utilitarian and easily adjustable character. Blackstone was a convinced optimist in the teeth of many admitted evils, since he saw that the English Constitution and the English Common Law, had, broadly speaking, through many centuries, served an independent people and had played a great part in preserving that independence in the successive ages, during which Europe at large had undergone the travail and sorrow of unstable laws and constitutions. Blackstone was a legal Platonist, and believed in a model code—an ideal law of nature—and he thought that the English law not only contained a large element of this law, but that the process of further growth would give it a closer approximation. He believed in a rapid evolution of the English Common Law which would cleanse it from all impurities and that an era of liberalism was at hand. And he saw with perfect clearness, that with liberal-minded judges and a wise legislature, the legal institutions of England were capable of vast improvement. And he is not belied to-day when the great Common Law of England divides with the laws of Rome, the allegiance of modern civilisation.

The Social Aim of Education.

Writing on the above subject, in the current number of the *Mysore Social Review*, Dr. S. Venkoba Rau, B.A. points out the need for a socialised curriculum for schools:—

The school curriculum and the methods of teaching and of study must be socialised to make the pupils good members of society. The subjects taught must really be subjects which interpret and prepare for efficient living in the present-day world. Their school work must prepare them for their present as well as future life, and be recognised as a series of social undertakings by the teacher and pupils alike. Every one must be active and must co-operate in the work. When all are actively engaged and every one is contributing something to the solution of the difficulty or the development of the point, the result will be profitable to all alike. The scientific task to which education should set itself is to make the subject-matter of its instruction the material of personal intercourse between the teacher and the pupils and also among the latter themselves. The making of the actual subject-matter of any text book into a material of personal conversation and discussion is the best way to insure its mastery by each pupil.

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The Empire and the War.

Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, writing in the *United Empire* for February 1917, points out that the present British Empire is not the first but the second of which the British crown has become successively possessed. The first Empire broke up and was dispersed as the result of the War of American Independence. Though many fragments of the first Empire survived to form the nucleus of the second, they survived in so changed an environment of political conditions and ideas that they had to be reincorporated and in a sense reacquired. The first Empire was built up under the so-called old Colonial system, according to the mercantile principles of which, dependencies were sought for, secured and valued as estates to be worked for the benefit of the mother country.

But in the last quarter of the 19th century, the old era of indifference and neglect gave way to a period of eager interest and diligent cultivation. The causes for this change are detailed in the following:

The entry of Japan into world-politics had raised pacific problems with which neither Australia nor Canada could hope to deal apart from Great Britain. The eastward expansion of Russia towards the frontiers of India and China had caused serious Asiatic questions to emerge. Above all, the unification of Germany, the founding of the *Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft* (1884) and the startling appearance of the new Teutonic Empire as a power, with a passion for overseas dominion, and with an evident determination to mop up everything not yet absorbed by Europe in Africa and Oceania, had roused apprehension in every part of the British Empire. Finally, the immense development of the United States, the increase of its population (from five millions to eighty millions in less than a century), the exploitation of its resources, the expansion of its protected commerce, emphasised the fact that the day of small insulated national states had passed, and that the day of Imperial Federation had dawned. Hence British statesmen—prominent among whom were Lord Carnarvon, Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and Lord Rosebery—ceased to regard with complacency the "imminent and inevitable" dissolution of the Empire, and began to seek diligently for means to prevent what they could only consider a deplorable and unnecessary catastrophe. Their aspirations and efforts met with a ready response in the Dominions. The Imperial Federation League was formed, and for ten years (1884-1893) it wrestled with the problem of how to find some means by which real unity of administration could be given to the many and various elements of the so-called "British Empire." It failed; partly because of the genuine difficulties of the problem, due to distance, diversity, divergence of interests, complicated by inter-colonial conflicts relating to tariffs and immigration law; partly because it prematurely committed itself to a false and impossible solution of the problem, viz., the establishment of a unitary Empire in which the Dominions and Dependencies should send representatives to be outvoted and submerged in the existing overburdened and effete Parliament of the United Kingdom. But though the Imperial Federation League was dissolved and its specific proposals were abandoned, the policy of consolidation did not cease to operate. Circumstances, indeed, did not allow the matter to drop out of mind. In particular, the aggressive designs of Germany—her seizures in Africa and Oceania, her threats to Egypt and India, her penetration of China and South America, her commercial attacks and her maritime challenge—compelled attention to the urgency of the question. Hence the existing links, constitutional and economic, which bound the Mother Country to the Dominions were gradully strengthened. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council began to give some sort of unity to the legal systems of the Empire: the Imperial Conferences, instituted as part of the Jubilee Celebrations of 1887 and 1897, became permanent and increasingly important; a new Committee of Imperial Defence, first appointed by Lord Salisbury, began to survey the military and naval problems of the Empire as a whole.

Two problems which have not been faced before the present war viz, (1) how to give the Dominions an equitable share in the determination of foreign policy, and (2) how to secure from them an equitable contribution towards the great and growing burden of imperial armaments, have now been brought to the front. And these final problems of Imperial Federation will be solved by the war. One thing, however, vitiates Professor Hearnshaw's article; he tamely follows the scheme formulated by "The Round Table" urging imperatively a written constitution for the Empire with a new Federal Executive and a new Federal Parliament.

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Scientific Parliamentary Reform.

Mr. W. H. Cowan, M. P. writing in the new year number of *Science Progress*, condemns the frequently urged proposals for empirical alterations in the Parliamentary system, and urges a *bona-fide* attempt at reorganisation on scientific principles which would be universally welcomed. Alterations which have been made in Parliamentary procedure have resulted in a progressive curtailment of the rights of private members, while successive leaders of the Commons have affected a pedantic attachment to ancient tradition which has excused them from making any comprehensive attempt to adopt mediæval practice to modern conditions. The fiction of the Speaker's Eye is an instance of this survival. The whole machinery of the House of Commons has by almost imperceptible stages, been deflected from its original purpose, and is now employed to impose upon the nation the autocratic will of cabinets. Cabinet autocracy is dependent partly upon the power of the Prime Minister to appoint and dismiss his colleagues and partly upon his latent power of dissolution and it is reinforced by all the influence of a vast and complex party organisation in the House and in the country. The average member of the Commons ends by placing his conscience in commission, and the preservation of the solidarity of the party is given out as the saving of the Empire from disruption. The power of party organisation makes itself felt chiefly in the selection of candidates. The control of the Commons over finance is an empty boast; and the so-called congestion of business is the cause to which are conveniently attributed the neglect of many important matters, the postponement of necessary legislation and the inadequate discussion of vital questions. Trifling alterations in procedure, permitting for example the carrying over of Bills from one session to another and limiting the duration of business would go far to relieve the congestion of business which is the excuse for so many legalised irregularities.

Two Parliamentary reforms would suffice to relieve the elected representatives of the people from cabinet autocracy on the one hand and from party tyranny on the other. The election of the Commons for a fixed term of 4 or 5 years would deprive the Prime Minister of the power of dissolution, and would make the ministers the leaders and not the masters of the House. The substitution of ballot-voting for open voting in the division lobbies will diminish to a little extent party tyranny. While the contention that the members must be denied the ballot in order that their constituents may know how they vote in each division is disingenuous and designed to conceal the real object of open voting. The closure, so often oppressive and even brutal in its application, would lose much of its harshness, while preserving all its utility under the ballot. Neither of these two reforms, would, by itself, be adequate for this purpose.

There are also constitutional questions of the first importance long overdue for settlement, e.g. the devolution and the reconstitution of the upper House, the establishment of 'Home Rule' all round, the setting free of the Imperial Parliament for Imperial matters and the facilitating of Imperial Federation. The franchise and electoral reforms include four principal topics (1) the reform of the franchise, (2) definition of the basis for the redistribution of seats, (3) reform of the system for the registration of electors, and (4) method of elections and the manner in which the cost of elections should be borne. Reform of the franchise and registration of electors are closely allied subjects; the former implies the widest possible extension of the right to vote, it is a question of expediency and it must ultimately resolve itself into the enfranchisement of all reputable persons male and female of a specified age. Redistribution of seats must be on a scientific and therefore permanent basis. The boundaries of many existing constituencies must be rectified, a few constituencies must be merged in others, a certain number of new Parliamentary divisions must be created; and all this must be done in such a way as to secure numerically equal voting areas. And there must be an automatic readjustment of boundaries in accordance with the results of each successive census and the actual work of redistribution must be entrusted to an impartial judicial commission. Methods of election must be fixed from time to time according to equity and expediency; and minority and proportional representations might be given effect to. Side by side with these reforms, the real causes of Parliamentary inefficiency and decline must be tackled with.

THE INDIAN DEMANDS. A Symposium on the Memorandum of the Nineteen, and the Speeches at the Congress and Moslem League on a Scheme of Self-Government for India with an Introduction by G. A. Natesan, B.A., F.M.U, Price Re. 1.

To Subscribers of "The Indian Review," As. 12.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

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A Discourse on Buddhism.

There is an instructive and comprehensive sketch of Buddhism and its features by Mr. F. Pooley in the last number of the *Buddhist Review*. The Buddha saw that change is inherent in nature and is the essence in itself, that the reality of the universe is found in energy ; and he clearly saw that unless an alleged truth is consistent with all other knowledge, it cannot be the truth, and he found out by deep earnest cogitation that the universe is a self-determined system which manifests itself in the changes which we witness individually or collectively. He said that the world is full of sorrow, because it is full of error, and men go astray because they think that delusion is better than truth. He recognised that ignorance is the root of evil and traced the twelve *nidanas* or links leading respectively from blind ignorance through formative and organising appetences to a cleaving of things, self-hood and renewed births.

The Buddhist culture is essentially practical and insists on self-deliverance born of self-conquest and accompanying the self-culture is an outward process enjoined, *viz.*, universal all embracing love, and a friendly and boundless and unobstructed mind. Buddhism does not teach the existence of good in the same sense as the Christian, Jewish and Mahomedan faiths ; but it affirms that the source of enlightenment is omnipresent and eternal, and merely takes up an agnostic position neither affirming nor denying a god-head, but nowhere denies a first cause. There is nothing isoteric about Buddhism, in spite of what has been written on the subject. Buddhism has no dogmas in the sense that Christianity has dogmas, although many analogies exist and the follower is strictly enjoined to cease following, if he proves that the teachings are false. Nor is Buddhism founded on revelation. A conflict between Buddhism and science is impossible as the Buddhist can accept propositions as true, only after they have been proved by careful scientific investigation Buddhism denies the existence of the soul in the sense of an ego—a thing in itself—but does not deny the thinking, aspiring personality that each one feels and knows oneself to be. It also teaches that this personality is perpetuated after death by impress on a new birth, such new birth being decided by the *Karma* of the recently deceased person. The soul is simply a synthesis of tendencies built up by a gradual process of evolution and subject to universal laws of growth and decay. Every being in its present existence is the exact product of all its deeds in former existences, and according to its deeds it will continue in future existences. Although Buddhism denies the existence of a soul behind the ego, a thing in itself, yet it proclaims the existence of something eternal. The eternal is not a thing, a concrete actuality, a material existence, but the omnipresence of those eternal verities, which render possible all that is true, good and beautiful. These eternal verities are the norms of existence, and they produce those uniformities in nature, and form in their entirety the reasons for all rationality, the source of sciences and the source of enlightenment. And the ultimate norm of truth can neither be made nor un-made ; it has never originated and it will never cease. To become at one with these eternal verities is the driving power, which impels the true Buddhist to the better path and the higher plane. *Nirvana* is a state of mind in which the limitations of individuality disappear and the eternity of truth is contemplated, and it renders one's own individuality as objective as that of others, and it is the surrender of self to truth.

Buddhism is often accused of pessimism, but this is due to a misconception of its teachings. It faces the inevitable problems of evil, pain and sorrow but it also preaches deliverance from these. There are a few analogies and contrasts between Buddhism and Christianity. Both appealed to nature and transcended the limitations of caste, rank, nation and race ; both built their fabric upon an older foundation, but without a sacrifice of essentials ; but the greatest contrast exists between the Christian creative attitude and the quitest teachings of Buddhism. And Buddhism aims at the extinction of individuality, while Christianity thinks the individual of infinite worth.

The War and World-Thought.

After mentioning the various contributions to science made by the Hindus, Prof. Jacob Kunz PH. D., in the pages of a recent issue of the *Hindustanee* observes :—

The most scientific nations, Germany, England and France, filled with the most deadly hatred, are engaged in a most terrible War of mutual annihilation . . . . At the same time our daily life is more and more absorbed by material cares. We have no more leisure nor sence for the culture of the finer impulses of the heart. . . . . Here arises the need for religion.

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A Conscience Clause in India.

In the current number of the *International Review of Missions*, there is an article from the pen of the Editor, Mr. Oldham, which argues out, of course, from Missionary point of view the merits and demerits of the demand for a conscience clause recently made. The questions to be settled in reference to this problem are important as well as difficult and complex, and they involve this fundamental difficulty as to how those who believe in Christ are to live and work in a world which does not accept their ideal.

From the Missionary point of view, the Christian teaching in Mission schools and colleges is not only an integral but the most important part of the teaching given. And if the conscience clause were enforced, the question would arise whether, under the new conditions, it would be worth while for Missionary institutions to remain under the grant-in-aid system ; and then there would be an extensive reorganisation and possibly a considerable contraction of missionary education. Christian Missions have, in the past, been one of the strongest supports of the view, that the moulding of character is the chief end of education, and that moral training to be effective must be based on religion ; and if they are to continue to render this important service, they can clearly do so only by being allowed to teach the religious beliefs which are held by them.

It is difficult to foresee to what extent the introduction of a conscience clause would affect attendance at religious instruction. And if the quiet even rule of school rule were relaxed, the religious work of the institution would be seriously interfered with. And it is scarcely possible to make attendance at religious instruction voluntary without creating the impression that it is of less importance than the other subjects in the curriculum, whereas the spring and inspiration of the Missionary movements are found in precisely the opposite conviction.

The real issue in connection with conscience clause movement is, whether it is or is not desirable that the Missionary schools should have a place in the public system of education. Only those have a real grievance against aids being given to Mission schools from public funds, who believe that the kind of education imparted by them is so undesirable that it should not find a place in the public system. It is an intelligible and reasonable policy for the State to encourage, as far as circumstances permit, a variety in the types of education provided ; and where parents have a choice between different institutions, there appears to be no valid objection to the support by the State, of schools which, though they may not find favour with all, are nevertheless contributing to the general advancement of the people.

A serious difficulty arises where a Missionary school or college is the only institution of its kind in a district, and in these circumstances a parent is without real freedom of choice. And for these reasons, a weighty body of Missionary opinion is in favour of admitting in what may be described as 'single school areas,' the right of parents to withdraw their children from religious instruction, of which they do not approve. If this right of parents in 'single school areas' is to be recognised, the further question (appearing to be casuistic to us) remains, whether this recognition should be a voluntary act on the part of Missionary schools or should be imposed on them by statute.

The demand for the conscience clause is closely connected with national and political aspirations, and it would be very unfortunate if, in opposing that demand, Missions should appear to be in conflict with the national movement. It should also be considered whether the time has come for the abandonment of the principle of strict religious neutrality enunciated by Government in the Despatch of 1854 ; as the imposition of a conscience clause by legislation involves a departure from the strict principle of religious neutrality. For these above reasons, Mr. Oldham thinks that it ought to be possible to find a common ground with a large section of Indians in regard to the main questions involved.

The Efficacy of Self-Government.

The current number of the *Round Table* contains the following remarks on Home Rule for Ireland :—

They contend that if the majority of the Irish are politically backward, are lacking in enterprise, are easily swayed by agitation and phrases, these defects have been intensified by a system which compels them to obtain what they desire by factious pressure on England, and that to throw upon them the responsibility for government is alike the best cure for these defects and the only foundation of individual self-respect and national self-confidence. It is responsible government, following after a period of good government, that has made the Anglo-Saxon world what it is to-day.

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The Historical Basis of Irish Nationalism.

In view of the impending Irish settlement, it is very good to understand the background of history against which the Irish people see themselves as members of a distinct nation. Such an account of the historical basis of Irish nationalism is given in some consecutive numbers of the *New Statesman* of last month. It is important to emphasise in the beginning that during many centuries of Gaelic rule, Ireland was a nation with one code of laws, one language, and one High-King. Even before the 5th century Irish intercourse with Europe was large and seems to have been direct rather than by way of England. During the sixth and succeeding centuries, there was scarcely a corner of the known world to which Irishmen did not penetrate, taking with them religion, learning and the arts; and foreigners flocked to her as a university. Irishmen like St. Gall, Virgilius, Bishop of Salzburg, the scholar Dungal, the greatest astronomer of the time, Johannes Scotus Erigena of the 9th century, these make the significant fact in early Irish history, not the recurring unrest of provincial kings and the lack of a strong central government, but a great civilising mission to Britain and France. This most promising Irish civilisation would have developed into something greater, if it had not been interfered with by invaders first from Scandinavia and then from England of the Normans. For good or for ill, Ireland had not shared the fate of Britain in being subjected first to the Roman Empire and afterwards to the invading Angles and Saxons. Norsemen and Danes who established themselves in many parts of Ireland between the 8th and the 11th centuries, never conquered the country, but became mere plunderers and ravagers. After the final defeat of the Danes by Brian Boru who finally released Ireland from Danish horrors by his great victory over the foreigners in 1014, Ireland enjoyed a century and a half of national revival. It was during this time that many of the famous churches of Ireland were built, that historians wrote of the Danish wars, and the famous Irish heroic tales were written.

The weakness, however, of the Irish monarchical system, together with much civil strife and certain troubles of the Church, gave Henry II an opportunity of effecting a conquest of Ireland such as the Romans had not essayed and the Danes had not succeeded in. Soon the conquered Irish, instead of being treated as subjects of a residential Norman king were regarded as enemies of an absentee Norman king and aristocracy. And Anglo-Norman government never for a moment ceased to be an anti-national institution. Not only the original Irish, but even the English invaders were turbulent and divided after the mediæval fashion. The Irish again and again rallied to recover the defence of their liberties, up to the time of Elizabeth, Crommell and William III. The Irish tendency for complete national expression was too powerful to be restrained by English edicts, and its most remarkable triumph was the Irishising of the mediæval English settlers. It was the Tudors who were most eager in destroying the language and the liberties of the Irish. Nothing could be more characteristic of the vitality of Irish genius than the fact that amid the fire and slaughter of the 16th and 17th centuries, Irish poets and historians went on with their labour of keeping alive the tradition and spirit of the nation. Cromwell's massacres, by which a third of the population perished by sword, plague and famine could not root out the Irish spirit which continues as undaunted to-day as ever it was.

Indian Currency Reforms.

The Editor of the *Wealth of India*, commenting on the Indian contribution of 100 millions sterling towards the expenses of the war, makes the following observations on the need for a revision of the fiscal policy of this country :—

We need hardly point out that the exports from India consist mainly of raw produce, and that these are the result of the labours of millions of small agriculturists who are themselves in debt to local sowcars at various rates of interest. What chance is there then of these poor cultivators allowing long credits to their foreign purchasers? And for their inability to do so, if they are to be restricted from selling abroad, we can only say it will be an economic tyranny rendered possible by the political subordination of India to England. Such a course may be inevitable during the period of war, but after peace, a juster method of dealing with India will have to be adopted. And that is, a reform of the currency policy of this country as the result of which, its management by the Government will be done away with and a gold currency introduced, the main feature of which will be the circulation of a large number of notes on a gold basis.

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The Lines of Progress in India.

A writter to the *New Statesman* of February 1917 suggests a few main lines on which progress should proceed among Indians. The first great necessity is to reform the Civil Service. Educated Indians are to-day a formidable rival to the Indian Civil Service in the competition for the well paid, dignified and responsible posts, as well as for the right and power to direct policy; and feelings on this point tend to grow more and more embittered every day. One other thing is that the Civil Service dare no longer act on the opinions it has formed where these come into conflict with the wishes of any powerful section of the community. As public opinion has certainly found expression and can certainly awaken echoes throughout the greatest part of uneducated India, the Indian Government tend more and more to take the line of least resistance and to shirk all serious undertakings. It does not find courage to put through contentious measures in the teeth of vested interests which have learnt how to work up a popular agitation, or again to embark on a bold policy of taxation for developing the country. The writer proceeds to discuss among the various substitutes for the present system of Civil Service Government, the possibility of the adoption of Colonial Self-Government which is for the present deemed by him as impracticable. But he advocates a modification of the present system and recommends the direct appointment of Indians to be members of the Executive Councils from which Civilians might be altogether excluded. The Executive Councils must be composed of Englishmen fresh from Home and Indians; and in these the advantage of experience would be with Indians, and they would have in practice the direction of the policy of Government in Indian affairs. This would have a steadying influence of infusing responsibility in many Indians, and the possession by Indians of the chief executive posts would react on the attitude adopted by Englishmen towards Indians throughout the country. And the Empire would have the advice and co-operation of the best men in India in the delicate and dangerous task of raising India's status from that of a servant to that of a partner. The main weight in the Executive Councils ought to be given to Indians, but this should be linked with fairly extensive concessions of a different nature e.g., fiscal autonomy; elected Indians to act as advisers to the Secretary of State; increase in the number of responsible and well paid posts by Indians, and improvement of Indians in the army etc.

The Religious Problem in China.

The March issue for the *Positivist Review* has an article on the 'Religious Problem in China' by Mr. Sih-Gung Cheng, where is made known the religious problem which is awaiting solution at the hands of the Chinese Government just now. In China, religion is understood in a sense different from that common in Europe. The co-existence of three religions, Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism has caused no conflict and the population is not divided among them, as would most likely have been the case in Europe. The Chinese have amalgamated all the three systems into one, and the great mass of them are Confucianists, Buddhists and Taoists at the same time. The exclusiveness of religion began to be felt in China when Christianity had gained a foothold. Catholic missionaries, however, tried to tolerate native worships, and even Protestants tolerate many worships and social practices. To the religions of China, Christianity has practically nothing to add. The Sermon on the Mount has been supplied by the teachings of her sages; and there is not probably a single moral precept in the Christian Scriptures which is not substantially also in the Chinese Classics. The miraculous and divine nature of Christianity which has been defended on the ground of social expediency rather than on that of truth, has again been supplied. Buddhism has an advantage over Christianity in priority of time. What Christianity has done for China has to be sought for in its secular aspect, e.g., the opening of schools, the establishment of hospitals, the relief of the poor etc.

In China, where the process of transition from the mediæval regime to the modern has not yet completed its course, one sees the revival of Confucianism with the growth of Christian influence. To-day one realises that it is not Confucianism, but a corruption of it that is responsible for the stagnant and chaotic state of China's politics and science. A study of comparative religion does not disqualify Confucianism as a religion, but shows its superiority to many others from a rationalistic point of view.

The latest controversy is whether provision should be made in the new constitution that is being drafted for a state religion. There is a proposal that Confucianism should be made the state religion and that religious liberty should be observed.

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Militarism and Degeneracy.

A writer in the *Candid Review* ridicules the idea held in some quarters, among the military classes in Germany and elsewhere, that war and militarism are in some way or other ultimately beneficial to society. He denounces the application of the biological theory in moral law and says touching the usual plea of the "survival of the fittest" theory :—

If our conception of nature and of morals is so false as to lead us to imagine that we ought to advance the process of crude natural selection, we ought to turn our attention more particularly to the cultivation of disease, to refrain carefully from measures aimed at the extinction of certain diseases, and to revile and persecute those whose labours have shown the way in which such extinction may be realised. For there can be no question that on the whole disease tends to attack the feeblest and least valuable individuals in the community. The prevention of disease on a large scale means the survival and perpetuation of persons of weak constitution and degenerate heredity who, under natural selection, uncontrolled, would speedily die out. War on the other hand, kills out only those of military age and physique ; a soldier has to pass a certain medical standard of efficiency. The weak and incapable are not liable to be killed in battle, and the tendency of modern warfare is to exterminate the most vigorous part of the community.

Democracy.

Mr. W. D. S. Brown, in the course of an article in the March number of the *Theosophist*, points out:

The development of democracy is especially essential to the success of international federation, because, otherwise, such federations will be little more than trade combines for the exclusion of rival combines. The resolutions passed at the Paris Conference should be warning enough of the dangerous lengths to which a military alliance is prepared to go under commercial pressure. The power of co-operation is already admitted ; the danger is that it will be used as a weapon and not as a safeguard. Even within the British Empire we find a privately organised attempt to keep one part of the Empire—India—in a position of subjection to the remainder, presumably for fear that a recognition of equal rights would curtail the profits made by one part of the Empire at the expense of another. It follows, therefore, that until a Government respects the rights of its own people, it is not likely to respect the rights of other peoples, and any scheme of federation that does not respect the rights of all will be partially, or wholly, an imposition, however fine it may sound from the platform.

How do we know that other nations can be relied on ? We do not know. We have got to find out by trying them. If each nation waits for the others to make the first move, no move will be made. The nation that does make the first move will have proved itself fit to lead in the coming civilisation ; not in the old sense of being able to get its own way regardless of its consequences, but in the new sense of being ready to give way for the common safety. If Britain cannot lead in this respect, how can she continue to plead high ideals in justification of the War? The co-operation of the Allies, in spite of every attempt from the other side to sow discord, has proved that nations who had recently regarded one another as traditional enemies can trust one another when faced by a common danger ; can anyone say that such co-operation is impossible when directed to securing the common safety ?

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF MALAYALAM LITERATURE. By Mr. A. Gopala Menon, M.A. ["The Malabar Quarterly Review," January 1917.]

BRAHMAGUPTA AND BHASKARA. By Haranchandra Banerji, M.A., B.L. ["The Ripon College Magazine," February 1917.]

BISHAN NARAIN DHAR. By Mr. Hamid Ali Khan. ["East and West," March 1917.]

PANCHARATRA AND VAISHNAVA DAILY LIFE. By Prof. T. Rajagopala Chariar, M.A., B.L. ["The Vedanta Kesari," February 1917.]

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POST-WAR REFORMS.

I. Dr. G. B. Clark. (*Late M. P. for Caithness.*)

When the war is over, (writes Dr. Clark in the *Forward*,) there will be many problems of the greatest importance affecting the whole structure of the British Empire, which both Parliament and the people of the United Kingdom will need to consider. Among them is the question of the future administration of India.

The present system of Government is like that of Russia, a bureaucratic one. It is a Government of officials responsible only to themselves, though unlike that of Russia, it is honest and efficient, and there is no corruption. Of the fourteen hundred bureaucrats who govern India, less than one hundred are Indians, and, consequently, it is practically a Government of foreigners alien in race and language. Like the Tsar, the Viceroy has despotic powers, tempered a little by the influence of the Secretary of State for India in London. He may use those powers in the interests of the people, but very often, he only begins to understand their requirements when his term of office expires. From the time he arrives, until he departs, he rarely comes in touch with the people. He is in the hands of the officials, and dependent upon them for his information about the condition of the country. There was a period in the history of India when a benevolent despotism was the form of Government best suited to it but, in consequence of the influence of Western civilisation, that time has now passed away. Progress and evolution operate upon States as well as upon individuals, and old and time-worn institutions have to give way to newer and more modern methods.

The India of to-day must get rid of the old exclusive methods of legislation and administration and adopt a more liberal and democratic one in the future. An attempt in this direction was made by the Indian Councils Act of 1909. Speaking during the Debate on the Second Reading of the Bill, Mr. Asquith said in reply to a critic: "It is most desirable, in the circumstances, to give the people of India the feeling that these Legislative Councils are not mere automatons the wires of which are pulled by the official hierarchy;" and, doubtless, that was the intention of the Liberal Cabinet. But the working of the Act has shown that the object of its promoters has not been attained, and that illustration has been afforded of another measure "that keeps the word of promise to the ear but breaks it to the hope."

The case (the Memorandum of the Nineteen) is thus stated:—

It is not the work of amateurs, but the well-considered proposals of men who, for their knowledge and ability, have been elected to the highest office in India, and who represent the educated and progressive class of every race and faith in that vast territory. The present bureaucratic system is now an anachronism and can no longer be maintained. All the unnecessary and absurd disabilities must be removed and a large measure of self-government conferred upon the Indian people. . . . . .

The Colonial Secretary can always consult the High Commissioners for the Dominions, and the Agents-General of the Colonies, on any questions affecting them, but there are no analogous officials representing the presidencies and the provinces of India. It would be better to reform the Council rather than abolish it. Instead of limiting its membership to old Civil Servants who have had long service in India, and some of whom are completely out of touch with the India of to-day, it might be composed of three members of this class, three Indians appointed by the elected Councillors in India, and three men of affairs from this country, not necessarily connected with India. Such a Council might be of great use to the Secretary of State when new and important questions have to be considered.

Discussing the various disabilities and disqualifications which are imposed on the people of India, Dr. Clark writes strongly on the subject of the Arms Act and the exclusion of Indians from Commissions in the Army.

This position of racial inferiority is very humiliating to the Indian people and especially to the intelligent class who come to this country for their education, take degrees at our universities, are called to our Bar, and enter various professions.

As regards the hopes held out to India Dr. Clark reminds Lord Sydenham and other reactionaries with a convenient memory, that Mr. Asquith, as Prime Minister, on several occasions, recognised the part played by Indians in the War, and spoke of the Indian people "as joint and equal custodians of one common interest and future," and that both he and other responsible statesmen have hinted, by no means obscurely, that in the future the Government of India will be more representative of the people and more under their control. (*Reprint from "India."*)

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II. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E.

(*Late Dewan of Mysore, Travancore and Baroda*)

"The fortunes of India are inextricably bound up with those of England, and, whatever the short-comings of England may be, it is only through her that India can hope to become a self-governing nation. Anything, therefore, that may weaken England's power cannot but tell on the well-being and prosperity of India. It is, on the other hand, to England's own interest as an Imperial Power to do everything to strengthen India's position so that she may become a self-supporting and self-reliant nation within the Empire.

"I think England fully realises that the time has arrived for giving India self-government, but her difficulty appears to be whether India can safely be raised to the position of a self-governing country. The case of the Colonies is simple. They are kindred nations who are offshoots of the parent stock and the question with them is one of bringing them into closer union with the central Government and has practically been solved. But the case with India is different. Her populations belong to an alien race and a different civilisation. And the British nation, who, in the ultimate resort are the arbiters of the destinies of the Indian people, have not troubled themselves to understand Indian problems and have left the government of the country in the hands of her experts. Some catastrophe like the Mutiny and, in a milder form, the Indian unrest of 1905, rouses her attention and on these occasions, through her national assembly, the Houses of Parliament. Some action is taken to redress India's grievances and improve her Government. In the present World-War, however, England appears to have been much impressed by the spectacle of a whole nation, from prince to peasant, rallying to her side and placing their resources and services unreservedly at her disposal. In the exuberance of her feelings of gratitude India was assured of her title to self-rule being recognised and to her being lifted from a position of dependency to that of partnership in the Imperial scheme. The enthusiasm, however, would appear to have cooled down somewhat latterly and the visit to India of the Editor of the *Round Table* and the *Commonwealth of Nations* is not calculated to inspire confidence in the minds of the people of India as to much being done to change the character of her rule. He is supposed to represent the Lord Milner-school of thought, which, in regard to the so-called subject-races, has greater faith in the efficacy of strong, and according to their lights, good government than self-government. The Government will still be bureaucratic in spirit although there may be an increase in the representative element in it and in the appointments in Government service open to the sons of the soil. But this will not meet the present requirements of India. What India needs, and is ripe for, is Government of the people, by the people and the full recognition of the principle that there should be "no taxation without representation."

"This is a matter of no mere sentiment or aspiration, due to borrowing fine phrases from the politics of the West without understanding their meaning. It is a positive necessity for the well-being of India and for the integrity of the Empire. There is no question that the bureaucracy has outlived its usefulness, and while unwilling to part with power, it is unable to adapt itself to the changed conditions in India. The India of to-day is not the India of five years ago and since the war, the change is working even more rapidly than in the previous three years. The retired Governors and officials who generally shape opinion at Home on Indian questions are woefully behind the times and shout shibboleths like "vakil raj," "babu politicians," "Martial races," "unwarlike communities," "ignorant masses" and "self-seeking educated classes," which have long since been exploded. India has passed the stage of being governed on the old lines by highly trained Englishmen sent out to administer the country. So long as government was confined to policing the country, dispensing justice, collecting taxes, and promoting to a large extent the material and moral welfare of the people, it was simple enough, and no agency could have done it better than the Civil Service, which has earned the gratitude of the people and the admiration of the whole world. But if India is to become a self-supporting and self-reliant nation, something more is wanted than these elements of good government. The British Government, however sympathetic and however well-intentioned it may be, cannot, from the nature of the case, undertake this task with any chance of success. The work will have to be taken up by indigenous agency, by statesmen and philosphers like Stein, Fichte and others in Germany in the beginning of the last century, or the patriots who piloted the passage of Japan from the old order into the new. The only measure of economic and social reconstruction introduced by the British Government is the co-operative credit system in Lord

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Curzon's Viceroyalty. Beyond this, the Government have not done much to strengthen the economic position of the people or train them in habits of self-help and self-reliance.

"It is the fashion to attribute the spontaneous rally of India to the side of England, when war was declared, to the good Government which had conciliated and secured the loyalty and devotion of the masses to the British nation. This is at best a half truth and I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that this was due mainly to the influence of the much maligned and much misunderstood intellectuals of India who alone were in a position to judge the good work England had done and what it would mean to India if Germany won in the present war. It is the educated classes that gave the lead. Of course, it is well-known that a great deal of this unhesitating action is due to the emphatic and courageous way in which Lord Hardinge had indentified himself with the national cause. I will not here attempt to show how untenable is the position, so often assumed, that the Civilians are the protectors of the masses and the Indian publicists are fighting for their own aggrandisement. Masses and classes are, however, ideas and phrases borrowed from the West and are utterly inapplicable to the conditions in India.

"How the English rulers in India have not outgrown the ideas of Government which may have answered in the earlier years of British rule but are quite inapplicable to modern conditions may be gathered from the attitude of the spokesmen of the Indian Government in the discussions in connection with the Consolidation Acts and from the Despatch sent by the Government of India on the proposals of the Decentralisation Commission to bring schemes for revision settlements before the Legislative Councils. If it were a national Government, even of the Russian type, it will be quick to respond to stimuli from without. The exigencies of self-preservation and strengthening her power of resistance has led the Russian Government to adopt compulsory education and give a voice to the representatives of the people in the Duma in deciding the policy of the State, even as the war was going on. All this will point to the necessity of increasing the representative character of Indian rule and consulting the people more generally and trusting them to a larger extent than has been the case hitherto.

"The heart of India is sound at the core and Congresses and Leagues and leaders like Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant require, at this crisis in India's fortunes, more freedom of speech and publicity for their utterances rather than discouragement, or repression. The people have to be educated on the one hand and on the other opinion has to be focussed on what measures should be adopted for giving India self-government within the Empire. I can, in the light of the recent speech of Lord Carmichael, understand how difficult must be the position of rulers when confronted with what they believe to be a widespread conspiracy to subvert British rule; but even in regard to such a state of things I would venture to suggest that the best course to adopt is to summon the well-disposed sections of the community to his aid and take counsel with them. However this may be, in regard to the reorganization of the Government of India, the proposals should not have gone to England without being subjected to discussion in India, both in the different Legislative Councils and in the Press. It is discussion alone that will enable Government to decide what constitution is best for each Province and for the Federal Government. The way in which the proposals have been sent to England, without even the Imperial Legislative Council being consulted, shows that the old bureaucratic spirit still rules in India." (The *Madras Mail.*)

III. The Hon. Mr. N. K. Kelkar.

(*Member, Legislative Council, Central Provinces.*)

Now the "essentials" of the scheme, as they appear to me, are these. Indians of status, position and education, whether they are Hindus or Mahomedans or Indian Christians, are no longer in a spirit of absolute trust, content either with the present method of initiating policies or the composition of the personnel which administers the affairs of the country. They want to have a hand both in the shaping of policy and the carrying out of the administration from day to day; and they want to be associated with the administration, not in the subordinate capacity, in which sense it is sometimes claimed that the administration is already largely in Indian's hands in almost every department, but in being given opportunities to shoulder its burdens and responsibilities in the same manner in which all higher officers of Government are called upon to do. (*Presidential address at the Yeotmal Conference.*)

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INDIA'S WAR CONTRIBUTION.

I. H. E. Lord Chelmsford.

His Excellency the Viceroy wound up the concluding session of the Imperial Legislative Council on March 23, with the following reference to India's war contribution :—

This has been a notable session and the Hon'ble members have, I think, every reason to be gratified with it. They have signified, in no uncertain manner, their desire to associate India with the sacrifices which our Empire has had to make in connection with this war, and I am glad to think that the Government of India, in making their offer of £100 millions to the Imperial Government, did not misinterpret the wishes of this Council. Some of you may have felt that the initiation of this policy by the Government reduced the subsequent legislative proceedings to little more than a formality, but this, believe me, is a superficial view. I can assure you that as regards the grave issues which this budget has raised, we do feel our real dependence on your support. We have acted in your name and on the strength of the mandate which you gave us in your loyal resolutions of the 8th September 1914, and the 24th February 1915, and we desired an endorsement of our actions which should go beyond the passing of the bills necessary to give them legal validity. It was, therefore, with the highest satisfaction that I found you to be in practically unanimous accord with the Government in supporting the proposals we laid before you. I think you would all wish me to congratulate Sir William Meyer on the skill with which he framed his budget, on the lucidity with which he expounded it, and on the reception which it has received throughout the country. I do not minimise for one moment the heavy responsibilities which this budget has placed upon us. There will be a sacrifice not of luxuries, not of the frills and trimmings of civilisation, but a sacrifice in a large measure of the necessities of ordered Government, and the result must be arrested progress in education, in sanitation, in public works and kindred subjects which are in other countries the touchstone of civilised life. . . . . .

Coincident with this session has come the triumphant progress of our gallant troops in Mesopotamia. We have all admired the military skill and determination which has marked the leadership of our army in the field, and we cannot forget the gallantry and endurance of the troops throughout the operations, which have taken place under the most trying conditions. We need not worry over the questions to whom, apart from the Generals and the Army in the field, the credit of those operations is due. But I should be doing less than justice to India if I did not briefly touch upon the history of the last year. The fall of Kut marked the nadir of our fortunes. The Indian Army had been bled white in providing troops and equipment for four fronts. The breakdown on the medical side in Mesopotamia had brought a storm of obloquy on Indian administration. The hardships of a summer in Mesopotamia had decimated and sapped the strength of our troops. The sick pouring into India had placed a strain on our hospital resources, which were frankly insufficient. All this had to be remedied. It is not easy for men to concentrate attention on work when criticism, some true, much of it based on the flimsiest grounds, is showering down upon their heads. But the fact remains, that the work has been done, and, so far as our resources have enabled us, I believe, we have made up the deficiencies of a year ago. Am I going beyond the mark when I say that we ought to pay a tribute to the labours by which the late and the present Commander-in-Chief and the Army Headquarters have accomplished this, and enabled General Maude and his heroic companions-in arms to achieve the success over which we are rejoicing to-day? History will some day record its verdict on these events, and we are too near to them ourselves to be sure of our judgment. But three stages seem to stand clearly out: the first in which India threw all she had and far more than had ever been contemplated into the great struggle; the second, the inevitable breakdown due in part to the exhaustion of our military resources, in part to adverse fortune; and the third, the patient building up again of the forces which has made our recent operations possible. It is easy to be wise after the event, and we to-day can see how things might have been ordered differently. We hope we have profited by our failures and have atoned for them, and made provisions against their recurrence.

II. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Chamberlain.

Moving the resolution authorising India's war contribution in the House of Commons, on March 14, Mr. Chamberlain said :—

He was confident that the members of the House would unite in gratefully recognising the feeling of comradeship and the community of interest which prompted the gift. He recalled the war services of the Indian troops, of whom there were now 300,000 on active service, and paid a tribute to the part played by officers in the British Indian army and officers in the Medical Service and Imperial Service Troops, and also to the unrivalled generosity of the Indian Princes. Mr. Chamberlain spoke of the labour corps, motor transport and munitions supplied by India, and mentioned that India's output of small-arms had increased threefold and of field-gun cartridges twelvefold since the war. He claimed that the military efforts of the Indian Government seconded by the Princes, Chiefs and Peoples of India had been no mean contribution to the success of the Empire.

III. Mr. Lloyd George's Message.

In accepting India's war gift, the Prime Minister sent the following Message to His Excellency the Viceroy who read it at the Council Meeting on March 23 :—

I wish, on behalf of the British Government, to express to the Government and the people of India our most sincere gratitude for the magnificent contribution which India has just made to the financing of the War. Coming, in addition to the enthusiasm and loyalty manifested throughout India on the outbreak of the War and to the invaluable military services since rendered by the Indian Army, this gift is to us a moving proof that India shares whole-heartedly with the other subjects of the Crown, the ideals for which we are fighting in this War. That India should come forward of her own accord at this crisis and render such real and opportune assistance is not only a source of sincere satisfaction to His Majesty's Government, but must produce a better mutual understanding among all the races and peoples under the British Crown.

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Hon. Mr. Malaviya on Indian Councils.

Speaking on the Budget debate in the Imperial Legislative Council on March 23, the Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :—

I mean no disrespect to your Excellency or your colleagues in the Government of India but I am sorry to say that not you but His Majesty's Secretary of State is the Government of India, because it is an open secret, we all know it to our regret, that every matter of importance relating to the revenues of India must be decided by the Secretary of State for India. A few minutes ago my hon. friend, Mr. Wacha asked whether we were not a self-governing body ; I honestly wish we were ; but I regret to say we are not, because in all matters of importance the fiscal policy of the Government of India is laid down by the Secretary of State. The influences to which he is subjected decide for the time being what particular course is to be taken on any question. To-day it may be those who denounce the evil of supplying opium to China ; to-morrow it may be the Lancashire merchants who do not want to lose any of their profits ; the day after, it may be the War Office which thinks that certain burdens should be cast upon India. The Government of India may protest, I gratefully recognise that they have protested on many occasions ; but their protests have gone in vain on too many occasions. Now, this is as unsatisfactory as anything could be, and I hope after the war is over this will be one of the most important questions that will be taken up, and that the Government of India will be really established in India and removed from London.

The second point is the constitutional position of this Council. I have already entered my protest against the manner in which the offer of £100,000,000, was settled. I do not mean any disrespect to the Government of India, but I feel it my duty to them and to his Majesty's Government and also to my country, to say that while the Council was in existence it was entirely wrong on the part of the executive Government to decide to make such a contribution without the consent of the Council. It shows as if this Council exists in name only and has really no fiscal powers except to legalise taxation. This again is highly unsatisfactory. Lastly, as regards the general position of the members of this Council, while we feel grateful that his Majesty's Government have invited representatives from India to assist the Secretary of State at the War Conference, we cannot conceal the feeling that, as it was on our recommendation that his Majesty's Government agreed to invite Indians to represent India at the Conference, it was due to us that we should have been consulted before the nominations were made. The Government would have lost nothing if that courtesy had been shown to the Council ; on the contrary, there would have been a real feeling of satisfaction throughout the country. We feel that we, who offer our humble services free to the Government and who have a recognised status as the chosen representatives of the people, should not be passed over when a question like that, in which we have shown an interest, is to be decided.

These considerations lead me naturally to the larger question raised by my hon. friend, Mr. Sastri and other members on Post-War Reforms. We have been advised by some gentlemen that we should not refer to that question at present. Those who offer such advice do not realise the position. They seem to forget or fail to appreciate what your Excellency was pleased to tell us in the opening speech of this session, that from May to October last, that is for six months before the session of the Legislative Council which produced the Memorandum submitted by nineteen of us elected members to your Excellency, to which also you were pleased to refer, the Government of India were engaged in considering the Despatch on the question of Post-War Reforms which you addressed to the Secretary of State for India in the autumn of last year. With that statement of your Excellency before us, I feel I am bound to refer to the matter. I do so particularly because as the hon. Mr. Basu has said, this Council will not meet again till September. We are hoping that this war, this accursed war, will have come to an end and that his Majesty the King-Emperor will have been able to proclaim a glorious peace before that time. In that view it is not improbable that this question of Post-War Reforms will be taken up for consideration before we meet again. Your Excellency's Government has spent six months over the Despatch you have sent to the Secretary of State and we the elected additional members of your Council, have submitted to you a Memorandum over which we spent a great deal of time and thought. The Indian National Congress and the Moslem League have also put forward a carefully considered scheme of reforms. There is thus no doubt much material before the

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Government to help it to come to a decision on the reforms. But, my Lord, we do not know what proposals your Excellency's Government have made on the subject, and we request that you may be pleased in fairness to the members of this Council, to publish those proposals, in order that we may submit our criticism on them with a view to help the Government to arrive at a correct conclusion. I need hardly say that the question of reforms is a much larger one now than it was before the war. As Mr. Lloyd George said the other day, the war has changed us very much. It has changed the angle of vision in India as well in England. I venture to say that the war has put the clock of time fifty years forward, and I hope and trust that India will achieve in the next few years what she might not have done in fifty years. Some persons are frightened at the use of certain expressions; some dislike the use of the term 'Home Rule;' some cannnot bear to hear even of 'Self-Government on Colonial lines." But all will have to recognise that the reforms after the war will have to be such as will meet the requirements of the India of to-day and of to-morrow, such as will satisfy the aspirations of her people to take their legitimate part in the administration of their own country.

My Lord, among these reforms, one of the most important forcibly suggested by the discussion on the Budget to-day is that India should enjoy fiscal autonomy, and that its Legislative Council, which is constituted by law, should have the sole power to determine what taxes should be raised and how the money raised should be spent. The action that has recently been taken by the Lancashire party in England with reference to the increase made in the import duties on cotton goods throws a lurid light on the need of having fiscal autonomy conferred on India. As regards the general question, the claim of us Indians to have a real voice in the administration of our domestic affairs is unanswerable. Justice is on our side. The forces of time are on our side. We rejoice to think that His Majesty's Government is engaged in a righteous war, in the cause of liberty and justice, and the freedom of nations, small and great. It is in no small measure due to this knowledge that from the beginning of the war we have heartily offered our humble services and have earnestly prayed for the success of His Majesty's arms. Before this war we admired England because she loved liberty and had helped other nations to acquire freedom.

Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on the Reforms.

In the course of a speech in the Imperial Legislative Council on March 23 the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri referred to the Post-War Reforms in the following words :—

Within twelve months of your Excellency's assumption of office, it has been possible for your Lordship to confer on this country three great blessings. The first I would mention is the suspension of indentured labour during the period of the war, which I hope will be converted into complete abolition of that iniquitous institution. The next I would mention is the organisation of the Defence of India force. Lastly, I will mention—well, I forget the third achievement for the moment, but i will pass on—I do not know how many still remain to be achieved by your Excellency, but there are two which I must take the leave of the Council to mention as those which I would like to see Your Excellency's regime be marked by. One is the enactment, on however humble a scale, of the principle of compulsion in the sphere of elementary education. The other is the inauguration of a scheme of political reforms before Your Excellency lays down office. On the contrary I expect that, long before that time comes perhaps, we shall be enjoying the fruits of the new scheme which I am sure is being framed between the Government of India and the Government in England. It has been pointed out, my Lord, several times that at this time of war we ought not to embarrass the Government with any suggestions of ours. I do not know that the thought of what should be done in India to satisfy the gowing ambitions of the country is not present night and day to those who have charge of responsible interests either here or in England. We know as a matter of fact the thought is for ever present in your minds, in the minds of those with whom you are in daily association in the work of Government in India. If we at this time throw in our counsel so that you may take that into consideration also in settling matters, it is rather hard for us to be accused of seeking to embarrass the Government with our ideas at this time. It is too little realised, I fear in official circles, or if realised it is conveniently forgotten, how intense are the feelings of young India in the matter of realising the great hopes that have been held out from time to time. It is somewhat strange that decades ago when public life was rather low in this country and public demands had not risen to any high pitch, it was left to English administrators and statesmen to lay down

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in clear and generous terms the policy of continuous improvement which was to end in the final emancipation in a political and economic sense of the people of this country.

Now that during the last few years public opinion has become articulate and people are asking for one thing and another, it is astonishing to think, it is saddening to think, that officials should seem to stand aghast and scared at the coming prospect. What is it that is happening in this country, they seem to say to themselves my Lord, no one of us, at least no one of us who has thought of the affairs of India in a serious way, desires any catastrophic changes. Far, far be that from our minds. But let me frankly tell Your Excellency and Your Excellency's Government that we do look forward to large, substantial and satisfying items of reform consistently with their being stable and lasting. The only things that we hear amid the official reserve and the official silence in regard to these matters are the views of retired pro-consuls like Lord Sydenham, whose distrust of educated Indians, I venture to state from this place, is fast becoming a menace to the peace and welfare of this country. My Lord, it was only a few days ago that the premier of England, referring to the catastrophic change that has come over Russia, spoke of it in terms to which I would venture to draw the attention of the Council. He referred to it with his characteristic insight as events marking a world epoch and as the first great triumph of the principles for which we entered the war, *i.e.*, the dethronement of autocracy and the establishment on a sure footing, let us hope, of popular freedom. We ask for the identical thing in this country. Shall it be said that India was the last country in the world to obtain this great triumph of the principles for which England and India alike are making terrible sacrifices? Let it not be said that any school of English politicians stood deliberately in the way of according to India that popular freedom which they hail in the case of Russia, even when it is inaugurated in that catastrophic manner of which we have heard. We want peaceful progress; we want constitutional and ordered progress; we want, however, at the same time that it should be declared clearly to Indians that they shall one day be free. It is necessary in my opinion also to state how soon. Shall it be said twenty or thirty years hence that, at a time when the world was passing through a terrible crisis and the nations stood facing each other, some in friendly co-operation, some in the bitterest hostility, the Indians asked for freedom, but that they were told to 'wait wait, wait.'

Your Excellency, it is now time that we were told definitely what it is that we are to expect. I make no doubt whatever that Your Excellency is already contemplating the announcement to India, at a seasonable time no doubt, of the goal towards which India politically will evolve under the fostering care of the British Government. It strikes me that the hour has long come when that should be made perfectly clear. While there are many authorities, high and low, in the country ready to deprecate and discourage, ready to intern and exclude, there is none—sad though—high or low, to speak a word of hope, to hold out to the coming generations the promise of freedom for which England has always stood, for which she is striving to-day, and for which both England and India together are striving with one mind and one heart.

Mr Hiranand Khemsing.

It will take too long to detail here the reforms which are needed and which must be installed after the War without loss of time. These have been enumerated in the memorandum drawn up by the non-official members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and have received the seal of approval from the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. I have been induced to make a mention of them because Sindh swims or sinks with the rest of India, and I wish only to add that the people of Sindh heartily join the people of the other Provinces in urging upon the British Government the necessity and desirability of installing a substantial measure of Self-Government in the country.—(*Presidential Address, Sindh Provincial Conference.*)

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Indentured Labour.

In the House of Commons on the 4th April Mr. Chamberlain stated that an inter-departmental Conference, on which the Government of India would be represented, would be held in London in May to discuss the question of the abolition of indentured emigration from India. Meanwhile it had become necessary to stop indentured emigration in order not to interfere with military recruiting in India. The Viceroy had informed Mr. Chamberlain that he and the Government of India wished that the indentured system of recruitment of labour for the colonies should not be resumed. It has later been announced that at the conference on emigration to be held in London in May the India Office will be represented by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, one India Office official and the following officers from India:—Sir James Meston, Sir S. P. Sinha, Lieutenant-Colonel W. M. Kennedy, and Mr. N. E. Majoribanks, I.C.S. The two last-named gentlemen will attend the Conference as having expert knowledge of the conditions of recruitment of labour.

Licensing Difficulty in Natal.

The refusal of the Dundee Town Council to grant a license to an Indian merchant, says the *Commonweal*, is the latest instance of the exhibition of colour prejudice in Natal. Mr. Karodia, who had settled as a trader in Natal for the last twenty years, recently purchased a building at a cost of £3,000, to which he desired to remove his business quarters. The Licensing Officer refused to grant the necessary license, because the opinion of the borough "was that that particular street, where Mr. Karodia's new building was situated, was reserved for European traders," and that this case might become a precedent for other Asiatics to attempt to occupy the quarters "reserved for Europeans". It is amusing that the Licensing Officer should write that he wished "to avoid class distinctions and keep the main street of the borough for Europeans." Is it a case of avoiding or perpetrating class distinctions? asks our contemporary *Indian Opinion* writes:

An Indian, because he is an Indian, is refused permission to transfer his business to premises owned by himself, even though it had been clearly shown that the man was carrying on his business from month to month, not knowing when it might be closed down. Such action amounts to rank tyranny.

Indentured Labour Statistics.

The report of the Indian Immigration Trust Board of Natal for the year 1915 which recently was published contains some interesting figures.

During the year 17,745 Indians completed their indentures, of which 5,167 completed their first term of indenture of five years; 6,085 had re-indentured under Act 17 of 1895 without a break, and 6,495 re-indentured under 42 of 1905 after a priod spent in Natal as 'free' Act people.

The number of re-indentures during the year was under Act 17 of 1895, 608; and under Act 42 of 1905, 3,194; the total 3,802, being 1,347 men less than the previous year.

The distribution of re-indentured Indians was as follows:—Coal Companies 50; tea and sugar estates 2,682; public bodies 8; up-country farmers 116, various 153! South African Railways 71.

Indians were returned to India as follows:—Madras 3,141 and Calcutta 703. Of these 98 were sick, etc.; 2,753 were entitled to a free passage under the law, and 993 received free passages under the Relief Act of 1914. Altogether there were 182 persons more returned than the previous year.

The actual number of those Indians who sailed and who were entitled to free passages from the Board was 2,851 souls (equal to 2,288½ adults) being 711 souls (equal to 557½ adults) less than the number of entitled Indians who went last year.

The cash and jewellery taken to India by returning Indians amounts to £31,591 and £11,987 respectively—a total of £43,578, showing £782 less cash than last year, but an increase of £912 in jewellery.

The general average is £16 16s. for each man and woman.

The special average is, sick ..	£4	1 7
Entitled ..	£17	12 11
Relief Act ..	£13	19 8

The average for the sick shows an increase of 13*s.* 8*d.* each, while the entitled show a decrease of £1 7*s.* 10*d.* each man, and the Indians under the Relief Act a decrease of £2 10*s.* 7*d.*

The cost of returning the above 2,288 adults to India was £16,425 16*s.*, which includes collection and accommodation at the Durban Depot, passage money, salaries and gratuities of medical staff, both at Madras and Durban, clothing, tinware, receiving and sending to their homes, and other expenses.

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Technical Scholarships in Travancore.

In Travancore a system of foreign scholarships to enable youngmen to be trained in foreign countries for industrial, technical and commercial pursuits was inaugurated in August 1916. In accordance with this system it is offering this year six scholarships, four of which will be tenable for two years each in England and the other two for a like period in India. The foreign scholarships are for students who will specialise in (1) weaving and dyeing, (2) chemical industry, (3) soap-making, and (4) leather and tanning. The scholarships are of the annual value of £150, exclusive of passage money and college tuition fees. The two other scholarships will be worth Rs. 50 each, exclusive of tuition or college fees. These are tenable in India and will be awarded to students who will specialise in wood distillation and manufacture of shellac, sealing wax, etc.

The Gwalior State Trust, Ltd.

His Highness the Maharaja Scindia has recently announced the formation of a new enterprise known as the "Gwalior State Trust, Limited." The objects for which the company is established are :—(1) To assist in every way possible the development of industry and commerce in the Gwalior State. (2) To render financial or any other assistance in commercial enterprises and in the creating of new manufactures and in the fostering and development of industries already in existence in the Gwalior State and (3) to encourage and foster in the Gwalior State the increased use of up-to-date machinery in agriculture and similar industries hitherto dependant on manual labour.

Soap Industry in Baroda.

An attempt is being made by the Baroda Durbar to develop the soap and oil industries in the State. With a view to assist the development of these industries, the Durbar has appointed Mr. J. Chakrabaty, F.C.S., Technical Chemist of the University of Paris, as expert adviser. Mr. Chakrabaty has for about five years been the Managing Director and Chemist of the Oriental Soap Factory at Calcutta, and in 1915 was engaged by the Mysore State to investigate the possibilities of the soap industry in that State. His experiments proved successful, as a result of which the Mysore State started a soap factory at Bangalore.

War and Mysore Industry.

A striking instance of the development of an Indian industry as the direct result of the war is found in the Mysore State. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, the State derived a considerable revenue from sandalwood which was disposed of at periodical sales, principally for shipment to Germany. With the advent of war, buyers failed to appear at the sale and Mr. Alfred Chatterton, Director of Industries and Commerce, accordingly sought the assistance of the chemists of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, with a view to establishing a sandalwood oil industry in Mysore and thus utilising the raw material formerly shipped to Germany. As the outcome of the experiments made in the laboratory at Bangalore, it was found practicable to inaugurate such an industry, and within a brief period, the works were so greatly extended that the manufacture of the oil is now yielding a monthly revenue of Rs. 1½ lakhs. The co-operation of the Institute of Science was essential to this development and the profits derived from the industry within a single year, it is said, will almost equal the whole amount so far expended on the Institute. The value of a well-equipped scientific institution is forcibly illustrated in this case. Sandalwood, which was formerly exported for the manufacture of oil, is now profitably treated in India and the loss of the German manufacturers means a corresponding gain to an enterprising Indian State.

New Industry in Hyderabad.

Great progress, we are told, has been made in Hyderabad in making motor spirit from the mahua. The tree abounds in the State and the authorities gather about 25,000 tons of its flowers every year. Some 10,000 tons are used for liquor, leaving a balance of 15,000 tons which are at present on the market. Mr. G. E. C. Wakefield, the Director-General of Revenue, says :—"We have run several kinds of motor cars successfully for some time on a spirit prepared from mahua at half the cost of petrol. Annual consumption of petrol in Hyderabad and Secunderabad is about 100,000 gallons and we require only about 1,500 tons of mahua to make that quantity." Mr. Wakefield adds : "A cheap motor spirit spells great reduction in the working charges of railways, water pumps, motor cars, in fact every description of power engine."

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Pudukottah Co-operative Conference.

The first Co-operative Conference was held in the Secondary School premises at Alangudi on March 23, with Mr. Sidney Burn, I.C.S., State Superintendent, in the chair. Eighteen resolutions were discussed and passed.

One resolution wanted the Durbar to permit the co-operative societies to undertake tank repairs and other public works. Before putting it to vote, Mr. Burn observed that when he was the President of the Trivandrum Taluq Board it was his experience that the people of the place adjoining Trivandrum did successfully, and at less cost, some works on a co-operative basis, so much so that he thought that these should be done more extensively by such means. The resolution was carried. In declaring the Conference dissolved, Mr. Burn observed that the subject of a State Bank was a fascinating one, and that it was stupid to send their money outside. He said that the question could not be decided in a moment, but required careful consideration. He assured them, however, of course, without detriment to his official consideration, that the Durbar was always willing to help the people.

The Maharajah of Bikanir.

In his speech on the occasion of receiving the freedom of Edinburgh on April 12, H. H. the Maharajah of Bikanir said he regarded it, not as a personal tribute, but a generous recognition of the unique position in the Empire of the Indian Princes and of the services which along with their fellow countrymen it had been their proud privilege to perform for their beloved Emperor and for the Empire. He paid a tribute to the great part which Scotsmen had played in India, where they had exhibited that sterling honesty and grip, as well as the intellectual and physical gifts distinguishing the nation. He was greatly impressed by the close resemblance in so many things between Scotsmen and Rajputs. They from India appreciated very greatly the generous, sympathetic and patient handling of Indian needs and sentiments, not only by the Imperial Government, but also by the Ministers of the Oversea Dominions, whose warm welcome and sympathy they would never forget. He was convinced that one result of the Imperial gathering would be the definite and permanent strengthening of Imperial ties.

Responding, when the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him, His Highness said that India would be deeply grateful to the Edinburgh University for its generous hospitality and the kindness extended to her student sons.

Mysore Military Forces on War Duty.

In the course of the Report of the Mysore Military Forces for 1915-16 it is stated that the Imperial Service Regiment remained in the field throughout the year, and was employed on the important duty of guarding the Suez Canal. The Lancers had encounters with the enemy on three occasions, and acquitted themselves creditably. The British Government recognised the good services rendered by the officers of the Lancers, including Colonel Desaraj Urs, who was mentioned in General Wilson's despatch, Mr. B. Chamraj Urs, who was promoted to the First Class Order of British India with the title of Sardar Bahadur, Jamadar Lingaraj Urs, who was admitted to the Indian Order of Merit, and four other officers who were awarded Distinguished Service Medals.

Progress in Cochin.

An instance of the progressive spirit of administration in certain Indian States, says the *Commonweal*, is furnished by the Cochin Durbar. While leave was refused by the Madras Government for the introduction of a non-official Panchayat Bill in the local Legislative Council, the Cochin Durbar, satisfied with the successful way in which the Village Panchayats have so far exercised their powers, have now invested them with the additional powers of trying petty civil cases—a good recognition of successful administration by Panchayats. The Cochin Panchayats, it may be stated, had till now control over rural sanitation, agriculture and roads. We hope the Madras Government will not say that the villagers in Cochin State are more enlightened and more progressive than those under their direct charge.

H. H. The Maharaja of Travancore.

A largely attended public meeting was held in the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall, at Trivandrum, recently, to concert measures for celebrating the *shashtipurthi*, or sixtieth birthday anniversary of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore. The meeting was attended by all classes of people, including European residents in the station. His Highness has been on the *musnad* for the past 32 years, but only one previous Maharaja has celebrated his *shashtipurthi* in the history of the State. Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair, the Dewan, presided, and after several speeches, resolutions were passed for the celebration of this auspicious event in a fitting manner; also for raising a permanent memorial. The total amount subscribed was over Rs. 10,000.

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INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION.

Lord Willingdon on the future of Trade.

His Excellency Lord Willingdon, in the course of a long and interesting speech at Bombay on March 22, thanked all organisations in the city connected with trade and commerce for their cordial and thorough co-operation with the Government during the war and the great assistance they had given in many difficult questions, and said :—"A few weeks ago General Knight informed me that he had received communications from certain business firms suggesting that they might be willing to give position in their firms to suitable officers of the army or navy who, while incapacitated by wounds from further military service, were otherwise in good health and anxious to secure employment in civil life. I thought this matter sufficiently important to write to the Secretary of State and he a few days ago cabled to me cordially approving of the idea and suggesting that he should appoint a committee at the India Office which might deal with any applications which might be sent. Might I invite you, gentlemen, to consider whether there is possibility of developing this suggestion and further, if in the event of your viewing it with favour, you could form a committee out of your members and deal direct with the committee to be appointed by the Secretary of State." . . . . . "If we consider the possibilities of our trade and commerce after the war, I think the outlook is very bright indeed. We are already supplying, notwithstanding the difficulty of freightage, Egypt and the Mediterranean with our natural products to an extent hitherto unknown and when a stable and settled administration exists in Mesopotamia and in that great tract of country which has hitherto been known as German East Africa, I think, I may say without undue optimism that this city and presidency are peculiarly well-situated for developing a large and profitable trade between ourselves and those countries. I think there is good reason for confidence in the future. There is one note of warning I would wish to strike, one question I would like to ask the members of your Chamber to-day. Are we looking ahead far enough to prepare for all possible emergencies, are we organising satisfactorily all our forces here so as to make our position secure for future years ?"

Tanning, Pottery and Paper.

At the last sitting of the Industrial commission in Calcutta, Mr. R. P. Adams, Chief Inspector of Factories, Bengal, stated in his evidence :—

There are at present only about five tanneries in Bengal, all of which are small and of little importance. There appears to be no doubt that the tanning industry is one which could be very largely and profitably developed. The money that is now spent in the preparation of skins for shipment abroad would, to a great extent, be saved as such preparation would be unnecessary if the skins were tanned in India and this would, moreover, have the desirable effect of taking the trade out of the hands of foreigners. In developing this industry it would be necessary to employ a large staff of trained European experts.

I have on various occasions visited the Calcutta Pottery Works and am convinced that this is an industry which admits of development. There is a large demand in India for porcelain insulators for electrical purposes. This demand has hitherto been met by importing these articles, but I do not see why there should be any difficulty in manufacturing them in pottery works in India.

The manufacture of paper in India, at present, has to depend almost entirely on raw materials such as wood pulp, caustic soda, bleaching powder, sulphate of ammonia, white clay, etc., which have mostly to be imported from Scandinavia and other parts of the Continent. Paper mills have experienced of some difficulty since the outbreak of war in obtaining these materials and high prices are having to be paid. Almost all these raw materials could be manufactured in India. As regards wood pulp, which is required in large quantities, experiments have already been carried out on a small scale by the Tittaghur Paper Mills Company and it has been demonstrated that bamboo, which is obtainable in large quantities in India and Burma, can be successfully converted into pulp suitable for the manufacture of paper. The only difficulty seems to have been the capital required to lay down a plant large enough to turn out the raw material in paying quantities.

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Indians in Railway Service.

Replying to the Hon. Mr. D. E. Wacha's question at a recent meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council *re* employment of Indians in the higher branches of the railway service, Sir Robert Gillan said:—The policy of Government is definitely to increase the number of Indians in the higher branches of the railway service on State-worked lines. This is shown by recent recruitments for the traffic department and the general statistics of Indians employed. The Great Indian Peninsula Railway invited applications from Indian gentlemen for appointments in the superior grade of the traffic department. The East Indian Railway also have submitted proposals to the Railway Board for the training of Indians to qualify them for appointment as officers in the locomotive department—a branch of work which Indians have hitherto not taken up.

Co-operation in the Central Provinces.

The total population of the Central Provinces and Berar is 14 millions. Out of these 14 millions 70,000 are members of co-operative societies, and on their behalf the Provincial Co-operative Bank has contributed, as a first instalment only, Rs. four lakhs to the Indian War Loan. The principal co-operative bank has already contributed largely to the British War Loan, and its total War Loan holdings spread out over the 70,000 enrolled members average exactly Rs. 7-12 per head. If the balance of the provincial population make as good an effort as the members of the co-operative societies have done, says a contemporary, we may expect from the Central Provinces and Berar a total contribution of between Rs. 10 crores and Rs. 11 crores towards the War Loan.

Trade between Russia and India.

It is interesting to note, says the *Indian Engineer*, that while India has sent her trade commissioners to Russia to study the prospects of trade between India and Russia after the war, Mr. Kadomtzeff, the Russian Consul in Ceylon, has recently been on a business trip to India to enquire into the prospects of trade between India and Russia. He visited Madras, Calcutta, Karachi, Bombay and other large commercial centres, and is apparently satisfied with the results of his trip. In the course of an interview with a representative of the *Times of Ceylon* he stated that it is calculated that before the war something like a hundred thousand tons of cargo used to be sent every year to Russia *via* Germany and Austria, and the war will have done something if in future the trade is carried on direct.

Imperial Preference.

The Committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber recently sent a representation to the Secretary, Commerce and Industry Department, Government of India, stating that India should receive preferential treatment in Colonies like South Africa, with which she had been able to do large business recently. She imported practically at a nominal rate of duty goods from all the Colonies, including South Africa, and it was but fair she should get preferential treatment from them. The reply from the Commerce and Industry Department was to the effect that the question of the financial relations between India and South Africa was considered in 1903, when it was stated that the policy of the Government of India precluded the offer of any corresponding concessions to South African produce imported into India. As the Government of India were not thus in a position to treat with the South African Colonies on this basis, negotiations were allowed to drop. The general question of trade relations between different portions of the Empire would come under consideration in connection with the questions of the commercial policy to be adopted after the war, and the Government of India considered that it would be premature to make any further statement at present.

India in the Commons.

In the Commons Sir J. D. Rees emphasised the seriousness to India of the prohibition of the import of coffee into the United Kingdom, and urged the Imperial Government to allow the import of the Indian coffee crop by license.

Mr. Chamberlain replied that he was communicating with the Board of Trade on the subject. Mr. Chamberlain said that the Indian Government was considering the recommendations of the Committee regarding the granting of the same rate of exchange for rupees into krans to troops in Persia as to the Indo-European Telegraph officers in Persia. The decision would be reached as soon as possible.

New Process of Paper Manufacture.

In the manufacture of paper pulp by the sulphite process, more than 50 per cent. of the original weight of the wood is waste. A new process of R. W. Strehlenert, a Swedish engineer, utilizes this residue for a coal of high heating value. An experimental coal-making plant is to have an initial capacity of 6,000 tons a year. As the total pulp production of Sweden and Norway is about 1,000,000 tons a year, the new industry may save a good supply of raw material.

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Indian War Loan Lottery in Bombay

The Government has permitted the Western India Turf Club to hold a lottery for the benefit of the War Loan, and the Club have organised one on a large scale. Particulars are given in an advertisement. The tickets will be Rs. 10 each and unlimited in number, and if half a crore of rupees is subscribed the first prize will be Rs. ten lakhs, while if the total is over half a crore, it will be more. The second prize will be half as much as the first and the third prize half as much as the second. The total number of prizes will be 1,000, and all the money will be divided among them, except 5 per cent. which will be deducted for expenses, any surplus after paying these going to the Bombay Presidency War and Relief Fund. The prizes will be payable in 5½ per cent. War Loan Bonds, repayable in 1920. Tickets will be obtainable at the head offices of the Turf Club, Town Hall, Bombay, and at branch offices of the Club, and at all the branches of nearly all the big banks and banking agents in India. The lottery will open on the 16th instant and close on the 14th June.

British Trade during War.

The *New York Tribune* expresses surprise and admiration that British exports during 1916 reached the total value of $2,460,000,000, while Great Britain was carrying on a war costing $25,000,000 daily and lending her Allies $2,000,000. Only once before have these exports been exceeded, and that was in 1913 when they were eight million pounds larger. There has been an increase in the exports of both woollen and cotton textiles, while steel and iron exports were 20 per cent. greater in the year just closed than in 1915, despite munition work at home and submarines at sea.

Cloth Substitutes.

It is stated in the *Canadian Textile Journal* that the Teutonic powers have developed a somewhat unique fabric used for great coats and the heavier clothing materials. The yarn for these goods is made from narrow strips of kraft paper. These strips of paper are given a surface of adhesive glue on which is blown wool-flox or short shoddy stock. This paper is then spun and the yarn is used for the body of the cloth. This material should be warm, but its wearing qualities in wet or murky weather are doubtful. On the other hand, a mixture of these yarns with jute or linen yarns should make a very serviceable material.

Joint Stock Companies in India.

Thirty joint stock companies with an aggregate authorised capital of Rs. 2,48,12,000 were incorporated in British India and registered in the month of January 1917. These included three banking and loan companies, one printing, publishing and stationary company, four trading companies other than those specified above, two cotton mill companies, two jute mill companies, one cotton and jute screws and presses company, one flour mill company, one saw mill company, eight tea planting companies, five coal mining companies, one land and building company, one company other than those specified above. Of these 30 companies 22 were registered in Bengal, five in Bombay and three in Madras.

Co-operative Movement in Bombay.

The Bombay Government in the annual report of the working of co-operative societies, in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1915-16, record further progress in the development of the movement. During the year 147 new societies were formed. The total number of societies stood at 963 with 104,924 members on the roll and a total capital of nearly Rs. 97 lakhs. The increase over the figure of the previous year is 24 per cent. in membership and 19 per cent. in capital compared with increases of 27 per cent. and 23 per cent. respectively in 1914-15.

The Bengal Coal Industry.

The entire output of certain of the most important first class seams in the Bengal fields has been already requisitioned by the Government for naval and military purposes and it is possible all first class Bengal coal may soon be similarly taken up. The position which has thus been created is one regarded with some anxiety both by the suppliers and the consumers of coal. Unfortunately a recent increase in naval and military requirements has coincided with a very serious reduction in the output. It may be difficult, the committee fear, for an adequate supply of all coal for industrial purposes to be procured and they have brought this probability prominently to the attention of the Government of India. They have also since suggested the best solution will be for the Government to extend their powers of State-control to all collieries in the Bengal fields. Such an extension of the existing system would, it is anticipated, go far to improve the present situation, for it would ensure the coal remaining, after the needs of the army and navy had been met, being utilised most advantageously in the general interest :—*Indian and the Eastern Engineering.*

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Fiscal Autonomy.

Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chettiar, in the course of an address at the Madras South Indian Chamber of Commerce, observed on March 31 :—

A policy of absolute free-trade will not advance the best interests of this country, with our industrial backwardness and economic dependence on the one hand, and the special measures which other countries are taking to safeguard and advance their trade and industries on the other. We have affirmed that unless the Government of India with a single aim to secure the expansion and development of Indian manufactures and to extend Indian trade in foreign countries, are at liberty to bargain for the best terms in the markets of the world and with the Governments of other countries, even as the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions are doing at present, it is idle to expect Indian commercial problems to be solved to the real advantage of India and Indian interests. In short, what we have asked for, and what is an imperative necessity, is the freedom to settle our own commercial, industrial and economic questions, in our interests, without any subordination of such interests to those of any others. We recognise that we are a part of the Empire but we are doubtless as much a unit of the Empire as any of the Self-Governing Dominions. Into the details of this policy, and as to how best it should be worked out, we shall enter on a future occasion. The commercial exploitation of India by others than Indians must cease ; the industrial and fiscal freedom of India must be firmly established ; and the economic independence of India must be ensured. Not until then will India materially prosper ? As it is, we are under foreign domination in respect of banking organisations for the financing of internal and external trade. Even institutions under Government control are indifferent to Indian interests. We are under even greater domination of a like character in respect of shipping and navigation, not to speak of the poor part the Indian railways under State control are playing in the encouragement of Indian industries and manufactures. Industrial and commercial education, not to speak of scientific research in aid of industries, is conspicuous by its absence. In these and other respects a great deal of constructive work will have to be undertaken immediately. May we look forward to the Government and the people moving as one in these and other matters, with the common aim and common endeavour to advance the moral and material prosperity of this country.

Jute Industry.

Recent trade returns suggest that the manufactured jute industry has suffered little if at all up to the present from the trade depression caused by the exchange crisis. Only in three months in the history of the mills has the number of gunny bags exported exceeded the total reached in January, 1917. Tonnage or no tonnage and Council Bills or no Council Bills, the enormous total of 85 million bags—20 million sacking and 65 million hessian—was sent away. August, 1916, with 86 million bags, December, 1915, with 88½ million, and October, 1915, with 91 million are the only months in which the total has ever been larger. The exports of gunny cloth tell a like tale. The figure of 120,000,000 yards has only thrice been exceeded —in July, 1915, and in August and November 1916—and in each case by small amounts. The month of August, 1916, was very nearly a record in both departments and the value of manufactured jute goods exported, reached the total of Rs. 482 lakhs. That month apart, January 1917, with its total value of Rs. 362 lakhs (£2,400,000) will easily bear comparison with the best that has preceded it.—"Statesman."

New Weights and Measures.

Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, speaking at a meeting of the East India Association, at Caxton Hall recently, said that the condition of the weights, measures, and money in India was a disgrace to civilisation. That the introduction of the decimal system in India would be a great success was shown by the experience of Ceylon, where it was introduced in 1871. There was a growing feeling in favour of the metric system in India, and it only awaited the adhesion of Great Britain to become the universal system of the world.

Trade with Russia.

By virtue of the decision taken by the Council of Ministers on the 20th October 1916, the import into Russian Empire of articles of luxury is prohibited from the 14th February 1917. Exemption is made in the case of goods being imported (1) on behalf of the Government, (2) for duly proved needs of national defence and (3) by special permission granted by ministers of trade and finance and by the Senate and the Governor-General in the case of imports into Finland. The Russian Consulate will give information to firms and persons interested, regarding the specification of atricles the import of which is prohibited by the aforementioned order.

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Cottage Industries in Bengal.

One thing is certain, observes the *Madras Mail*, and that is that under Lord Ronaldshay's administration, the movement to support and encourage local and cottage industries, which Lord and Lady Carmichael encouraged and with which Lady Carmichael was specially connected will not suffer. H. E. Lord Ronaldshay, replying to the address of welcome presented by the Mahajana Sabha, deplored the tendency of indigenous industries to decay when brought into contact and competition with machine-made goods. He saw no reason why the two should not flourish side by side, especially in view of the fact that it was in the product of the home industries that the artistic genius of the people found its natural expression. Unfortunately for this artistic genius and its expression, it has very little chance when the poor labourer whose expenditure on clothes for instance is limited to the price of a single cloth a year, has to decide between the comparative advantages of a machine-made article and one that is indigenous and hand-made, when the price of the former is less than half that of the other.

Canal Irrigation in the United Provinces.

The following is a summary of the lecture delivered by Prof. H. Stanley Jevons, M. A., F.S.S., on Monday, March 12, at Allahabad :—

Wherever irrigation has been long introduced, the character of the agriculture changes in many respects. There is generally a disappearance of of the habits of careful cultivation and use of water which may be observed in tracts irrigated from wells. There has been a great increase of outturn ; and on this account, and because of the greater security of the harvests, the total annual value of agricultural produce has increased enormously in every district where irrigation has been introduced for some 15 or 20 years. It takes a considerable time for the cultivators to learn the proper use of canal water and to adapt their crops and methods of rotation, manuring, etc., to it.

The extent of the benefit which the population derives from the introduction of canal irrigation depends very much upon what transport facilities are available. In a district well-provided with railways and with metalled roads, leading directly to the railway stations, the cultivators have the opportunity of marketing commercial crops, and consequently they gradually learn to grow money making crops, maintaining themselves chiefly on the *kharif* crops.

The conditions in the Punjab Canal Colonies are entirely different from those where irrigation has been introduced into districts already populated. In the Colonies the land is blocked out into squares of about 27 acres, each of which forms a compact holding, and this was the original size of holding given to most of the peasant grantees, who for example form 78 per cent. of the settlers in the Lower Chenab Colony. The average size of a tenant holding is showing a regrettable tendency to diminution owing to the operation of the law of equal division of estates on inheritance. This, if not checked, must arrest the present upward tendency of the standard of living of the population and probably ultimately reduce it. There are only two ways of preventing this : (1) by enacting a law of primogeniture and a minimum size of holdings for which rent could be recovered from such tenants as are mainly dependent on agriculture for their livelihood, or (2) by the diffusion of education in the villages. The first course would be very difficult politically. To render the latter effective, however, communications should be greatly improved first, the main roads being metalled and some new roads being made connecting all the larger villages with market towns which can be made also centres of cultural influence.

Pine apples.

The yield of pine-apples per acre varies according to the system of cultivation and the fertility of the soil. When closely planted, or when a large number of suckers are allowed to develop, the fruits are numerous, but usually of small size. As far as I am aware, there are no plantations in this country devoted solely to the cultivation of pine-apples which are usually grown in mango groves, and no particular care is taken regarding the cultivation of the plant or its after-cultivation. Consequently, the fruit sold in our stalls are small. But in other countries where great care is bestowed to the cultivation of the plant, the fruits are usually of large size and highly flavoured. The yield varies from 6,000 to 15,000 fruits an acre. When the fruit is intended for export, it is graded according to the degree of excellence and according to size. From the salesman's point of view, it is preferable that the fruit should be packed too green rather than too ripe as in the latter case they deteriorate during a long journey and the delays incidental to their transit from the grower to the retailer.—*New India.*

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The Fig.

The lifetime of this tree is said to be between 12 to 15 years and during the period of existence it bears, provided manuring, etc., are done properly. It gives two crops one in July—September and another in February—May but stray fruits can be had at all times of the year. The fruit takes two months to ripen. From careful enquiries made, it has been ascertained that a well-cared for young tree can give as many as 500 fruits in a year. It is only trees between three to ten years, that bear well and as the tree grows older, the produce diminishes; but there are exceptions to this rule. Instances are not wanting in which young trees in good condition do not bear well; though this is attributed to the ill-luck of the gardener, yet the fact of the matter appears to be the absence of beetles which play an important part in fertilization. Though some people compute the crop at 8 tons of fruit per acre of 300 trees, yet I am led to think that it will not exceed 3 tons or 4 tons at the highest.

There are in this Presidency, extensive tracts of good red soil with watering facilities in cool places like Hosur, Krishnagiri, Coimbatore, and these areas can be more profitably cultivated with figs which is highly paying. As this plant has been found to thrive in plains also, like the Chingleput district, the scope for its cultivation seems enormous. The fig being *a food by itself*, its cultivation would add greatly to the food supply of the country.—*New India.*

Conference of Agriculturists.

A Conference of agriculturists attended by over 8,000 representative delegates from Gujurat and Kathiawar was held at Junagad under the presidency of Mr. M. C. Patel, B A. LL. B., Bar-at-Law, in February last, and passed some very important resolutions affecting the interests of the agriculturists. They related to (1) the giving back to the agriculturists the proprietory rights over land, (2) the permanent settlement of the revenue, (3) check over the over-increasing assessment, (4) Advisory Council of Agriculturists to keep the assessment authorities in coming to right decisions, (5) the necessity of free and compulsory agricultural education, (6) the beginning of such education to be made by the village Panchayats, (7) freedom to the agriculturist to possess arms, (8) the starting of village Panchayats and co-operative societies, (9) facilities to the agriculturists by the Railway Companies, (10) irrigation, canals, heavy securities, cow-killing, and (11) the discontinuance of child-marriage.

Farms and Enclosures.

To the American, the word farm calls to mind a single enclosed piece of land adequate in area to support a family, in other words, a consolidated "economic holding." It is doubtful if the corresponding word elsewhere, in the world, calls a similar picture to the mind of most human beings . . . . To the thoughtful, the word would call to mind almost insuperable obstacles in the way of good farming, because to reach the strips belonging to one man's farm it is necessary to cross strips belonging to other men's farms, and the work must proceed in common, making difficult, if not impossible, differentiation and improvement in culture. Enclosure means separating out these pieces of land and consolidating them as far as possible so that each man's holdings may consist of two or three separate pieces, the ideal of a single consolidated holding being impossible of universal attainment.—*American Economic Review.*

Progress of Agriculture.

It must be recognised that any success which could be hoped for out of the Agricultural Department, observes the *Hindu*, must eventually depend mainly on the extent to which the Departmental officers are able to enlist the co-operation of the ryots. We need not go far for a concrete illustration of this statement. Marked progress has been achieved in the Central Provinces in the last few years, and what the secret of this success is can be easily seen from the Report for 1915-16 on the Progress of Agriculture in India by Mr. J. McKenna, Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India. The most important and noticeable feature of the Central Provinces Department of Agriculture in the development of district work is, says Mr. McKenna, "the enlistment of an increasing amount of sympathy and co-operation with the leading agriculturists throughout the province."

Labour in the United Provinces.

The following is the Labour Bulletin of the United Provinces for February last:—In the western districts there is reported to be a scarcity of labour, and even local demands are met with difficulty. In the eastern districts, which are the principal recruiting districts of the provinces for other parts of India, labourers are finding ample employment locally, and, as the prospects of the coming harvest are unusually favourable, there is little likelihood of their seeking work elsewhere.

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Literary.

THE HINDU IDEA OF ART AND BEAUTY.

Speaking on Hindu Art, before the *Societe Internationale de Philologie*, on Friday, Mr. Harendranath Maitra said that, due to a difference in the evolution of the two great world civilisations—that of Greece, from which the civilisation of modern Europe was descended, and the Hindu civilisation—the Indian and European temperaments were to-day different, and this difference showed itself in their respective attitudes towards art and beauty. According to Indian philosophy, beauty was not objective, but sujective. It was not inherent in form and matter, but belonged only to the spirit, and could only be apprehended by spiritual vision. There was no beauty in a flower or tree, in man or woman, as such. All these were fitted to fulfil their parts in the cosmos; yet their beauty did not lie in this fitness, but in the divine idea impressed upon those human minds that were turned to receive it. The more perfectly that minds were tuned to the divine harmony the more clearly was beauty perceived, and the more capable did they become as artists of revealing it to others. Beauty belonged to the human mind; there was neither ugliness nor beauty in matter alone, and for an art student to devote himself wholly to studying form or matter with the idea of extracting beauty therefrom was as vain as to cut open a drum to see whence came the sound. Even the ordinary artist of India tried to conceive the whole spirit of Indian thought as symbolised in the conception of Buddha sitting on the lotus throne—calm, impassive, his thoughts freed from all worldly passions and desires, his mind and body raised above all intellectual and physical strife, filled with more than human power and compassion derived from perfect communion with the source of all truth, all knowledge, and all strength.

THE NEW ERA.

We have received the first three issues of the *New Era*, a sprightly weekly journal started at Lucknow and edited by Mr. Gulam Husain. In view of the recent awakening among the Mahomedan community to the progressive needs of the time, there is surely need for such an addition to Muslim journalism. We understand that our contemporary comes into existence after depositing a security of Rs. 1,500 but says the journal "we are fortified by our resolutions not to swerve an hair's breadth from the path of duty to our country and our sovereign."

MISSIONARY TEACHINGS.

Miss Macmillan, lecturing in Edinburgh, complained of the false impressions spread about the country by Christian Missionaries. She remarked:

If one compared the Hinduism, Muhammadanism, and Buddhism that the best scholars praised and admired with those written about in Sunday school magazines by some missionaries, one could not but be surprised at the contrast. It was as if some one came to Edinburgh, and, for a description of it, told all about its slums, prison, crimes, and vices. It was quite a task correcting such manifold false impressions.

Many Christian missionaries admitted there was something valuable in religions other than their own, but they described these elements as "Christian." Considering that these other religions, except Muhammadanism, were older than and prior to Christianity, why should the missionaries not be fair and speak of the Hindu or Buddhist elements in Christianity?

WILLIAM DE MORGAN.

We have lost one of the sturdiest and most industrious of our literary veterans says a writer in *Bookseller*. Even those to whom Mr. William de Morgan's laborious and carefully-finished work as a novelist made no special appeal could not withhold their tribute of admiration from a man of versatile gifts who, at the age of sixty-seven, turned from another art in which he had gained reputation to win fresh distinction as a writer of fiction. It may be that Mr. de Morgan would have achieved a still wider popularity in his later career if it had not been for his curious and incorrigible mania for spinning out his novels to inordinate length. For him it was written in vain that "Man wants but little here below, nor wants that little long;" and he is even said to have cherished the ambition of writing a novel with many more words in it than any of those which had already made his name something of a terror to readers with limited leisure or patience. Still, for all that, he was a true literary artist, and well deserved the substantial measure of success as a novelist which he won in his old age, and securely maintained until his death.

THE NEED FOR THINKING.

Dan Griffiths writes in the *Socialist Review*:

The social problem, including the problem of war, is psychological as well as political and economic; it is the reflex of the "mind" of the people; it is due to bad feeling and bad thinking. The real problem is how to provoke thought.

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Educational.

INDIAN EDUCATION.

Indian leaders as well as the Indian public, observes the *Hindu* of Madras, have often come in for a good deal of adverse criticism for their advocacy of the more urgent claims of education on public funds than of some other objects of expenditure. A reference to the detailed memorandum on Sir William Meyer's Budget will, however, show how greatly public criticisms have been justified. We notice from this document that only £3,623,400 has been set apart for expenditure on education out of a total revenue of £98,870,800. Prussia, on the other hand, spends an eighth of her budjet on education, while poor Serbia, considered to be a most backward country, allots a fifteenth of her total revenue. What is spent on the whole of India is much less than what is spent by the single city of London which comes to nearly £5,000,000. It cannot be contended that it is the war that has brought about this state of affairs; for in pre-war years the amount allotted to education was considerably less than that allotted now. Surely, this is a sufficient commentary on the enthusiasm of Government towards the cause of education in this country.

EDUCATION AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The Municipality of Kumbakonam supports four schools for boys and two for girls, levying no fees. In its Budget for 1917-18 an additional boys' school is provided for, but the Government refuse sanction to the non-levy of fees. Why should a seventh school be handicapped by fees, when the representatives of the ratepayers are prepared to support it, and why should Government interfere with the discretion of the Municipality? Municipalities are blamed for inefficiency, says *New India*, but what can men do, who are liable to constant interference.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.

Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay in succession to the Rev. Dr. Mackichan who left for Scotland to preside at the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland. We Congratulate Mr. Setalvad on a successful term of office.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR GIRLS.

During the last few years the Bombay Government have inaugurated the policy of paying small scholarships, of the value of Rs. 2 and Rs. 3, to girl students in primary schools, with the object of inducing them to stay a longer time at school and of preparing them for the training colleges. It has been found that this system of scholarships has tended to create a healthy competition for regularity of attendance and better progress. No pressure is placed upon the girls to make them either become teachers or attend training colleges, but it is anticipated that as the number of girls completing the higher standards increases, there is a greater likelihood of some of them voluntarily coming forward to be trained as teachers. It has now been decided that the scholarships should be tenable in any of the standards from the 4th to the 7th and that their value should, in special cases, be raised to Rs. 4. These scholarships are not confined to girls' schools, of which only a very limited number teach beyond the fourth standard, but may be held by girls attending boys' schools also.—*Times of India.*

MOSLEM CULTURE.

The sixteenth session of the Nadwat-ul-Ulema was held in Madras recently, Maulvi Syed Shah Sulaman Sahib Phulwair of Patna, presiding. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, in his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee, said that the aim of the Ulema was to stimulate and develop the spiritual energy of Islam in the Mussalmans of this country. He also said that they ought to have in each presidency at least one Madrasa, where the highest teaching in Theology and Muslim History would be available and researches carried on in arts and sciences developed by Arabs in Arabia, Spain, and Africa, and in India by the Persians and Moghuls. He appealed to his co-religionists to take a more active part than they have hitherto done in the amelioration of the submerged classes and other philanthropic movements.

HOSTEL ARRANGEMENT.

On the 24th ultimo the new hostel at Jay Narayan's School, Benares, was opened by H. H. the Maharaja of Benares. The hostel is a three-sided building, facing the school, with accommodation for seventy-two boys, and quarters in the centre for the Principal, who will act as warden. A large number of guests were present. A brief history was given of the school and its work since its foundation in 1818 by Maharaja Jay Narayan Ghosal, who entrusted it to the Church Missionary Society.

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Legal.

WOMEN SOLICITORS.

Some curious observations were made about the fitness of women to practice as solicitors at the second reading of the Solicitors (Qualification of Women) Bill in the House of Lords. Lord Buckmaster, who moved the second reading of the Bill, recalled the time when 'a woman sat on the Woolsack, but, possibly through lack of legal training, she administered such a wholly unprecedented form of justice that it was said, the city of London rose in meeting against her.' The Lord Chancellor thought that the active practice of a profession was not compatible with the proper work of women as mothers and in attending to their families. The Earl of Halsbury observed that it was true that a woman had sat on the Woolsack 'but she had to adjourn the proceedings to become the mother of Edward I.' Lord Sumner and the Earls of Selborne and Loreburn supported the motion. It is interesting to notice that in several other countries, such as France, a very considerable part of the United States, in Norway and Sweden, and within the British Empire itself in parts of Australia, New Zealand and Canada, women are allowed to practice as solicitors, without any catastrophe resulting therefrom.

A LAWYER'S REMINISCENCES.

In the course of his interesting reminiscences in the new Calcutta illustrated weekly, the *Looker on*, Mr. Eardly Norton writes :—"So far back as I can go into the years of my infancy, I have never wished to be anything but what I am, a free-lance Barrister unfettered by official obligations and untied by judicial responsibilities. My father, John Bruce Norton, frequently took me as a boy of six to spend whole days in the Courts and corridors of the old Supreme Court in Madras. In the former I sat breathless at the clash of wit against wit and was wholly fascinated by the splendour of the Bench at Sessions and the picture of jurymen arrested by the eloquence of the Counsel who in my sight were giants. From the corridors I saw, and winced at the flogging of the prisoners on the triangles in the courtyard, a brutality soon after removed to the precincts of the jail. I retain very vivid recollections of parading before my mother's cheval glass arrayed in my father's gown and bands, passionately enforcing imaginary grievances of unrealised clients to shadowy juries."

LAWYERS IN THE NEW MINISTRY.

The number of lawyers in Mr. Lloyd George's Administration is larger than in Mr. Asquith's observes the *Law Journal*. This fact, so gratifying to the profession, seems to have escaped the attention of the acrimonious persons who were always complaining, that the legal element in the old Ministry was too large. Eight lawyers hold position of Cabinet rank in the new Administration, viz., Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Robert Finlay, Lord Milner, Sir Edward Carson, Sir George Cave, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr Duke, and Sir F. E. Smith. In the old Ministry there were seven, Mr. Asquith, Lord Buckmaster, and Mr. McKenna have ceased to be Ministers of the Crown, while Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Duke, and Sir F. E. Smith, the other lawyers among Mr. Asquith's colleagues, remain. The four new lawyers in posts of Cabinet importance are Sir Robert Finlay, Sir Edward Carson, Sir George Cave and Lord Milner, who if not precisely a lawyer is, like Mr. McKenna, a 'lawyer-like person,' since he was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, thirty-four years ago, and sought for some time to practise.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

The appointment of Lord Finlay as the Lord Chancellor of England, observes the *Patna Law Weekly*, will indeed be very gratifying to Indians. His Lordship, when he was at the Bar, commanded very extensive Indian practice in the Privy Council, and we may confidently hope that his Lordship's direct experience of Indian questions of Law will be of immense value and assistance to his colleagues in the dicision of appeals from India. There cannot be now two opinions about the matter that the best Judge is he who has had also the best practice.

RECLAMATION OF CRIMINAL TRIBES.

A public meeting was held on March 22 at the Mission College Hall, Lahore, under the auspices of the Salvation Army, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor presiding. Mrs. and Commissioner Booth Tucker gave a very interesting account of the work of the Army in reclamation of the criminal tribes in the Salvation Army settlements. Pundit Harikishen Kaul, who was recently in charge of the criminal tribes, also gave a glowing account of the self-sacrificing work done by the Army. His Honour spoke of his own experience of the criminal tribes when a young officer and said that the Government had reserved 10,000 acres in the new colonies for their settlement.

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Medical.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S TRIBUTE TO I.M.S.

Presiding at a meeting of the Indian section of the Society of Arts, in London, on March 28 at which Sir Havelock Charles read a paper by Surgeon-General Sir Pardey Lukis on Opportunities for Original Research in Medicine in India, Mr. Chamberlain said that the medical services in India had given freely of their best in the War. He paid a tribute to the admirable work, remarkable energy and progress of Sir Pardey Lukis while Director-General of the Indian Medical Service, and also to the great impartiality and ability with which Sir Havelock Charles had discharged his often difficult and disagreeable work at the India Office. Mr. Chamberlain said he was convinced that nowhere in the Empire was there a large field than in India for research and fruitful experiment, and he appealed to the leaders of the medical profession in the United Kingdom to make themselves acquainted with the opportunities offered by India to spread that knowledge among their pupils and not to grudge India some of their best pupils.

INDIGENOUS MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS.

The Hon. Mir Asad Ali Khan, speaking at the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi Conferrence at Delhi, on March 17 pointed out :—

Great credit is due to the steady working of institutions, like the Ayurveda Mahamandala of Allahabad, the Delhi Ayurvaidic and Unani Tibbi College, the Madras Ayurvaidic College and the various Ayurvaidic institutions at Mysore, Bombay, Satara, Poona, Gondal, Calcutta, Benares, Lahore and other places. The zeal, with which many a Kaviraj like Messrs. Gananath Sen, Jogendranath Sen and Bhushan Roy of Calcutta and Vaidyarathna Pandit Gopala Charlu of Madras and others are rushing forward the cause of Ayurveda is highly commendable and praiseworthy. In this very city, the fire of Unani and Ayurveda is ever burning by the ceaseless and untiring efforts of our venerable Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahab. The Government too is sympathetically disposed towards this cause, and I am hopeful that, after the War is over—and let us as dutiful and loyal subjects of His most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor pray for the success of the British arms—it may possibly render aid to deserving institutions, and offer facilities for the free growth and development of the indigenous system.

THE TREATMENT OF LEPROSY.

Sir Malcolm Morris urged that the India Office should encourage the treatment of leprosy in India with a view to stamping it out. He stated that, when in India in 1914, he saw an English member of one of the services who had been terribly affected with leprosy, every trace of which had disappeared under Sir Leonard Roger's treatment.

BENGAL AYURVEDIC CONFERENCE.

The Bengal Provincial Ayurvaidic Conference met on April 7 at Dacca under the presidency of Vaidyaratna Jogendranath Sen of Calcutta. About 320 dolegates from different parts of Bengal attended the Conference. The President in the course of his address referred to the resolution moved by the Hon. Mir Asad Ali Khan in the Supreme Legislative Council to place Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicines on a more scientific basis by educating the Kavirajas and Hakims in western anatomy, physiology and chemistry, and which resolution was under the consideration of the Local Governments. The President protested against the remark that western education was necessary to make Ayurvedic system scientific. He, however, suggested that Kavirajas should be trained in anatomy, physiology and chemistry according to Ayurvedic methods. In this connection Mr. F. W. Robertson, Additional Magistrate of Dacca, opened an exhibition of Ayurvedic medical herbs and plants. He said the aim of the exhibition was to propagate ancient Ayurvedic lore and he hoped it might be possible to open a nursery of Ayurvedic plants.

In this connection it is interesting to read in the *Social Service Quarterly* the following observations on the report of the Subathu Leper Asylum founded in 1868 and maintained by the well-known mission to Lepers. "The Asylum has two departments, one for Europeans and the other for Indians. The Punjab Government contribute an annual grant of Rs. 7,223 for the up-keep of the Asylum for Indians. At the end of year 1915–16, the number of the inmates in the Asylum was 106. The year under report was notable for the introduction of the treatment of leprosy by the hypodermic use of a Chaulamoogra oil mixture prepared at the Central Research Institute, Kasauli. Five patients have been receiving injections of the mixture regularly, and though the Superintendent expresses the hope that good results may follow and the patients may be able after two or three years to be discharged cured from the Asylum, he is careful enough to point out that the treatment is in the experimental stage.

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Science.

LORD MONTAGU ON AVIATION.

Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, Inspector of Motor Vehicles for India, who has made a special study of problems connected with the mastery of the air, delivered a lecture at Bombay recently, in which he described the advance made in recent years by British and other inventors in aviation. Lord Montagu dwelt on the necessity of a fleet of seaplanes for the defence of India, and remarked that a wealthy citizen of Bombay could not demonstrate his patriotism in a more practical and useful manner than by devoting Rs. 1,50,000 for the purchase of a flight of seaplanes for the defence of the west coast. Lord Montagu repeated his prophecy that within ten years there would be established a mail and passenger service by aeroplane between India and Europe.

STAR MOTION.

The star with the greatest proper motion so far discovered is one in Ophiuchus, of magnitude 9·5, which is drifting northward 10 seconds a year —perhaps some hundreds of miles per second of time. This was lately revealed to Prof. Barnard on a comparison, with the Blink microscope, of a recent stellar photograph and one made 18 years ago. An eighth magnitude star in the southern heavens has a proper motion of 8·7, seconds; and the seventh magnitude Groombridge 1830, of Ursa Major, the original "runaway star," has a yearly drift of 7 seconds.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ZEPPELINS.

ACCORDING to *L'Industrie Electrique*, there is reason for thinking that the Zeppelins now make use of a "fish-shaped" aluminium basket suspended at a distance of 1,000 m. from the vessel, and carrying an observer. The basket is furnished with electric light, fed from a small battery of accumulators, and the observer is in telephonic communication with the Zeppelin.

AEROPLANES FOR INDIA.

We understand that the construction of aeroplanes is to be undertaken in India under the control of the Director of Aeronautics, Simla. The Indian Forest Department have been instructed to forward specimens of indigenous timber to the Civil Engineering College, Sibpur, where they will be tested as to their suitability for use in the construction of propellers and other aeroplane parts.

SIGHT FOR THE BLIND.

Dr. E. E. Fournier d'Albe has invented an instrument, the Optophone, which consists of a small "siren" disc illuminated by a straight Nerust light; an optical arrangement for projecting an image of the line of luminous dots furnished upon the type to be read; a set of selenium or antimonite bridges exposed to the light reflected by the type; a Brown "wireless" telephone relay connected with these bridges; and the telephone receiver used for reading.

What happens is this: the reader clamps the wireless receiver to his ears, passes the paper slowly before him on a little table, switches on the current, and listens intently. As each letter comes within the radius of the siren a certain note sounds in the ear. The actual sound heard depends upon the shape of the letter.

SHELLS KILL WITHOUT WOUNDING.

The explosion of heavy shells can kill persons without apparent wounds. This effect is due to a perturbation of the nervous centres, arising from the explosion of the heavy shells, and the consecutive actions which are produced. Such perturbations are caused by a sudden distention of the circulatory system of the human body due to a sudden pressure exercised upon the whole surface of the body. This pressure reaches a maximum upon the abdominal region, from which all the visceral blood is driven toward the interior portion of a body.

A GREAT DISCOVERY.

The *British Medical Journal* gives an account of a discovery which is of supassing interest to doctors and of immense importance to the world at large. It is understood that the discovery is quite as important as the X-rays and much more remarkable. With the X-ray, in a darkened chamber, and with elaborate apparatus, it is possible to obtain pictures of the bones and more solid substances contained in the body; by means of the new discovery detailed pictures can be obtained in broad daylight of any organ of the body, brain, liver, kidneys, spleen, etc. Pictures can also be obtained of abscesses of the liver, cuts or wounds in any organ. This wonderful result is achieved by utilising the electricity which the body is believed to generate. The discoverer of this wonderful aid to surgery is stated to be James Shearer, aged 30, a sergeant in the Royal Army Medical Corps. He is a Scotsman who graduated M.D. and Ch.M. at the University of Washington.

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Personal.

LORD RONALDSHAY ON INDIA.

The Earl of Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal, presided at a meeting of the East India Association, when Lady Katherine Stuart read a paper on "To-morrow in India."

Lord Ronaldshay said: The angle from which the East looked out upon life was somewhat different from that of the West. In the case of both, characteristics that were lacking in the one were to be found in the other, so that they ought to be complimentary and supplementary. The Englishman in India was a very small drop in a very large ocean; he was living in exile in strange surroundings, and among people who were strangers to him—at any rate, when he first went there—and somewhere in his subconsciousness the instinct of self-preservation was at work. But undoubtedly this insular characteristic was one of the obstacles to a closer understanding between the English and Indian peoples. It was not, however, the only obstacle, he was afraid. Personal experience had proved to him that the peoples of India were endowed to an unusual degree with instinctive hospitality and great warmness of heart, and that any little act of courtesy or kindness shown by an Englishman to an Indian would always be returned with interest; but however anxious the Indian might be to fraternise with the stranger within his gates, he was undoubtedly hampered by the rules and restrictions of ancient social custom and tradition. Nobody could deny that the strict rules of caste were as much an obstacle to closer social relations between East and West as the insularity of the Englishman. How to get over the two obstacles was the great and burning question to all who desired to see more cordial relations between the people of India and the people of England, and for the answer he thought they must look largely to time. But they could also look to sympathy.

To-day that goodwill was happily being aided and abetted by other factors arising out of external circumstances. For some years past Indian gentlemen had worked side by side in close co-operation with Englishmen in the highest positions of government in the country—no doubt to the very great advantage of both. There was nothing like the sharing of common responsibility, and the bearing of common burdens, to assist a man to an understanding of his fellow-men. He was sure that the doubts of the cautious Englishman had been dispelled by experience—he was thinking, of course, of the Indian members of Executive Councils and so on—and, on the other hand, he was also sure that those Indians who had been working in those positions had realised, as perhaps they had not quite done before, that the motive which actuated the Englishman was something more than a mere desire to hold place and power. There might be a legitimate difference of opinion as to the rate of progress which should be maintained along a path upon which we had deliberately set our foot, but there could be no doubt whatever that we should steadily and conscientiously pursue the policy which we had adopted of associating the best intellect and ability of India with us in the government and administration of the country. Another factor working towards a better understanding betwen East and West was the present conflagration in Europe. Men who had fought side by side, whose blood had mingled in common sacrifice upon the battlefield, were likely to find that they had created ties of comradeship and fellowship which would be infinitely more potent than any obstacle that could be raised by any social custom or tradition.

LORD CARMICHAEL.

The *Pioneer* writes: On departing, the Governor of Bengal, Lord Carmichael, found a discontented province with difficult problems ripe for solution. Most of these still remain, and time has not made them easier to solve. Though unable to deal with the causes of discontent, he undoubtedly by his personal charm managed to alleviate the results. Into the various causes of Bengal's troubles, he has searched unceasingly, though there may be those who think it better to grasp the nettle firmly than to enquire why it stings. He has started a useful tradition of intimate association with all classes of people. He will be always remembered for genial cynicism which never failed to rise superior to the cares and troubles incidental to an important administrative post. He undertook an extremely difficult task, and failed in the more unpleasant part of his duties with philosophical disregard. Philosophy begins in wonder. But it should not end in contemplation.

THE LATE SIR P. M. MEHTA.

In the rooms of the Bombay Presidency Association, on the 4th April, Mr. D. E. Wacha unveiled a portrait of the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, which was subscribed for and presented to the Association by the members.

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Political.

MADRAS LOCAL CONFERENCE.

The Madras Local and Municipal Conference assembled for the first time on the 17th March in the Victoria Public Hall. About 200 representatives of municipal councils and district and taluk boards from almost all districts attended. The Hon. Mr. Ramachandra Rao in requesting His Excellency to open the Conference said that the gathering had been organised on its present basis with a view to focus public opinion on many vital questions relating to local administration. They believed that a voluntary organisation such as this was very much needed to further the work of the local authorities in this country.

His Excellency the Governor, in the course of his speech said : The field of our labour is large indeed. It is limitless, for each achievement opens before us vistas of a higher standard to be reached, and in any country there is no more valuable and in a true sense patriotic service than that which is given by those who, putting aside their own interests and advantages, give their time to public work. In all such work there are delays and disappointments. Hopes and ideals are not always realised, but there is always a priceless reward in the often unexpressed gratitude of those whose burden has been lightened, and who have been relieved from suffering or hardship or protected from dangers by such disinterested labours. Such work is worthy of the best men that can be found and I trust that as time goes on this will be more and more recognised. To all those who are interested I would recommend a study of the programme of this conference and of its discussions.

Various important papers relating to the different aspects of Municipal work were also read in the conference.

BRITISH PARLIAMENT AND THE DUMA.

In the House of Commons Mr. Bonar Law moved the following resolution sending fraternal greetings to the Duma on March 22.

"This House sends the Duma fraternal greetings, and tenders to the Russian people heartfelt congratulation upon the establishment among them of free institutions, in the full confidence that they will lead to not only the rapid and happy progress of the Russian nation, but the prosecution, with renewed steadfastness, and vigour, of the war against the stronghold of autocratic militarism which threatens the Liberty of Europe."

THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

Mr. Percy Alden, M.P., writes in the *Star* :—

The problem that faces us with regard to India, and perhaps Egypt, is certainly serious and difficult. The final authority will no doubt have to remain for some time to come in the hands of the Imperial Government. For long it will be necessary to maintain armies both in India, Egypt, and other Dependencies, but to an ever-increasing degree these armies will become native; and as they become native, and as the civil administration is more and more associated with the people of the country so governed, it would be possible to transfer from time to time powers which have hitherto rested with Great Britain to the better educated and more disciplined portions of these large communities. It is not enough that India or Egypt should supply leaders—they must also be able to supply an educated electorate. For that reason the Liberal Party regards it as a profound responsibility resting upon Great Britain to see that the Government of these Dependencies does take the necessary steps gradually to educate and train the native populations for a self-government which, though remote at present, is none the less sure to come to pass in the fulness of time. India will also claim an ever-increasing part in Imperial affairs, and she should be encouraged, all the more because of her splendid achievements in this war, to look in that direction for the consummation of her hopes and aspirations.

CONGRESS FOR CEYLON.

The *Ceylonese* advocates the establishment of a National Congress for Ceylon. It is objected in certain quarters that no such organization should be undertaken in war time. To this objection, the *Ceylonese* gives the telling reply :

'The War does not seem to stand in the way of an Irish settlement. It has not prevented ministerial changes in England and France, and a general election in Australia. The Russian Revolution has been acclaimed as a new accession of strength to the Allies. The War has not dissuaded the nineteen elected members of the Indian Imperial Legislative Council from submitting their memorandum of reforms. Why, then, in the name of common sense, should it be allowed to stand in the way of a National Congress for Ceylon?'

CONGRESS PRESIDENTS.

As everything now must be classified as Brahmana and non-Brahmana, says *New India*, a correspondent has taken the trouble to sort out the Presidents of the National Congress. There have been 9 Brahmanas, but 2 of them were elected twice, so they count as 11. There were 17 non-Brahmanas, which divide up: 6 Hindus, 3 Musalmans, 3 Parsis, but one of them 3 times, so that they count 5, and 4 Europeans, one of them twice, counting 5, and 1 Christian.

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General.

THE MILITARY SPIRIT IN BENGAL.

Some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries, the *Englishman* for instance, may carp and cavil at us but there can be no question that some of our young men are displaying a soldierly ardour, not unworthy of the representatives of a martial race. The sad story of young Panna Lal Ghose has been told in these columns. He had served in Mesopotamia with distinction as a member of the Bengal Ambulance Corps and had risen to the position of a Lance-Corporal. He returned home after the disbandment of the Corps and entered into private employment. But as soon as the formation of a Double Company was sanctioned, he offered for enlistment. But notwithstanding his stalwart physique and his former service as a member of the Ambulance Corps, he was disqualified for a slight defect in the right eye. How was he then passed as a member of the Ambulance Corps? However, that may be, the young man took the matter so seriously to heart that he hanged himself. The Double Company is fast filling up to the bewilderment of those who thought that the project would end in a fiasco. It is not generally known how keen are the young lads who wish to join the Bengali Double Company.—*Bengalee.*

DEFENCE OF INDIA OATH.

The following is the form of oath or affirmation that has to be taken by every non-European British subject who is enrolled under the Indian Defence Force Act:—"I.....do swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty, the King-Emperor, his heirs and successors, and that I will, as in duty bound, honestly and faithfully serve in the Indian Defence Force, and go wherever I may be ordered in India by land or sea, and that I will observe and obey all commands of any officer set over me even to the peril of my life, so help me God."

THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY COMPANY.

The following Press *Communique* has been issued by the Punjab Government:—"His Honour the Lieutenant Governor has great pleasure in announcing that the number of applicants for enlistment in the Punjab University Company exceeds 200. It is believed that the great majority possess the qualification of having passed the Entrance Examination of the Punjab University, while most of the remainder intend to take that examination this spring. Orders are now being issued for the medical examination of the candidates by the Civil Surgeon of the district to which they belong. A further announcement will be made when the number of fit candidates is known. His Honour takes this opportunity of conveying to the candidates his best wishes for their success in their military career, and his acknowledgments to all who have worked to make the movement a success. But efforts must not be relaxed. More recruits are required and the Lieutenant Governor hopes that in a few weeks he will be in a position to announce that the number of fit candidates is sufficient to provide a company of 228 men."

TOWN-PLANNING.

The Government of Burma has issued a resolution on the report of the Suburban Development Committee, Rangoon, and the report of the departmental Committee on town-planning in Burma. The Committee's recommendations cover the following improvement of communications between the town and suburbs: By a continuation of the existing roads or the construction of new main roads and by the extension of railway, tramway and motor car systems. The division of the suburban area into blocks, according to the purposes to which the land should be put for the poorer middle class, and well-to-do population. Extension of Rangoon municipal limits, with a view to better the development of such areas and to provide means by municipal bye-laws for enforcement of restrictions as to the type of building to be erected in each of the zones.

THE SIKH WOMEN.

Shrimati Satyabala, a Sikh lady, writing in a recent number of the *Sikh Review*, makes a strong plea for her people to give up living in the reflected glory of a brilliant past. Her ideas on women's education deserve to be quoted:—

The question of education in general, and that of female education in particular, has been viewed very narrow-mindedly. Education does not consist only in reading and writing. Completion of school education is only the primary stage of education. A B.A. lady, if morally weak or inclined to be selfish, self-opinionated or lazy is more a curse to her family and society than a blessing. We want a system of home education, school education, college education, technical education, and, above all, moral and religious education, such as would produce firm-minded, steady unselfish, virtuous, highly cultured, useful women who may be a substantial factor in our national wealth.

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

EDITED BY G. A. NATESAN.

Vol. XIX. APRIL, 1918 No. 4

INDIA AND THE WAR

BY THE EDITOR

THERE never was a time when the British Empire was confronted with a graver crisis than at present. The German menace threatens not only Europe but Asia as well. The Russian debacle leaves the enemy "an open course across Russia to the Pacific and through southern Russia to the confines of India." We are glad that in response to the Prime Minister's appeal to India, H. E. the Viceroy convened on the 27th a special All-India War Conference of the representatives of the princes and people of India to concert the necessary measures to prepare ourselves for any contingency. Instead of "wrapping up the hard facts of the military and political situation and trying to keep things from the public gaze" it was well H. E. the Viceroy made a plain statement of the situation and of the necessity for India to be forewarned. Germany has "thrown out into Central Asia her pioneers of intrigue, her agents of disintegration," and the black emissaries are trying to find in Afghanistan a field for their nefarious activities; and should the occasion unfortunately arise, it will be our duty "to fulfil our obligations to the Amir of Afghanistan by assisting him in repelling foreign aggression and further guard our own with the whole man power and resources of India ready behind us." The princes and people of India through their representatives have in conference assembled authorised the Viceroy to convey to H. M. the King Emperor India's "determination to continue to do her duty to her utmost capacity" in the present crisis. It would be superfluous at this hour of the day to remind the people of India as to how their fortunes are inseparably linked with those of the British Empire. The Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad but voiced the feeling of the country when he said "that the Indian was confident that the victory of the Allies meant freedom to India as to the other Allies," for as the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry truly pointed out "In spite of reactions and temporary vascillations there was behind the British Empire a principle of progress and self determining freedom."

The magnitude of the impending danger must make every one realise his duty to the Empire which has moulded our destinies hitherto and is pledged and bound to lift us to our rightful place in the Empire. We feel it at the same time our duty to press on the attention of the authorities that if ever there was a need for adopting unhesitatingly and unreservedly the policy of trust, it is now. If H. M. the King Emperor's appeal to his Indian subjects is to obtain the widest and heartiest response, it is essential that his representatives here should take the earliest steps to remove many a running sore and we join in the fervent appeal of the Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya that "at this crisis there should be no distinction, there should be equality of opportunity for all, to the humble and the highly born, to the Indian and the European alike."

We can only conclude in the words of Sir William Wedderburn's wise counsel :—

"We trust that on this momentous occasion, India will appear, not as taking advantage of England's necessities, but as a faithful and trusted colleague co-operating in a settlement that will bring happiness to India and peace to the world."

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AFTER THE WAR WHAT?

BY

THE REV. DR. HUME, M.A., D.D.

SOME people think the war will end soon. Others think it will not end for a long time. It will end some time. Therefore more and more people are thinking what ought to be and what is likely to be when fighting stops. It is open to any one to express his thoughts on this subject. Beyond doubt there has been a great deal in this war that has been very wrong. This being so, first, till those who have felt wrong, had wrong aims, have done wrong, mourn their wrong; or at least till the world as a whole recognizes what has been wrong, what its causes, and who mainly have been responsible for the wrong; and till such evil has been adequately reprehended, punished and measurably exorcised, the war will not have really ended. Every disease must be diagnosed before it can be rightly treated. Secondly, the world must so thoroughly have learned the lesson of the war that it will not recur. A disease must not only be diagnosed, it must be cured.

In an effort on those two lines to consider what will be after the war some things appear clear. Few, if any, nations yet admit that they themselves are appreciably responsible for the conflict. Both sides loudly say it is the other side that is responsible. This makes it hard for one who tries to see straight to express a conclusion. Nevertheless are not some things beyond question?

1. Has not Germany for forty years definitely though secretly, been preparing for this War? Was not everyone of the Allies unprepared? This undeniable fact places the main responsibility on Germany. At every public function of the German navy for years the most enthusiastic toast has been to *Der Tag i.e.*, "The Day," the time when it shall meet and (according to hope) shall defeat the British navy.

2. A second undeniable fact is that the controlling trust of the rulers and leaders of Germany has been in *machtpolitik i.e.*, dependence on material force; the doctrine that might makes right; in Bismark's phrase (in contradiction to Christ, *Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth*) *Beati possidentes i.e.*, Blessed are those who possess.

3. A third German principle and policy has been that of sending spies and money secretly to undermine the loyalty of portions of the peoples of other countries. This is the way in which Germany has gained control over Turkey, has brought about the collapse of Russia, effected the great debacle in Italy, made trouble in Ireland, and tried to make trouble in America. It is a mean, sneaking, underhanded way of dealing with nations, while outwardly professing friendliness.

4. Another outstanding fact is Germany's light and easy disregard of her pledged word and of treaties, whenever they interfered with her ambitions. Her ruthless descent on little Belgium, to defend whose integrity she had given her pledged word, when she thought that the invasion of that little country was the way to secure the quick capture of Paris, characteristically showed Germany's disregard of honor. That one initial defiant violation of honor and truth has caused the German *ruler's* word to be considered utterly unreliable. Yet how fine that the nations are *hoping* that the word of the German *people* will prove more trustworthy.

5. Again it is clear that the German rulers and too many of the German people have lacked in common humanity. A milder word than brutality cannot be applied to Germany's ruthless submarine policy, and to her heartless treatment of huge numbers of inoffensive men, women and children in occupied territories. When 1,200 innocent human beings pursuing in mid-ocean in the steamship *Lusitania* a voyage from Europe to America were suddenly killed and sunk, Berlin was filled with bell-ringing and flag-waving. Germany's policy of "frightful-

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ness" has shown moral degeneracy and has *driven* into the war America, the country which was trying to keep out of the conflict.

Turning now to what *must* be after the war some things are certain:—Some new moral standards must be, will be, reached.

1. *A new standard of greatness will be reached.* One of the present ideals of the West is *efficiency*. It is almost an idol. People in India are sometimes depreciated by the Anglo-Saxon because they are not as efficient as they might be. Now beyond a doubt, according to the pre-war standard, the Germans have been and are the most efficient people in the world. In science, in planning, in anticipating, in executing material undertakings Germany *is* supremely efficient. She knew it. The world now knows it and is aghast at the sight. For this reason she thought that Germany was really great, and so should and would dominate the world. Her national hymn is *Deutchsland ueberalles*, *i.e.*, Germany over everything. Who now calls Germany truly great?

2. *A new estimate of smallness will be set up.* Pride and inhumanity will be considered the main element of smallness. According to Christ the chiefest blindness and most unpardonable sin is disregard of human beings. "Depart from *me*, ye cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels: for *I* was hungry, thirsty, a stranger, naked, in prison and ye visited *me* not." The supreme inefficiency is not understanding and not sympathizing with men. When Germany crucified Belgium, she showed herself a bully and a coward. But by that one inhumane act she raised against herself the indignation and contempt of the world. Ethically that was committing suicide. For every man that she killed or enslaved in Belgium she raised up against her ten men in the countries of the world. Even on the low plane of physical efficiency that is defeat. As never before the immoral is seen to be the small and the unsuccessful.

3. *A new valuation will be given to the peaceful spirit.* The unpreparedness and the physical inefficiency of the Allies will be considered the evidence of the worth of their standards. That is clear proof that they were and are nations to be trusted. Their ideals are therefore to be the ones for all nations in the future. Their one chief aim is to make the world a *peaceful* world in which the smallest nation shall have as safe a chance as the largest to live its own life as its people may desire. The world will believe that the Master knew the truth when He said "Blessed are the meek, for they *shall* inherit the earth; Blessed are the peace-makers".

4. *The power of high aims to unite will be clearer after this war.* Hardly anything is more marvellous than the attractive, uniting force of high ideals which has made most of the nations to become Allies, though previously they were largely living apart and living for themselves. It is amazing how the richest, the most enterprising nation, one far distant from Europe, was drawn into this alliance! First, she lavished money, men and women to relieve distress in Belgium, France, Serbia, Montenegro, Armenia. But when the fearfulness of the inhumanity of Germany's war-god became too horrible to be only reprehended and hooted, then thoughtfully, but with absolute determination, America threw herself into the conflict. Yet when she did so, her President truly affirmed that whatever the cost to herself, she would never ask or receive one inch of territory or one dollar of indemnity for herself. She fights only to make the world safe for her little sister nations. In seven months she spent for this war almost as much as in the previous 128 years of her national existence!

Those who have a firm faith in God can feel sure that He *will* make the wrath of man to praise Him, and that the outcome of the war will be to make His ideals clearer, nobler, more livable than ever before.

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THE THEORY OF THE DRAIN

BY

PROF. S. C. RAY, M.A.,

(*Calcutta University.*)

ECONOMICS, says Marshall, has a bearing on the higher well-being of man, and concerns itself chiefly with those motives which affect most powerfully and most steadily man's conduct in the business part of life. It is, according to him, a study of the *economic aspects* and *conditions* of man's political, social and private life. Man's higher nature is nowhere reflected better than in the field of the earning and spending of wealth, where he is influenced by his personal affections, his conceptions of duty and his reverence for higher ideals. The economic condition of a people, therefore, depends on the *manner* in which they produce their wealth, the *manner* in which they spend it and the conditions of life and work which tend to mould their character. The production of material wealth depends on the physical, mental and moral health and strength of a people, which are the basis of their efficiency. The efficiency of a nation, which is, in other words, its sound economic condition, is accordingly to be judged by the elements which contribute to that health and strength, and its inefficiency, by opposite virtues. Efficiency does not depend on the possession of an abundance of material goods alone, but first, on the wise use of material wealth, where it exists, for the purpose of increasing the physical, mental and moral strength and health, and secondly, on the cultivation of the physical, mental and moral qualities of man. It is not always correct to say that the economic condition of a nation is sound, because it has a mass of material wealth, or that it enjoys certain advantages under the protection of a powerful sovereign state, such as sound credit or peace, or that it gets fair, perhaps liberal price for goods sold or services rendered; but it depends on the manner in which the wealth is produced and spent, and on the existence of conditions of life and work tending to mould the character of the nation. Such conditions, according to Marshall, are "hopefulness, freedom and change" as well as food and climate. The difference between a wealthy inefficient and a wealthy efficient, country is analagous to that between an indolent and wealthy man and an energetic, healthy and active producer of wealth. Marshall states—and his statement is proved by the experience of great nations—that "freedom and hope not only increase man's willingness but his power of work: physiologists tell us that a given amount of exertion consumes less of the store of nervous energy if done under the stimulus of pleasure than of pain; and without hope there is no enterprise."

The theory of the drain has often been debated from the material point of view, but never, I believe, from the moral or psychological standpoint. The return in material and other equivalents of the money which India pays to other countries hardly compensates for the deterioration of physical, mental and moral strength and health which the economic operation of *Debits* and *Credits* suggests. My purpose is to discuss how far the equivalents which India receives either in goods or services for her money or goods conduce to such strength or health; and if they do not, they cannot be said to promote the economic condition of the people. And in that view, the latter constitutes a 'Drain.'

India makes annually various payments to foreign countries, including England, and receives in exchange various kinds of goods and services. These are called respectively the *Debits* and *Credits* of India. On the *Debit* side, appear the following items:

(*a*) Value of imports of manufactured goods;

(*b*) Remittances made by private persons of incomes accrued in India, for expenditure in foreign countries;

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(*c*) Payments for services done by ships and merchants;

(*d*) Interest on foreign capital invested in various commercial and industrial undertakings in India; and

(*e*) Home charges, which include

(1) Interest on public debt payable in England;

(2) Payments on account of the India Office, the civil departments, and other miscellaneous charges;

(3) Pensions of retired civil and military servants and allowances to officers on leave in England;

(4) Army and Marine effective charges;

(5) Price of stores.

On the *Credit* side of the account, appear:

(*a*) Value of exports of agricultural and mineral products;

(*b*) Capital imported into India on private account for commercial and industrial investments;

(*c*) Remittances made by private persons of incomes accrued in foreign countries for expenditure in India.

I shall attempt to discuss the various items on the debit and credit sides in the light of the principles laid down by Prof. Marshall. From a broad survey of these debits and credits it will be apparent that India sends out goods for which she receives goods and services in return; in other words, the foreign countries receive value not only for their goods in kind, but also for their services. This in itself is an advantage over India; for the former increase their national wealth by services, while the latter adds to her wealth by the sale of goods alone.

(*a*) Coming now to the first item on the debit side, imported goods mostly manufactured, and to the first item on the credit side, export of agricultural and mineral products—which must be considered together—it will be evident that the latter compete with the former under very unequal conditions. The former are capable of easy and enormous expansion, or they follow the law of increasing returns, while the latter cannot be produced to the same extent and follow the law of diminishing returns. Exports of agricultural goods mean export of soil and diminution of fertility and exports of mineral products mean export of national wealth. We consume imported goods without creating new wealth, while the foreign importers in consuming exported goods create new wealth. This non-creation of wealth out of imported goods does not connote conditions of life and work which tend to mould the character of the people or increase their efficiency; and therefore constitutes a drain.

(*b*) The next item represents remittances made by private persons of income accrued in India for expenditure in foreign countries. No man of commonsense will deny that money expended in any country materially benefits that country and that the money that is sent out from India for expenditure elsewhere constitutes a drain in the sense that the people who contribute to that wealth do not get the benefit of that wealth.

(*c*) Payments for services done by ships and merchants signify the dependence of India upon the resources of other countries; for the manner in which the money is spent does not denote conditions of life and work which tend to mould the character of the people and increase their powers of self-reliance. They, therefore, constitute a drain.

(*d*) and (*e*) (1). Interest on foreign capital invested in this country is divisible under two distinct heads: (i) interest on public debt (mostly productive) raised for the construction of railways and irrigation works; (ii) interest on capital invested by private companies and persons on industrial and commercial undertakings. It is argued that the investment of the latter kind of capital has developed the material resources of India and that there is no economic objection to borrowing money from outside to bring out her latent wealth. While admitting the partial truth and soundness of this argument, I am reluctant to admit that it represents the whole truth. The industrial and commercial houses of India make huge profits every year and a large number

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of persons no doubt earn their bread as employees, middlemen, etc. But we must not overlook the economic dependence which presses as an incubus upon the nation and prevents them from developing their latent worth for the service of the country. I do not deny that these undertakings contribute materially to the wealth of the country as a whole; but I do deny that the wealth of a country is the unerring test of its prosperity irrespective of the manner in which it is acquired. "Prosperity" says Macunn, "depends on *reward* of *work* or *effort*. It is a good thing in its way, of course, that men should, by doing work, be fed and clothed. But the question whether that work, or food, or clothing be a good investment or bad,—*depends not on the work but what we get for it*; not on what *disappears* but on what *reappears*." Indeed, a large number of the people work, are fed and clothed by this means; but the fruits of the work do not reappear as part of the country's wealth, but disappear without leaving any mark on the economic life of the country. It is work which produces no moral or mental health or strength and the loss is not counterbalanced by other kinds of occupations and activities. It is pure consumptive work and as such is a drain on the country. Moreover, while admitting that a substantial saving in interest accrues to India by lending to her the credit of England, it cannot be denied that a creditor country naturally exercises great, sometimes dominating influence, over the debtor country, tending to cause loss of mental and moral strength and health and consequent decline in its economic condition.

In respect of the first kind of debt incurred for railways and irrigation works, it is extremely fortunate that by far the greater portion of the debt is covered by valuable assets and that the interest is more than covered by the net profits of these works. These profits form part of the public revenue which is wholly spent for the public service, and the interest that is paid to foreigners does not conduce to economic inefficiency and should not be called a drain. But circumstances may arise in which loans may have to be raised in a foreign country for unproductive purposes, *e.g.*, war, famine, etc. In such a contingency, the interest payable by India will benefit foreigners and India will derive no advantage either in the shape of profits of works or of expenditure of the income of the creditors within the country. Although such a contingency has seldom yet arisen and may not arise in the near future, it is nevertheless conceivable; and, in that case the payment of interest would undoubtedly constitute a drain.

(*f*) The next head, I will consider, is the price of stores (on the debit side) which India requires for the Army, the Railways, and the Civil and Public Works Departments of Government. It does dot explain away the theory of drain by arguing that India receives full value for her money. On the contrary, it prominently brings out the condition of economic dependence in regard to manufactured goods. Neither does the doctrine of Free Trade come to her rescue. For this dependence is incompatible with the existence of equality of conditions as regards the attainment of physical, moral and mental strength and health in the competing nations which is implied in the Free Trade doctrine, but a condition of industrial inferiority for India, which is incompatible with the efficiency of the nation; in other words, this economic dependence tends to weaken the physical, moral and mental strength and health of the people and is, therefore, a drain.

(*g*) Items included in *e* (2) to (4) *viz.*, payments on account of India Office charges, pensions and allowances to officers represent an expenditure of a large sum in a foreign country from which India does not derive any remote economic gain. It is said that in return for this expenditure India enjoys freedom from external aggression, peace within her borders, and the services of capable, intelligent and experienced public servants. This argument is vitiated by one fundamental error. The public servants who are sent out to this country are paid, in many cases, 5, 10 or even 20 times the salary which is the equivalent of their worth in their own country. I concede that this increased salary is paid as

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compensation for their hard life in an inhospitable climate in a foreign country; but that India has actually to pay a disproportionate price for efficient administration still remains a stubborn fact. The political dependence of India no doubt renders it obligatory on the sovereign nation to take the most elaborate and efficient measures for the maintenance of the supremacy of the British Crown and the preservation of the British character of administration in this country by making British influence supreme. But this circumstance does not take away from the payment the character of a 'drain'. England is levying from India charges which are out of proportion to the inherent capacity and intelligence of the persons who are employed in this country to maintain her supremacy. The effect of this is to deprive Indians of that freedom and hopefulness which are the basis of national efficiency. National efficiency cannot be measured by the theory of *quid pro quo*, but by the ultimate reward for the work which the people perform and the mode of life which they lead. The expenditure is therefore a drain as it does not tend to elevate the character of the people.

Similar observations are applicable to the Army and Marine effective charges, which represent charges incurred in England in connection with the training of troops for service in India. I would go further and maintain that every rupee that is spent on the maintenance of a defensive British Army in this country is a drain, because it deprives the people of the country the advantages of a military training. Military training tends to induce discipline, excite the patriotic feeling, generate a high standard of civic duty and strengthen the moral fibre of the people. For lack of military training, the Indians are deteriorating in certain physical and moral virtues, *e.g.*, in habits of order, in respect for obedience to authority and in self-sacrificing courage which the authorities deplore. The falling off in these national virtues indicates a severe drain on the health and strength of the people, physical and moral, and is more vital and insidious than the financial drain which the expenditure on the Army and Navy involves. It may be urged that this is due to the political relation between England and India; but it cannot, nevertheless, explain away the actual and potential effect of the operation.

As regards the financial drain involved in the expenditure on the British Navy employed on the Indian waters, it is pointed out that India gets the special advantage of a cheap Navy, as she has to contribute a trifle of £100,000 for the protection of her trade on the high seas, and that as the safety of India is associated with the safety of Great Britain the latter can legitimately claim from India a higher contribution than she already pays. This contention seems to me to be untenable. The case of the colonies, which is analogous to that of India as regards naval defence, shows that England has taken upon herself the moral obligation to protect Imperial interests which are organically blended with those of its constituent parts. As these interests are of wide scope and application, none of the colonies and dependencies can be fairly required to contribute towards the cost of an Imperial Navy unless they are allowed to have a voice in the deliberations of the Empire. India, specially, is a protected country, still under the administrative tutelage of England; and Imperial naval defence ought not to be made the excuse for levying a proportionate contribution from a country which has no administrative autonomy. It would have the appearance of a strong country exercising moral coercion on, and of dictating duties to, a weak which it would be bound to perform without the enjoyment of correlative rights. The naval contribution which India makes to England, small though it is, may, therefore, be deemed to be unjustified and unnecessary.

It seems to me to be clear that whether we look at the Army and Navy expenditure from a financial or from a political point of view, we cannot avoid the conclusion that it constitutes a drain, in that it tends to weaken the efficiency and character of the people. To sum up: the money and goods which are sent out of India are, indeed, a full material *quid pro quo* for the goods

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and services which she receives in return. But the transfer of this money and these goods does not produce new wealth indicating the existence of physical, mental and moral health and strength, developed or potential, nor increase such health and strength resulting in the creation of new wealth, nor produce conditions of life and work tending to elevate the character and efficiency of the people. Material wealth alone, unless associated with mental and moral wealth, brings on deterioration of character, produces social and political vices, weakens the social fabric and destroys all national stimulus. Wealth, whether it belongs to an individual or a nation, does not, *ipso facto* benefit the possessor, just like liberty, or health or strength or learning. "Every one of these blessings," says Lieber (Pol. Ethics Vol. I p. 455), "unconnected with other essentials, has become at times the cause or promoting auxiliary of suffering, vice or crime." These essentials are deemed to be, in a nation, a healthy, vigorous, industrious and educated people, capable of competing with other nations of the civilised world on equal terms and under equal conditions, and on a status which develops their mental, moral and physical health and strength ; whatever circumstances prevent them from arriving at this condition of life and work, act as a *Drain*.

INDIA : A POEM

BY

PROF. N. V. THADANI, M.A.

I

Oh ! thy dreams are the deeds of the ages to be ;
Oh ! thy deeds are the dreams of the ages of yore ;
Arise ! for the life of the world unto thee
Is calling for ever from the sea and the shore.

Arise ! for the world is on fire, and the flame
Is burning through the heart of its being, and to thee
It is given alone that fury to tame,
Its wrongs to redress and render it free.

Arise ! and re-kindle the torch of thy light ;
Arise ! and uphold thy banner of peace ;
Silence the thunders of madness and might,
That are shaking the earth, her sorrows to increase.

Mother of the ages ! in the warmth of thy youth
Awaken the nations to the smiles of their birth—
As children that play on the seashore of truth,
And scatter the sands and the shells of their mirth.

II

India ! thou hast heard the call :—Arise for the March of the ideal !
India ! thou hast heard the trumpet blown from the Himalyan heights !
Awake to the call of thy mission ! The voice of the God in thunder
Hath whispered in music in thy ears the message of the world of life.
The world is a-bleeding with the wounds of many passions and hate,
And strife and aggression have opened their arms to engulf it in death ;
The fire is yet out-spreading and threatens to consume all life,
And the winds of ambition are fanning it over the heart of thy children ;
Awake, oh Mother ! and silence the ruthlessness and terrible rage
Of this world-shaking war, with thy voice in celestial music
Rolling over the sea and the shore and calling the nations to peace.
Then arise and advance, Oh Mother ! to the star-land of eternal fame,
Bearing in thy hand the banner of harmony and lasting love,
Low from the valleys, high from the mountains, up to the kingdom of light
Where myriads of suns of glory are shining, and the smiles of Heaven,
In the radiant colours of the rainbow wedded with the blushes of morn,
Inspire thy heart to approach into the bosom of the Life of the World !

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Education Through the Vernaculars*

BY MR. M. K. GANDHI

THE Gujarat Education League that has called us together has set before it three objects :

(1) To cultivate and express public opinion on matters of education.

(2) To carry on sustained agitation on educational questions.

(3) To take all practical steps for the spread of education in Gujarat.

I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to place before you my thoughts on these objects and the conclusions I have arrived at.

It must be clear enough to everybody that our first business is to consider and form an opinion about the medium of instruction. Without fixing the medium all our other efforts are likely to be fruitless. To go on educating our children without determining the medium is like an attempt to build without a foundation.

Opinion seems to be divided on the matter. One party claims that instruction ought to be imparted through the vernacular (Gujarati in this province). The other will have English as the medium. Both are guided by pure motives. Both are lovers of their country. But good intentions alone are not sufficient for reaching a goal. It is world-wide experience that good intentions often take a man to a bad place. It is, therefore, our duty to examine on their merits the contentions of both the parties and, if possible, to arrive at a final and unanimous conclusion on this great question. That it is great no one can doubt. We cannot, therefore, give too much consideration to it.

It is, moreover, a question which affects the whole of India. But every Presidency or province can come to an independent conclusion. It is in no way essential that before Gujarat may move, all the other parts of India should arrive at a unanimous decision.

We shall, however, be better able to solve our difficulties by glancing at similar movements in other provinces. When the heart of Bengal, at the time of the partition, was throbbing with the Swadeshi spirit, an attempt was made to impart all instruction through Bengali. A National College was established. Rupees poured in. But the experiment proved barren. It is my humble belief that the organisers of the movement had no faith in the experiment. The teachers fared no better. The educated class of Bengal seemed to dote upon English. It has been suggested that it is the Bengali's command over the English language that has promoted the growth of Bengali literature. Facts do not support the view. Sir Rabindranath Tagore's wonderful hold on Bengali is not due to his command of the English language. His marvellous Bengali is dependent upon his love of the mother-tongue. "Gitanjali" was first written in Bengali. The great poet uses only Bengali speech in Bengal. The speech that he recently delivered in Calcutta on the present situation was in Bengali. Leading men and women of Bengal were among the audience. Some of them told me that for an hour and a half, by a ceaseless flow of language, he kept the audience spellbound. He has not derived his thoughts from English literature. He claims that he has received them from the atmosphere of the soil. He has drunk them from the Upanishads. The Indian sky has showered them upon him. And

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*From the Presidential Address to the Second Guzarat Educational Conference specially translated for the *Indian Review*.

The Second part of the Address dealing with the problem of a National Language for India and the third and concluding portion on the Defects of the Present System of Education will appear in successive issues.

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I understand that the position of the other Bengali writers is very similar to the poet's.

When Mahatma Munshiramji, majestic as the Himalayas, delivers his addresses in charming Hindi, the audience composed of men, women and children listen to him and understand his message. His knowledge of English he reserves for his English friends. He does not translate English thought into Hindi.

It is said of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviaji, who, though a householder, has, for the sake of India, dedicated himself entirely to the country, that his English speech is silvery. His silvery eloquence compels viceregal attention. But if his English speech is silvery, his Hindi speech shines golden like the waters of the Ganges under the sunbeams, as they descend from the Mansarovar.

These three speakers do not owe their power to their English knowledge, but to their love of the vernaculars. The services rendered by the late Swami Dayanand to Hindi owe nothing to the English language. Nor did English play any part in the contributions of Tukaram and Ramdas to Marathi literature. The English language can receive no credit for the growth in Gujarati literature from Premanand's pen as of Shamal Chat's and quite recently of Dalpatram.

The foregoing illustrations seem to afford sufficient proof that love of, and faith in, the vernaculars, rather than a knowledge of English are necessary for their expansion.

We shall arrive at the same conclusion when we consider how languages grow. They are a reflection of the character of the people who use them. One who knows the dialects of the Zulus of South Africa knows their manners and customs. The character of a language depends upon the qualities and acts of the people. We should unhesitatingly infer that a nation could not possess warlike, kind-hearted and truthful people, if its language contained no expressions denoting these qualities. And we should fail to make that language assimilate such expressions by borrowing them from another language and forcing them into its dictionary, nor will such spurious importation make warriors of those who use that speech. You cannot get steel out of a piece of ordinary iron, but you can make effective use of rusty steel, by ridding it of its rust. We have long laboured under servility and our vernaculars abound in servile expressions. The English language is probably unrivalled in its vocabulary of nautical terms. But if an enterprising Gujarati presented Gujarat with a translation of those terms, he would add nothing to the language and we should be none the wiser for his effort. And if we took up the calling of sailors and provided ourselves with shipyards and even a navy, we should automatically have terms which would adequately express our activity in this direction. The late Rev. J. Taylor gave the same opinion in his Gujarati Grammar. He says: "One sometimes hears people asking whether Gujarati may be considered a complete or an incomplete language. There is a proverb, 'As the king, so his subjects; as the teacher, so the pupil.' Similarly it can be said, 'As the speaker, so the language.' Shamalbhatt and other poets do not appear to have been obsessed with an idea of the incompleteness of Gujarati when they expressed their different thoughts, but they so coined new expressions and manipulated the old that their thoughts became current in the language.

"In one respect all languages are incomplete. Man's reason is limited and language fails him when he begins to talk of God and Eternity. Human reason controls human speech. It is, therefore, limited to the extent that reason itself is limited, and in that sense all languages are incomplete. The ordinary rule regarding language is that a language takes shape in accordance with the thoughts of its wielders. If they are sensible, their language is full of sense, and it

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becomes nonsense when foolish people speak it. There is an English proverb, "A bad carpenter quarrels with his tools." Those who quarrel with a language are often like the bad carpenter. To those who have to deal with the English language and its literature, the Gujarati language may appear incomplete for the simple reason that translation from English into Gujarati is difficult. The fault is not in the language but in the people before whom the translation is placed. They are not used to new words, new subjects and new manipulations of their language. The speaker, therefore, is taken aback. How shall a singer sing before a deaf man? And how can a writer deliver his soul until his readers have developed a capacity for weighing the new with the old and sifting the good from the bad.

"Again some translators seem to think that Gujarati they have imbibed with their mother's milk, and they have learnt English at school, and that they, therefore, have become masters of two languages, and need not take up Gujarati as a study. But attainment of perfection in one's mother-tongue is more difficult than effort spent in learning a foreign tongue. An examination of the works of Shamalbhatt and other poets will reveal endless effort in every line. To one indisposed to undergo mental strain, Gujarati will appear incomplete. But it will cease to so appear after a proper effort. If the worker is lazy, the language will fail him. It will yield ample results to an industrious man. It will be found to be capable even of ornamentation. Who dare belittle Gujarati, a member of the Aryan family, a daughter of Sanskrit, a sister of many noble tongues? May God bless it and may there be in it to the end of time, good literature, sound knowledge and expression of true religion. And may God bless the speech and may we hear its praise from the mothers and the scholars of Gujarat."

Thus we see that it was neither the imperfection of Bengali speech, nor impropriety of the effort that was responsible for the failure of the movement in Bengal to impart instruction through Bengali. We have considered the question of incompleteness. Impropriety of the effort cannot be inferred from an examination of the movement. It may be that the workers in the cause lacked fitness or faith.

In the north, though Hindi is being developed, real effort to make it a medium seems to have been confined only to the Arya Samajists. The experiment continues in the Gurukuls.

In the Presidency of Madras the movement commenced only a few years ago. There is greater intensity of purpose among the Telugus than among the Tamils. English has acquired such a hold of the literary class among the Tamils that they have not the energy even to conduct their proceedings in Tamil. The English language has not affected the Telugus to that extent. They, therefore, make greater use of Telugu. They are not only making an attempt to make Telugu the medium of instruction; they are heading a movement to repartition India on a linguistic basis. And though the propagation of this idea was commenced only recently, the work is being handled with so much energy that they are likely to see results within a short time. There are many rocks in their way. But the leaders of the movement have impressed me with their ability to break them down.

In the Deccan the movement goes ahead. That good soul Prof. Karve is the leader of the movement. Mr. Naik is working in the same direction. Private institutions are engaged in the experiment. Prof. Bijapurkar, has, after great labour, succeeded in reviving his experiment and we shall see it in a short time crystallised into a school. He had devised a scheme for preparing text-books. Some have been printed and some are ready for print. The teachers in that institution never betrayed want of faith in their

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cause. Had the institution not been closed down, so far as Marathi is concerned the question of imparting all instruction through it would have been solved.

We learn from an article in a local magazine by Rao Bahadur Hargovindas Kantawala that a movement for making Gujarati the medium of instruction has already been made in Gujarat. Prof. Gajjar and the late Diwan Bahadur Manibhai Jushbhai initiated it. It remains for us to consider whether we shall water the seed sown by them. I feel that every moment's delay means so much harm done to us. In receiving education through English at least sixteen years are required. Many experienced teachers have given it as their opinion that the same subjects can be taught through the vernaculars in ten years' time. Thus by saving six years of their lives for thousands of our children we might save thousands of years for the nation.

The strain of receiving instruction through a foreign medium is intolerable. Our children alone can bear it, but they have to pay for it. They become unfit for bearing any other strain. For this reason our graduates are mostly without stamina, weak, devoid of energy, diseased and mere imitators. Originality, research, adventure, ceaseless effort, courage, dauntlessness and such other qualities have become atrophied. We are thus incapacitated for undertaking new enterprises, and we are unable to carry them through if we undertake any. Some who can give proof of such qualities die an untimely death. An English writer had said that the non-Europeans are the blotting-sheets of European civilisation. Whatever truth there may be in this cryptic statement, it is not due to the natural unfitness of the Asiatics. It is the unfitness of the medium of instruction which is responsible for the result. The Zulus of South Africa are otherwise enterprising, powerfully built and men of character. They are not hampered by child-mariages and such other defects. And yet the position of their educated class is the same as ours. With them the medium of instruction is Dutch. They easily obtain command over Dutch as we do over English, and like us they too on completion of their education lose their energy and for the most part become imitators. Originality leaves them along with the mother-tongue. We the English-educated class are unfit to ascertain the true measure of the harm done by the unnatural system. We should get some idea of it if we realised how little we have reacted upon the masses. The outspoken views on education that our parents sometimes give vent to are thought-compelling. We dote upon our Boses and Roys. Had our people been educated through their vernaculars during the last fifty years, I am sure that the presence in our midst of a Bose or a Roy would not have filled us with astonishment.

Leaving aside for the moment the question of propriety or otherwise of the direction that Japanese energy has taken, Japanese enterprise must amaze us. The National awakening there has taken place through their national language, and so there is a freshness about every activity of theirs. They are teaching their teachers. They have falsified the blotting-sheet simile. Education has stimulated national life, and the world watches dumbstruck Japan's activities. The harm done to national life by the medium being a foreign tongue is immeasurable.

The correspondence that should exist between the school training and the character imbibed with the mother's milk and the training received through her sweet speech is absent when the school training is given through a foreign tongue. However pure may be his motives, he who thus snaps the cord that should bind the school-life and the home-life is an enemy of the nation. We are traitors to our mothers by remaining under such a system. The harm done goes much further. A gulf has been created between the

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educated classes and the uneducated masses. The latter do not know us. We do not know the former. They consider us to be 'Saheblog.' They are afraid of us. They do not trust us. If such a state of things were to continue for any length of time, a time may come for Lord Curzon's charge to be true, viz., that the literary classes do not represent the masses.

Fortunately the educated class seems to be waking up from its trance. They experience the difficulty of contact with the masses. How can they infect the masses with their own enthusiasm for the national cause? They cannot do so through English. They have not enough ability or none for doing so through Gujarati. They find it extremely difficult to put their thoughts into Gujarati. I often hear opinion expressed about this difficulty. Owing to the barrier thus created the flow of national life suffers impediment.

Macaulay's object in giving preference to the English language over the vernaculars was pure. He had a contempt for our literature. It affected us and we forgot ourselves and just as a pupil often outdoes the teacher so was the case with us. Macaulay thought that we would be instrumental in spreading western civilisation among the masses. His plan was that some of us would learn English, form our character and spread the new thought among the millions. (It is not necessary here to consider the soundness of this view. We are merely examining the question of the medium.) We, on the other hand, discovered in English education a medium for obtaining wealth and we gave that use of it predominance. Some of us found in it a stimulus for our patriotism. So the original intention went into the background, and the English language spread beyond the limit set by Macaulay. We have lost thereby.

Had we the reins of Government in our hands we would have soon detected the error. We could not have abandoned the vernaculars. The governing class has not been able to do so. Many perhaps do not know that the language of our courts is considered to be Gujarati. The Government have to have the Acts of the legislature translated in Gujarati. The official addresses delivered at Darbar gatherings are translated there and then. We see Gujarati and other vernaculars used side by side with English in currency notes. The mathematical knowledge required of the surveyors is difficult enough. But Revenue work would have been too costly, had surveyors been required to know English. Special terms have, therefore, been coined for the use of surveyors. They excite pleasurable wonder. If we had a true love for our vernaculars we could even now make use of some of the means at our disposal for their spread. If the pleaders were to begin to make use of the Gujarati language in the courts they would save their clients much money, and the latter will gain some necessary knowledge of the laws of the land, and will begin to appreciate their rights. Interpreters' fees would be saved, and legal terms would become current in the language. It is true the pleaders will have to make some effort for the attainment of this happy result. I am sure, nay, I speak from experience, that their clients will lose nothing thereby. There is no occasion to fear that arguments advanced in Gujarati will have less weight. Collectors and other officials are expected to know Gujarati. But by our superstitious regard for English we allow their knowledge to become rusty.

It has been argued that the use we made of English for attainment of wealth, and for stimulating patriotism was quite proper. The argument, however, has no bearing on the question before us. We shall bow to those who learn English for the sake of gaining wealth or for serving the country otherwise. But we would surely not make English the medium on that account. My only object in referring to such a

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use of the English language was to show that it continued its abuse as a medium of instruction and thus produced an untoward result. Some contend that only English-knowing Indians have been fired with the patriotic spirit. The past few months have shown us something quite different. But even if we were to admit that claim on behalf of English, we could say that the others never had an opportunity. Patriotism of the English-educated class has not proved infectious, whereas a truly patriotic spirit ought to be all-pervading.

It has been stated that the foregoing arguments, no matter how strong they may be in themselves, are impracticable. "It is a matter for sorrow that other branches of learning should suffer for the sake of English. It is certainly undesirable that we should suffer an undue mental strain in the act of gaining command over the English language. It is, however, my humble opinion that there is no escape for us from having to bear this hardship, regard being had to the fact of our relationship with the English language, and to find out a way." These are not the views of an ordinary writer. They are owned by one who occupies a front rank among the Gujarati men of letters. He is a lover of Gujarati. We are bound to pay heed to whatever Prof. Dhruva writes. Few of us have the experience he has. He has rendered great service to the cause of Gujarati literature and education. He has a perfect right to advise and to criticise. In the circumstances one like me has to pause. Again the views above expressed are shared with Prof. Dhruva by several protagonists of the English language. Prof. Dhruva has stated them in dignified language. And it is our duty to treat them with respect. My own position is still more delicate. I have been trying an experiment in national education under his advice and guidance. In that institution Gujarati is the medium of instruction. Enjoying such an intimate relation with Prof. Dhruva I hesitate to offer anything by way of criticism of his views. Fortunately, Prof. Dhruva regards both systems, the one wherein English is the medium and the other in which the mother tongue is the medium, in the nature of experiment. He has expressed no final opinion on either. My hesitation about criticising his views is lessened on that account. It seems to me that we lay too much stress on our peculiar relationship with the English language. I know that I may not with perfect freedom deal with this subject from this platform. But it is not improper even for those who cannot handle political subjects to consider the following proposition: The English connection subsists solely for the benefit of India. On no other basis can it be defended. English statesmen themselves have admitted that the idea that one nation should rule another is intolerable, undesirable and harmful for both. This proposition is accepted as a maxim beyond challenge in quarters where it is considered from an altruistic standpoint. If then both the rulers and the nation are satisfied that the mental calibre of the nation suffers by reason of English being the medium, the system ought to be altered without a moment's delay. It would be demonstration of our manliness to remove obstacles however great in our path, and if this view be accepted, those like Prof. Dhruva who admit the harm done to our mental calibre do not stand in need of any other argument.

I do not consider it necessary to give any thought to the possibility of our knowledge of English suffering by reason of the vernacular occupying its place. It is my humble belief that not only is it unnecessary for all educated Indians to acquire command over English, but that it is equally unnecessary to induce a taste for acquiring such command.

Some Indians will undoubtedly have to learn English. Prof. Dhruva has examined the question

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with a lofty purpose only. But examining from all points we would find that it will be necessary for two classes to know English :—

(1) Those patriots who have a capacity for learning languages, who have time at their disposal and who are desirous of exploring the English literature and placing the results before the nation, or those who wish to make use of the English language for the sake of coming in touch with the rulers.

(2) Those who wish to make use of their knowledge of English for the sake of acquiring wealth.

There is not only no harm in treating English as an optional subject, and giving these two classes of candidates the best training in it, but it is even necessary to secure for them every convenience. In such a scheme the mother-tongue will still remain the medium. Prof. Dhruva fears that if we do not receive all instruction through English, but learn it as a foreign language, it will share the fate of Persian, Sanskrit and other languages. With due respect I must say that there is a hiatus in this reasoning. Many Englishmen, although they receive their training through English, possess a high knowledge of French and are able to use it fully for all their purposes. There are men in India who although they have received their training through English have acquired no mean command over French and other languages. The fact is that when English occupies its proper place and the vernaculars receive their due, our minds which are to-day imprisoned will be set free and our brains though cultivated and trained, and yet being fresh will not feel the weight of having to learn English as a language. And it is my belief that English thus learnt will be better than our English of to-day. And our intellects being active, we should make more effective use of our English knowledge. Weighing the pros and cons, therefore, this seems to be the way that will satisfy many ends.

When we receive our education through the mother-tongue, we should observe a different atmosphere in our homes. At present we are unable to make our wives co-partners with us. They know little of our activity. Our parents do not know what we learn. If we receive instruction through the mother-tongue we should easily make our washermen, our barbers, and our bhangis, partakers of the high knowledge we might have gained. In England one discusses high politics with barbers while having a shave. We are unable to do so even in our family circle, not because the members of the family or the barbers are ignorant people. Their intellect is as well-trained as that of the English barber. We are able to discuss intelligently with them the events of "Mahabharata", "Ramayana" and of our holy places. For the national training flows in that direction. But we are unable to take home what we receive in our schools. We cannot reproduce before the family circle what we have learnt through the English language.

At the present moment the proceedings of our Legislative Councils are conducted in English. In many other institutions the same state of things prevails. We are, therefore, in the position of a miser who buries underground all his riches. We fare no better in our law courts. Judges often address words of wisdom. The court-going public is always eager to hear what the Judges have to say. But they know no more than the dry decisions of the Judges. They do not even understand their counsels' addresses. Doctors receiving diplomas in Medical Colleges treat their patients no better. They are unable to give necessary instructions to their patients. They often do not know the vernacular names of the different members of the body. Their connection, therefore, with their patients, as a rule, does not travel beyond the writing of prescriptions. It is brought up as a charge against us that through our thoughtlessness we allow the water

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that flows from the mountain-tops during the rainy season, to go to waste and similarly treat valuable manure worth lakhs of rupees and get disease in the bargain. In the same manner being crushed under the weight of having to learn English and through want of far-sightedness, we are unable to give to the nation what it should receive at our hands. There is no exaggeration in this statement. It is an expression of the feelings that are raging within me. We shall have to pay dearly for our continuous disregard of the mother-tongue. The nation has suffered much by reason of it. It is the first duty of the learned class now to deliver the nation from the agony.

There can be no limit to the scope of a language in which Narasinh Mehta sang, Nandshanker wrote his *Karanghelo*, which has produced a race of writers like Navalram, Narmadashanker, Manilal, Malbari and others; in which the late Raychandkavi carried on his soul-lifting discourses, which the Hindus, Mahomedans and Parsis claim to speak and can serve if they will; which has produced a race of holy sages; which owns among its votaries millionaires; which has been spoken by sailors who have ventured abroad; and in which the Barda hills still bear witness to the valourous deeds of Mulu Manek and Jodha Manek. What else can the Gujaratis achieve if they decline to receive their training through that language? It grieves one even to have to consider the question.

In closing this subject I would invite your attention to the pamphlets published by Dr. Pranjiwandas Mehta, of which a Gujarati translation is now out. I ask you to read them. You will find therein a collection of opinions in support of the views herein expressed.

If it is deemed advisable to make the mother-tongue the media of instruction, it is necessary to examine the steps to be taken for achieving the end. I propose to recount them, without going into the argument in support:—

(1) The English-knowing Gujaratis should never, in their mutual intercourse, make use of English.

(2) Those who are competent both in English and Gujarati, should translate useful English works into Gujarati.

(3) Education Leagues should have text-books prepared.

(4) Moneyed men should establish schools in various places in which Gujarati should be the medium.

(5) Alongside of the foregoing activity, conferences and leagues should petition the Government and pray that the medium should be Gujarati in Government schools, that proceedings in the law courts and Councils and all public activites should be in Gujarati, that public services should be open to all, without invidious distinctions in favour of those who know English, and in accordance with the qualifications of applicants for the post for which they may apply, and that schools should be established where aspirants for public offices may receive training through Gujarati.

There is a difficulty about the foregoing suggestions. In the councils there are members who speak in Marathi, Sindhi, Gujarati and even Kanarese. This is a serious difficulty, but not insurmountable. The Telugus have already commenced a discussion of the question, and there is little doubt that a re-distribution of provinces will have to take place on a linguistic basis. Till then every member should have the right to address his remarks in Hindi or his own vernacular. If this suggestion appears laughable, I would state in all humility that many suggestions have at first sight so appeared. As I hold the view that our progress depends upon a correct determination of the medium of instruction, my suggestion appears to me to have much substance in it. If my suggestion were adopted the vernaculars will gain an influence, and when they acquire State recognition they are likely to show merits beyond our imagination.

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(CONTINUED FROM THE LAST ISSUE)

THE HISTORY OF BENGALI LITERATURE

BY MR. HARI PADA GHOSAL, M.A.

CHAPTER IV

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE

THE INTERREGNUM IN POETRY

AFTER Mukundaram we do not find any great name among the many poets who flourished before Bharatchandra. This period is a gap. Except the mighty figure of Kasi Das, there is none among the lesser luminaries who may claim a high place in the golden galaxy of the literary horizon of Bengal. But still the melodious harp was not left unsounded. This age may fairly be called an age of translations. The Bengali genius went to sleep to refresh itself after the violent strain in Mukundaram.

Among the poets who wrote in praise of the goddess Mansa, the twin poets Ketakadas and Khemananda come to our view. Their names are knit together in a way that reminds us of the two English dramatists Beaumont and Fletcher. These two literary partners are so much associated that they are mistaken for one person. Their date is uncertain but it may be reasonably supposed that they flourished about the beginning of the seventeenth century. There are only 2,600 verses and sixty-six poems of which forty are of Khemananda and twenty-six of Ketakadas. Though Khemananda excels in dealing with emotion and Ketakadas with humour, yet there is very little that may be taken as showing high political excellence. But the story is common and it excites pity and sympathy. It is well known in every Bengali household. Chand Sadagar (merchant) of Champainagar was dead against worshipping the goddess Mansa and used to strike serpents (favoured creatures of the goddess so much so that they are taken as her personifications) whenever he met them. This enraged the goddess who caused the death of his six sons and he himself lost his merchandise on the sea. But still he remained inexorable. In course of time a son of the name of Nakhindar was born to him. Nakhindar married Behula, daughter of Saya. Chand caused an iron house to be built upon the summit of the Satai hill, in which the married couple was to pass their bridal night. In spite of all his precautions Nakhindar breathed his last from the effect of snake-bite. Behula floated on the river's breast with her husband on a boat made of plantain trees and at length reached Tribeni after six months. Here she was introduced to the gods in heaven by Netai, a washerwoman of the gods who were pleased with Behula and granted her the life of her husband. Chand got back his six lost sons on condition that he would henceforth worship the goddess Mansa and bear no ill-will towards her favourite creatures, the serpents. His wealth was also restored to him. The worship of the goddess was established on earth after the arrival of Behula with her husband and her brothers with their lost wealth, to her husband's home.

It is needless to say that the feelings of a people are greatly affected by the environments they are surrounded with. The delta of the Ganges being marshy and there being snakes, the people grew terrified and sought some means of propitiating an imaginary deity whom they made queen over these tiny creatures whose bite brought about instantaneous death and from whom they could not see any means of escape. Hence they flew to the deity who might protect them by her divine power. Their inability to find the remedy led them to stick fast to their faith. Call it superstition or anything you like, but it springs from that instinctive moral nature which is the part of our very being. Call it rude but it has a consoling efficacy. "The sacred picture which is believed to shed a hallowing and protecting influence over the poor man's cottage can bestow a more real consolation in the darkest hour of human suffering than can be afforded by the grandest theories of philosophy" (Lecky)

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The belief may be false but it is conducive to human happiness. A similar snake-worship was prevalent in the delta of the Nile.

KASIRAM DAS

There is not a little difference of opinion among scholars about the exact date of this great poet. In fact we cannot reconcile ourselves to any one of the various dates conjectured by writers of literary history. So we refrain from fixing any date that may be taken as precise and final. But we may reasonably say that Kasi Das flourished early in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. We know from his older confession that the place of his birth was Singigram in the sub-division of Katwa in the District of Burdwan. He was a Kayastha by caste. His father's name was Kamalakanta. He had three brothers all of whom took delight in literature and one of them Kristodas wrote Sri Kristobilas, a translation of the Bhagbat.

The theory that Kasi Das was ignorant of Sanskrit has now been exploded. It originated in the fact that Kasiram did not closely follow the original in writing his Mahabharat. Of all the translations of the Mahabharat that of Kasi Das was the most complete and best. Before him many dealt with the same subject so that he was not a worker in a new field. Babu Nagendra Nath Basu, a great lover of our old literature, to whom our language is much indebted, has given a list of about thirty-five poets who practically translated the Mahabharat before Kasi Das. The Mahabharat of Kasi Das is the best known in every Bengali household. There is a controversy as to its genuineness. According to many he wrote a good portion of the famous book, but in spite of all their contention, it is beyond doubt that none but the masterly hand of Kasi Das could produce a book which is charming throughout from beginning to end. That he was the author of the whole of the Mahabharat is incontestably proved by internal evidence. There is no change, no variation in the style and method of composition. The language is always refined and invariably chaste. There is no unevenness or irregularity; all is wrought in a vein quite befitting a poet of the first water. Whatever may be the evidence, even though it is meagre, we are not willing to dethrone this great poet from the high seat of honour which justly belongs to him as the sole author of this book of books.

Let us now turn to see how the poet was singularly successful in this most ambitious feat of intellect. We love Kasi Das and Kirtibas as our personal friends. None could be more popular than these twin sons of the Bengali muse. From the cottage to the palace, from the most negligible and dirty nook of a grocer's shop to the spacious and beautifully decorated hall of knights and the bower of ladies, they are equally admired. Burns was the most popular poet in Scotland in the sense that his poetry delighted the simple Scottish peasants who read his poetry while they drove the plough. Such is the case with Kasi Das and Kirtibas. But their superiority lies in another direction. We do not find any high thoughts in Burns. He sang only of the poor mouse when he turned the earth with his plough-share and of the daisy which he trod under his "shoon." But Kasi Das and Kirtibas sometimes "scaled the toppling crags" of poetry. Their Pegasus soared high through the aerial regions and reached often the "table-lands to which our God is moon and sun." Different shades of emotion have been artistically dealt with by Kasi Das. Innumerable episodes centre round the main story which is an account of the life and prowess of the five Pandavas, their quarrel with the Kurus culminating in the great war on the classic field of Kurukshetra and resulting in the total extinction of the great Kshatriya heroes who took the one side or the other in this most disastrous warfare. The episodes are so charming that we cannot spare them. We cannot imagine how the poet could patiently write the gigantic volume. It is indeed the work of a master-spirit. The largeness of the scope was not a desideratum. There is no sign of langour. The poet is cheerful throughout. Some of the characters are didactic but never repelling. The descriptions are like little pictures. They are beautiful and at the same

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time natural. Kasi Das did not invent like Mukundaram, any new metres. Perhaps his eyes were fixed upon bringing his great work to a speedy termination. He had no time to stop and turn round. In fine, let me say that if any one wishes to see the nation face to face, he must read the Ramayana and the Mahabharat, the grandest books of the world. They are dear to our soul. They are our life-blood. They teach us the virtues of truthfulness, forgiveness, perseverence, humbleness of spirit, self-abnegation and reverence for God. They may be fitly termed the Bibles of our literature. Our children suck their great lessons with their mother's milk. From the cradle to the grave they are our companions and guiding stars in the journey of life. Many have been made poets by reading them. These store-houses of poetry are full of precious gems which are like diadems on the crowns of our many modern poets. In fact, the seventeenth century may be called an interregnum and Kasi Das its sole dictator. Besides the Mahabharat, Kasi Das wrote three other books—Jalaparba, Sapnaparba, and Nalopakhyan.

We have said something about Dharmamangals in the chapter preceding the last. They were composed in honour of the god Dharma who was the object of worship of the so-called Buddhists in the last days of their decadence. Gradually the subject was taken up even by great exponents of the orthodox Hindu faith and in their eagerness to relate the glory of Hindu gods and goddesses, they lost sight of the god to glorify whom they were originally composed. Thus the Buddhistic idea is least felt in Ghannaram's Sri Dharmamangal. It can be hardly recognised through the superfœtation of innumerable illustrations drawn from the author's rich storehouse of scholarly acquisition. This kind of complete transformation is met with in Ghannaram Chakrabarthy. He was born in 1679 A.D. in the District of Burdwan. His father's name was Gourikanta. Ghannaram was naughty and quarrelsome in early boyhood and his father sent him to the tol of Rampur, the then famous seat of learning in Burdwan. The salutary influence of this place brought about a change and he became attached to his books. His preceptor presaging the glory that awaited the boy-poet in no distant future early gave him the title of Kabiratna (the gem of poets). At last by the order of Maharaj Kirtichandra Rai of Krishnapore, he composed his famous Sridharma-mangal. The book is composed of twenty-four chapters consisting of 9,147 verses and was completed by the year 1709. The hero is Lousen. He is a man of self-control and possesses extraordinary feat of arms. He is a favourite of the gods and practised hard austerities. But the poet wanted that magical power which wields all the different materials into a harmonious whole. He wanted art to combine and knit up various elements. The verses are monotonous. They disgust even the most patient reader. Ghannaram was the master of a large vocabulary. There is alliteration almost in every verse.

He was a man of pure character, humorous and amiable. His descendants are still living at Krishnapore.

Of the two brothers of Kasi Das, Kristo Das was elder and Gadadhar younger. Both of them were good poets. Kristo Das wrote Srikristobilas —a translation of the Bhagbat. The Juggannath-mangal of Gadadhar Das is a good and interesting book. Bhabami Prosad Rai was another poet. He was born blind about the middle of the 17th century. His power over language, his taste and poetic power were not of a high order. Contemporaneous with Bhabani Prosad was Rupnarain Ghosh who was a better poet than him.

Let us now take a review of the 16th and 17th centuries and state the important features in the literature of the period. Kabikanka Chandi is a mirror of contemporary Bengal. Domestic life as it was in those times is clearly reflected in the glowing pages of that remarkable book. Though the Bengalis are under the ban and anathema of racial interdiction as the most cowardly of nations, yet any one who has sympathetically and carefully gone through the literature of the period in question, cannot say with justice that they were wanting in heroism

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and bravery about 300 years ago. The poets depicted contemporary society. Their characters are very often heroic. The people in general still loved learning and education was not stationary or neglected. Even men of lower castes were learned in Sanskrit and were good scholars of their own literature. Women occupied a conspicuous place in society. They were taught to read and write. There were some hackneyed subjects such as the descriptions of the six seasons of the year which was the common property of the ancient poets of Bengal.

The most remarkable feature in the old literature of Bengal is its *life*. This life—this vitality—this power which animates and vivifies is found in Kirtibas, Kasi Das and Dharmamangal. This animus inspires the poetry of Mukundaram. The contrast between spirit and lifelessness is clearly visible when we come down to the age of Bharat Chunder. The voice of the people, the spirit of universality, naturalness and simplicity which animates Mukundaram, speaks to the heart. What is it but the picture of poverty of Kalketu and patience of Fullara that have been drawn by the poet? What is it but the picture of Dhanapoti, Srimanta and Khullana? They were born in humble cottages of Bengal but they are fit to be placed side by side with the mighty heroes and heroines of the Ramayana and the Mahabharat. The period succeeding the age of Bharat Chunder is an age of artificiality and unnaturalness. The language is refined but it is without an ideal. Here there is no life, no simplicity, but a mere chaos of exuberence, heartlessness and artificiality. This literature has not drawn its power from the pure fountain-head of popular sentiments. It was fed by outlandish ideals, corrupt and vitiated taste of foreign conquerors and hence its depravity and distortion. Nurtured by popular feeling and thoughts, the Kaviwallas kept it alive in remote villages even in those days of vitiated taste.

The Reorganisation of Government Colleges

BY "COLLEGIAN"

THOUGH the main results arrived at by the Public Services Commission are disappointing, the elaborate investigation undertaken by them has, in spite of the Commissioners themselves, brought to light several valuable suggestions towards the reorganisation of the services. With reference to the subject of this article itself, a number of ideas given expression to by the Commissioners would deserve to be adequately recognised and utilised in reforming the existing state of affairs. The first excellent finding has been the necessity to separate the administrative and the collegiate branches of service from each other. The inclusion of the officers of both the branches in the same cadre with a common struggle for promotions has been one of the worst crimes of recent government policy. The indignity of men with years of collegiate service to their credit being superseded in their promotional prospects by raw lads will, it is hoped, be put an end to. The combination of the collegiate officers and the administrative officers resulted in a niggardly apportionment of places to the former class. With a separation must come an extension of the collegiate service to fulfil its necessary fuller development.

According to the Commission every college should be itself a unit of the departmental service. Changes from the administrative into the collegiate divisions are not to be countenanced while changes from one college to another are ordinarily permissible. The recognition of a vital unit in the college will be found to be a very favourable influence towards the growth of a fuller college life. As things are at present all the fine and subtle associations of a corporate college life

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are rudely destroyed by a central authority. When a recruitment has to be made in the staff of a college, the best men competent to sit over the selection or at least assist in the selection are the principal and senior professors of that college. As having actually come in contact with the talents of the young men trained under them they are the best judges of their merits. It is to be hoped that with the recognition of the separate entity of every college, the patronage of the appointments in the different colleges will not harmfully be centred in a central authority but be tempered and guided principally by expert and appropriate opinion. Anybody who knows the character of the administration of the department in this Province knows that no principal and no professor, even of the Presidency College, can have a substantial voice in the matter of recruitments to the staffs of the colleges.

In the matter of appointments, the Commission has recommended the institution of selection committees, consisting of three officials and two non-officials. In a department like the judicial we are familiar with the appointing authority vested in the High Court. It ought to be possible to achieve such a simple procedure in the educational department. If the Director could sit with representative professors of different departments of knowledge, taking care always to include an Indian element we can be certain of a proper selection committee.

A very important finding of the Commission has been the urgent need "to move up large numbers of officers from the subordinate service" to an upper grade. In their anxiety to keep distinct a class I and a class II, on an imaginary difference in the type of work performed by the members of the several cadres, the Commission by its very failure to do so, clearly demonstrate the great need for a thorough democratization of the collegiate service. What the Commissioners have conceived as mere "effective teaching" and "demonstrating," they have entirely allotted to officers of the class II while the fulfilment of a high university standard is to rest on the shoulders of officers of class I. According to the specifications of the Commissioners there is no third alternative possible at all in the economy of collegiate work to be fulfilled by a third class of subordinate officers. There is conceivably no lower grade of work than "effective teaching" and "demonstrating" in collegiate education and the distinction of a class of "teachers" serving in the subordinate service is a visionary nothing in the Commissioners' minds.

In their attempt to substantiate the mere "effective teaching" that forms a considerable part of Indian collegiate work, the Commissioners talk glibly of the large element of boys between sixteen and eighteen found among the students of Indian colleges, whose defective education, according to the Commissioners argues the inevitable mere "effective teaching" among the members of the college staff. It must remain a comment of surprise to any one in India to think that the youth of 16 or 18 years is a hindrance to an absorption of the highest university ideal in pursuing studies. The Government has arbitrarily fixed the age of Matriculation in this country at fifteen. Those who are familiar with the actual rate of mental development of the lads of this country know well how cruelly the government rule has thwarted the educational progress of the best youths. The Commissioners have probably meant to emphasise the inadequacy of the Matriculation test to qualify for admission into colleges. They may plead indeed for making the school course longer. The Commissioners will, however, have no reason to think that according to the present standards Matriculation has been too easily allowed at all. The proportion of successful matriculates to those applying for the examination test has always been cruelly small in this country. Simultaneously, class-promotions in schools have also been stiffened up and a boy who enters college at sixteen at present is in many cases a specimen of more than average ability very fit indeed to receive collegiate education on the best university principles.

To return however to the myth of a difference in the type of work performed by a college staff

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That there can be any conscious difference in the principles of instruction pursued by the different members of a college staff is too absurd to maintain. There are two sets of divisions in Indian college staffs which have long been considered as fulfilling an inferior portion of instructional work than the others. These are the "tutors" and the "demonstrators." The latter class is chiefly engaged in correcting exercises by students and in assisting them to do practical experimental work in the laboratory. The Commission has clearly paid a high regard to "demonstrating" work in including "demonstrators" in class II. With reference to "tutors," these are mostly employed to correct literary composition exercises. But within recent years a better understanding of the principles of composition-teaching has led directly to the abolition of an inferior cadre of tutors in our colleges. Composition has been conceived as both a lecturing and correcting task and it has been recognised that this two-fold work should be shared by all the members of the college-staff pertaining to the literary department, irrespective of their seniority.

The college lecturer must combine in himself both professorial and tutorial duties in this country. University professors attend to research work, but the duties of college professors should clearly be to profit the under-graduates under them. It is foolish however to draw fast the line of demarcation between the college professor and the research professor. It should certainly not be impossible for the college professor to become the university research professor; indeed every facility should be afforded to favour such a transition. Without the possibilities of research on any scale no college professor can justify his place, or prove of inspirational value to his students. The only solution then to improve the tone of collegiate education will lie in not obliging the members of college staffs to deliver too many lectures. There ought to be a fair division of work and the work allotted to each should be of such limited proportions as to allow of the best university ideals be pursued by the lecturers.

In this Presidency there are at present five Government Arts Colleges, two of which are of the second grade and the rest of the first, one of which teaches to the highest university standard—the Honours courses. The following table will furnish the manner in which the institutions are manned in the matter of their staffs.

Name of College	Number of Students	I. E. S Men.	P. E. S. Men	Subord. Collegiate Service	Other Inferior Service	Total	Highest degree taught
The Presidency College	548	10	7	22	6+6 Demonstrators	45+6	B. A. Honours
The Kumbakonam College	339	1	6	6	2+2 Demonstrators	15+2	B. A. Pass
The Rajahmundry College	291	1	4	8	3+2 Demonstrators	16+2	B. A. Pass
The Mangalore College	106	...	1	4	8+1 Demonstrators	14	Intermediate (Includes a high school department)
The Anantapur College	...	...	2	4	3	9	Intermediate
	12		20	44			

The magnitude of the amount of teaching work involved in the Presidency College cannot be

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easily realised. There are eight branches in the Honours course and there are three classes in each making up twenty-four, and similarly there are ten classes in the B. A. and at least eight in the Intermediate. These forty-two classes are manned by forty-five men. The inadequacy is apparent. According to subjects there are eleven principal divisions. But even these eleven are too wide classifications. A department like English for instance should really consist of several more minute divisions of specialisation at least in a college where the Honours courses are instituted. It should have a chair for *Language*, one for *Poetry*, one for *Prose* and one for *Drama*. The work may not even be divided on an exclusive basis but every one may share the work of the special sphere of any or every other. But the need to afford scope for concentrated work severally in the different divisions should seem apparent. Take again history. It falls easily into distinctions to be ancient, modern, English and Indian Histories, Political Science and Political Economy. There is thus room for quite six independent workers of equal status. These divisions are made even now among the several members of the same department of subject but the division covered under false and insolent fictions. Whether belonging to a higher or lower cadre, senior or junior, divisions of similar responsibilities are made among the members and the entire work has been going on. Excluding demonstrators and pandits, out of the 39 members in the Presidency College 22 or more than half are only of the "subordinate service," a service too inferior even to come within the purview of the Commission's inquiry. For eleven subject divisions there are only 17 men of the superior service. As has been pointed out each of the eleven divisions is capable of being split up into vital other sub-divisions deserving of independent recognition. And even without it, many of these subjects have to be lectured upon to not less than seven different grades of university classes.

Of the proportions shown in the table above the figures of the Rajahmundry College come next to the Presidency College in the iniquity of the distribution of places between the superior and the inferior grades.

Excluding pandits and demonstrators who deserve to be placed as high at least as the present "subordinate" service, there are seventy-six appointments in the Government Colleges of this Province. Justice would require that all these seventy-six places should be graded on one common footing, which shall be essentially Indian, and shall be recruited from among the best graduates of the Indian universities. In giving its assent to the principle of direct recruitment to the superior services in a large measure the Commission has entered into a useful discussion of the material to choose from. It has been suggested with great wisdom that the young men actually teaching in unofficial colleges might well be drafted into Government service with the obvious profit to the Government of the probation being passed at another's expense. It is a pity that this idea has not struck the authorities at all, all these times. Government colleges, few as they are, must justify themselves by striving to be model institutions, manned by the most eminent members of the profession, official red-tape, technical rules requiring irrelevant qualifications from candidates and the rule of seniority at the expense of efficiency and academical distinction have all combined in the past to discourage the admission of the most brilliant men into the Government Collegiate Service. The raw and untried man was always entertained at the lowest rung of the ladder and an inevitable monotony has gone on in the spirit of the Government Colleges.

The principle of recruitment to Government Colleges from young men actually teaching in unofficial colleges and gaining useful experience thereby will be best paralleled by the present practice of recruitment to the judicial service. The experience gained by a lawyer assists him to become a good judge. Similarly, the lecturer who shows promise after actual trial at an unofficial college is a most eligible person to fill a place in the select government collegiate cadre. This principle if carried out as it should be, will

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for one thing, widen the vision of the educational authorities in the country to enable them to encourage and to turn to the best account the best teaching talent available in the country.

It has been stated by the Commission that three years' practice at the bar is essential for recruitment to the judicial service. If the Government should plan its collegiate machinery in a somewhat similar scale to that of the judiciary, as it will be very worth its while to do, it may take care to ensure a proper period of probation, and three years should be quite a sufficient period. As the Commissioners have pointed out, it would not be possible to get all the recruits from unofficial colleges. In the case of raw men then, who should necessarily be recruited also on the strength of their brilliant academical achievement and the probable testimony of their professors, the three years of probation should have to be in Government service, and in the case of recruits already engaged in teaching allowance should be made to diminish from or entirely do away with, the period of probation according to the period of experience already gained.

As a practical method of salaries it may be suggested that a custom at present prevalent in the case of Probationary Deputy Collectors may well be adopted. The probationer will receive Rs. 150 during the first year, Rs. 175 in the second year and Rs. 200 in the third year. When he is finally given a place in the regular service he will draw Rs. 250, which is the salary suggested by the Commission as the starting place in all the provincial services.

Of the 76 appointments, if five are relegated to probationers there would remain 71 places for the regular cadre. If three different grades are instituted like the scheme of Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim it will serve the best interests if 47 places are on Rs. 250 to 500, 16 places on Rs. 500 to 750 and 8 places on Rs. 750 to 1,000. This division provides for 24 appointments to be on salaries of more than 500. It will be observed that there are at present 12 collegiate appointments in the Indian Educational Service. These would all be transferred into either of the new grades suggested, according to the seniority of the members.

The objection to any scheme of democratization of services can come only from the representatives of the British interests. It will, however, be an unfortunate thing if the Government should look upon the collegiate service in the same light as on administrative services like the Salt, Police and Forest, as a welcome means of finding lucrative employment for Britishers. The late Mr. Gokhale used to maintain that untrained British graduates had no place at all in the Indian Educational service. The importation of British graduates should always be restricted to getting brilliant men with established reputations, if they could be obtained, to fill research professorships, maintained, preferably by the universities.

It cannot, however, be anticipated that the Government will accept any scheme of organisation where the interests of British graduates are not specially guarded. As a practical compromise it may be suggested here that the government may take to itself the prerogative of nominating British graduates to the cadre to start at Rs. 500. In such a case there should be provision made to restrict the Government from making such nominations to such a degeee as practically to perpetuate the traditional monopoly of the Britishers. The recruitment to the Rs. 500 to 750 grade by promotion from the lower grade should never fall to below fifty-per cent. of the places.

Such a scheme should provide for the best Indian graduates practically equal privileges with the British graduate, though the latter will, as has been suggested above, start higher. Appointments to the first grade should freely be made of Indians though tempered perhaps with considerations of efficiency. Not less than half of the appointments in the first grade should be held by Indians.

Nothing less than such a thorough overhauling will answer the best purposes. An extended, independent and dignified service is what is needed. Every possibility should be afforded to the Indian graduate to rise to the highest place.

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WHAT IS SACRED MUSIC?

BY MR. CLEMENT A. HARRIS

Is there any real line of demarcation between sacred and secular in music, or is such a line, like the equator, imaginary?

Not only have contradictory replies been given to the question, but the existence of any demarcation has been denied on contradictory grounds. Musicians have denied it on the ground that all good music is sacred, and the extreme wings of the religious world have denied it on the ground that, in itself, no music is sacred! Thus the votaries of the "Plain Song" or "Gregorian" system have maintained that music is only sacred so far as it is made so by tradition or a Decree of the Church, a contention implied in the Pope's Encyclical on Sacred Music, of 1905.

The Greek Church goes farther, and, regarding music as sacred only when it is the vehicle of sacred words, prohibits the use of instrumental music in church. In this attitude towards the art extremes meet, for the Puritans prohibited, and a few of their descendants still prohibit, the use of the organ in church. Till quite recently the Society of Friends went even farther still, condemning music not only in worship, but as a recreation.

It has been reserved for the great Centre Party in the Christian Commonwealth to recognise that music has a religious message of its own independent of ecclesiastical sanction, and that the term "Divine Art" by which it is so frequently called is no misnomer. Thus, anomalously enough one of the most eloquent and discriminating tributes to the moral purity and innocence of music comes from the pen of the world's greatest composer of comic operas.

"Herein lies one of the Divine attributes of music" writes Sir Arthur Sullivan, "in that it is absolutely free from the power of suggesting anything immoral. Its countless moods and richly varied forms lend it to every organisation, and it can convey every meaning but one,—an immoral one." (Life, by Arthur Lawrence P. 285.)

Startling as this statement is, close analysis generally proves contradiction of it to be founded not upon music itself, but upon its accessories,—objectionable words for instance. Unlike painting and sculpture, music can only represent what is bad by being bad. Mozart felt this when he wrote to his father "Passions, however violent, should never be portrayed in all their ugliness, and even when describing the most horrible situations, music should never offend, but always please the ear,—in short should always remain music." Obviously, he considered that what was not beautiful was not music; and there is a great affinity, if not identity, between what is beautiful and what is good. Surely if anything in music is an attempt to represent evil, it is the Pandemonium scene in Berlioz's "Faust." Yet, at least to the writer, it is the words and not the music which represent an Inferno. The music depicts strenuous and tumultuous conflict and anger, but not necessarily culpable anger. It might be the anger of "Michael and his Angels" just as well as that of "the Devil and his Angels." One does not, while hearing this Pandemonium scene, feel contaminated with evil, as while hearing good sacred music, one feels the better for it.

Sensuous in the literal and better meaning of the word, music often is, but to be this is not to be immoral, otherwise it would be immoral to be "in the body" at all!

The worse effects music is capable of are almost always due to triviality, and are impossible to a composer with a reverence for his art.

It does not follow, however, that, because innocent all good music is sacred music. To say this is to deny to the art the power to voice those lighter moods of mankind without which the difference between sacred and secular would not exist. Goethe recognised this. Few writers have had a loftier conception of music than he did, but he is keenly sensitive to its variety of mood.

The dignity of art appears to the greatest advantage perhaps, in music, because that art contains no material to be deducted. It is wholly firm and intrinsic in value, and it elevates and ennobles everything which it expresses. Music is religious or secular

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.the holiness of Church music, the gaiety and lightness of popular ballads, are the hinges upon which true music turns.

The existence of sacred and secular elements in music is nowise disproved by the difficulty, or even impossibility of precisely locating the line of demarcation between them. Mankind recognises many opposite qualities whose mutual border line it cannot discover.

Nor is such a line of demarcation the less distinct because, where traceable, it does not follow a conventional or expected course. Much music profoundly devotional in expression, has been written without any expressed religious ntent, and much that is trivial has been set to sacred words.

It is enough that in every quarter of the world, and in all ages, music has been the "Handmaid of Religion" its power of expressing religious feeling often exceeding that of words, and that not less has Religion been the "Nursing Mother" of music. For in all countries the best music is that inspired by religion. The most sublime creations of musical genius in the Western world, to the average listener and to the cultured musician, are respectively Handel's "Messiah" and Bach's "St. Mathew Passion" and if Beethoven's symphonies were not written with an expressly religious object many of his movements are so essentially religious in expression that sacred words have been adapted to them. The same principle holds good in the East. The temple songs of the Egyptians, so far as one can infer their character, were simple and dignified; the few Jewish airs which are at all authentic are either very simple or declamatory in style; and though many Mahomedan melodies, at least as rendered in Persia, are marred by confusing elaborations, recitations from the Koran, as given by Lane in his *Modern Egypt*, the Call to Prayer sung by the muezzin from the minaret of his mosque and the song sung at sunrise, as given by Villoteau, are bold and elevating. In no case are these liturgical songs frivolous or superficial. The few ancient hymn tunes of the Chinese extant show the line of demarcation even more strongly. Built on a pentatonic scale, they are severe in their simplicity and devotional in character, while the *secular* music of the Celestials is in no recognisable scale at all, and to European ears sounds little better than a nasal whine.

What then are the essentials of sacred music? First I would place that quality which is music's most striking and individual characteristic—if we may judge from a remarkable concensus of opinion among the world's greatest thinkers. I refer to its power to portray the ideal and immaterial, its witness to a life to come, the mysterious foretaste it gives of an existence beyond this body of flesh. Thus, Thoreau writes

> Let us hear a strain of music, and we are at once advertised of a life which no man has told us of, which no preacher preaches. Music is the language of the universal laws promulgated; it is the only assured tone. There are in music such strains as far surpass any faith which man has ever had in the loftiness of his destiny .....I know there is somewhere a people where this heroism has place...this cannot be all rumour. When I hear this, I think of that everlasting something which is not mere sound.

To Jean Paul Richter music likewise speaks of things invisible; but he seems to have less faith than Thoreau in ultimately finding them: "Away! away"! thou (music) speakest to me of things which all my endless life I have not found, and shall not find". John Henry Newman as one would expect, finds it impossible to believe that the extraordinary intimate message which music has for the soul will prove to have been a false one:

> Can it be he asks, that those mysterious stirrings of the heart, and keen emotions, and strange yearnings after we know not what, and awful impressions from we know not whence should be wrought in us by what is unsubstantial?...No, they have escaped from some higher sphere; they are the outpourings of eternal harmony in the medium of created sound .....they are something besides themselves, which we cannot compass, which we cannot utter, though mortal man, and he perhaps not otherwise distinguished from his fellows, has the power of eliciting them.

Music which has this quality is sacred music in the highest possible sense, whether written for the Church or not.

A second note in sacred music lies in the distinction between joy and pleasure on the one hand, and between sorrow and despair on the other. Its joy, even when most ecstatic, must be such a

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gladness as exults in Handel's "Rejoice Greatly" not the sensuous gaiety of a polka or galop. Its sorrow must be a sorrow " not without hope " such as that of one of the most marvellous passages in music. " The Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all " in the "Messiah"—not the wailing of a dirge. It is significant that no composer has achieved his truest interpretation of religious hope in a funeral march. Those to whom mourning brings a personal grief almost invariably ask for " I know that my Redeemer liveth," " O rest in the Lord," or " Blest are the Departed " to be played in place of a Dead March.

It only remains to add that in applying these principles two factors extraneous to music itself have to be borne in mind. The first is the power of association. Time was—to wit, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,—when Masses were composed on the airs of popular songs and love ditties. Not only so, but the words of the song were sung by those to whom its theme was assigned, while the liturgical words were sung by those who sang the parts! " The Roses Red" and " Adieu, my loves " were well-known instances (Bonavia Hunt's History of Music, p. 10; Naumann, History of Music, p. 282). Nowadays, certain excerpts from Handle's operas, thoroughly devotional in character, make excellent voluntaries only because nobody knows their origin; and probably few who sing the hymn, "O Sacred Head surrounded" to its usual tune,—one of the most profoundly devotional in existence,—suspect that like several others, the air was originally a secular song.

The second factor is racial and individual temperament. Thus, to the Teutonic mind, the religious music of France and Italy, especially perhaps their organ music, is, with one or two exceptions, shallow to the point of irreverence. It does not follow that it produces the same effect of inappropriateness to the Latin mind.

The sensuous beauty of Rossini's Church-work at its best always suggests to the present writer its occupying the same position in the world's library of sacred music that the Song of Solomon occupies in Holy Writ. The inclusion of the " Song of Songs " in the sacred Canon has occasioned some Occidental minds considerable perplexity; to the Oriental mind it probably occasions none whatever! In regard to individual temperament, there could be no better example than that of Joseph Haydn. His Masses have been objected to as " difficult to reconcile with the true dignity of Church music". Yet this was certainly due to no want of reverence on his own part in composing the " Creation". " I knelt down", he says, " every day and prayed God to strengthen me for my work" and he told the poet Carpini that " at the thought of God his heart leaped for joy, and he could not help his music doing the same."

HORACE HAYMAN WILSON

BY MR. SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY, B.L.

BIRTH AND BOYHOOD

WILSON was born on 26th September, 1786. It is not known for certain where the future scholar and Orientalist first saw the light of heaven, but it is very probable that that event took place somewhere near London; and this we infer from the circumstance of his being sent in his sixth year to a school in Soho Square. Wilson's school-days were remarkable for the striking proof which he gave of his future greatness. It would seem that Wilson was born with a predilection for the Far East, as appears from the fact of his very first juvenile compositions having been on subjects connected with the two most noted countries in Asia, namely, India and China.

Wilson's thirst for knowledge of all sorts was very great, and he never failed to avail himself of opportunities for gaining it. When the school was closed for the long vacation, he would go and

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stay with his uncle, who held an appointment in the Assay Department of the Government Mint. Being led by curiosity he would accompany his uncle every day to the Mint, and pick up some knowledge of chemical analysis, the properties of metals, and the processes of assaying. This circumstance did him yeoman's service in shaping the course of his subsequent career.

VOYAGE TO INDIA

Curiously enough though the natural bent of his mind was towards polite learning, more especially Oriental lore, Wilson at an early age had made up his mind to qualify himself for the medical profession ; and, in 1804, when he was only eighteen years of age, got himself admitted at St. Thomas' Hospital, and began to take lessons in the healing art. Having prosecuted his studies for three or four years, he became qualified to practise, and on September 17, 1808, was appointed Assistant Surgeon in the East India Company's service. Not long after, he left England in charge of some troops bound for India. The vessel met with an accident in the way, which delayed the voyage, so that it could not be completed in less than six months. But young Wilson, who knew how to turn his leisure to good advantage, managed to gain some knowledge of Hindusthani from an educated Hindu, who happened to be his fellow-passenger on board the ship. This was the initial step which ultimately led to his ascending to the topmost rung in the ladder of Oriental learning and linguistic studies.

EMPLOYMENT IN THE CALCUTTA MINT

Wilson reached Calcutta with his troops in March, 1809, but he did not remain with them long. An opportunity soon presented itself for changing the medical, and to take to a more congenial profession. It so happened that shortly after his arrival in Calcutta, a new hand was required by the officials at the Local Mint. Wilson at once offered himself, and as he was not a perfect novice, found no difficulty in getting himself employed there. In 1810, Dr. John Leyden * so well known for his scholarly attainments, was appointed Assay Master at the Calcutta Mint; and Mr. Wilson was appointed to act as Assistant Assay Master.

At about the same time he was also appointed Secretary to the Mint Committee. It would seem that the two offices were allied to each other, so that whoever was Assay Master, also became, as a matter of course, the Secretary. These two offices, important as they were, placed Wilson in a position of pecuniary independence ; and although they made great demands on his time and attention, still he managed to find leisure for the cultivation of his taste for linguistic studies. In this way he laboured hard to learn some Indian languages. But though a man of a literary turn of mind, Wilson never neglected the duties of the important offices which he held under Government. In fact, he worked remarkably well as a Government servant, and became a general favourite with his official superiors, who were candid enough to appreciate his valuable services, and to state in so many words that they were deeply indebted to him for many useful reforms in the coinage. His work at the Mint had this importance attached to it that, it led him to turn his attention to Numismatics, and the subject got such a firm hold on his mind that he continued its study with due care and diligence, and succeeded, in after years, in producing a very valuable work on that subject. Need we say that we refer to his *Ariana Antiqua* which deals with the coins of Afghanistan.

HIS STUDY OF SANSKRIT

While studying the subject of coins and coinage, the labours of Mr. Colebrooke in the

*John Leyden, the son of a Scotchman of the shepherd class, is distinguished as a poet and Oriental scholar. He was a friend of Sir Walter Scott, whom he assisted in the collection of materials for his *Border Minstrelsy*. He was, also, a linguist of no mean order. Having served in India in various capacities for some years he died in 1811. Scott mourned him in some feeling lines introduced into the *Lord of the Isles*. Leyden's principal poem, *Scenes from Infancy*, appeared in 1802, and his *Poetical Remains* were published posthumously in 1821. Some of his verses have found place in D. L. R's once popular *Selections from the British poets*. Leyden's translation of the Memoirs of Babar was completed by Erskine.

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field of Sanskrit learning held out quite a charm to him, and it was not surprising that he was led to try his hand in the same sphere. Indeed, the study of Sanskrit, though difficult, has a value of its own, and a man like Wilson could not avoid the temptation of being induced to it as if by the force of instinct. Mr. Colebrooke finding in young Wilson an apt and intelligent student, gladly gave him all the help which he could possibly afford, and, thus, initiated him into the study for which he had already made himself famous, and for which his name has become a household word in India. Wilson began his study of Sanskrit with his usual zeal and earnestness, and as the bent of his mind naturally tended in that direction, he in a comparatively short time got together a fair knowledge of that venerable parent of languages. But with all his efforts Wilson could not attain to the greatness of his master and patron, Colebrooke, who was the ablest and most accurate scholar of his time. In fact, accuracy of scholarship was not Wilson's strong point. True it is he wrote a Sanskrit Grammar which was largely used in the Haileybury College, but, as a matter of fact, it was not well executed, and its introduction into the curriculum of study in that college was owing principally to the good offices of the well-known Professor Francis Johnson than whom a better grammarian, a more careful reviser of proof-sheets, and a more generous friend in placing his own stores of learning at the disposal of other scholars, never existed.

"In reality," says Professor Monier Williams, "Wilson owed his celebrity to his boldness in entering upon investigations which no one had before attempted, to his excellence as a writer, to his faculty of lucid exposition, to the unusual versatility of his genius, including as it did, poetical, dramatic and musical powers of a high order, and perhaps, more than anything else, to his untiring industry and the wide range of his contributions to almost every branch of Oriental research."

All these are very good qualities, and no wonder that by their aid Wilson rose to a very high position in the world of letters. His boldness was remarkable. No work, however hard and difficult, daunted him: he was up to anything and such was his tact and intelligence that he generally acquitted himself well of it. As for the excellence and quickness of his pen they are best proved by the voluminous nature of his works, none of which, however, is below the average. In fact, one and all of them are worth reading. His genius was cosmopolitan. He was a poet of no mean order. True it is that his original poems are only few and far between; but his translations of Indian dramas are very many and they testify to his powers as an ardent and skilful wooer of the Muse.* He was himself an accomplished actor, and was especially noted for his impersonations of old men. And not only did he possess musical voice, he also knew to play well on some musical instruments. Thus he was an all-round man, and was in a position to play almost any part that might be given him. As for his industry it was simply wonderful. He was a miracle of labour and diligence, and found pleasure in work,—incessant work,—work without ceasing. In fact, work was delight as well as worship with him. His contributions to Oriental learning were all but marvellous and covered quite a field of subjects. His essays which were on a variety of matters were collected and edited by Dr. Renhold Rost, Chief Librarian at the India Office, in five superb volumes. Though appointed Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal early in 1811, Wilson did not commence to contribute articles to the organ of that Society until 1825. In point of fact, the bulk of his works was written after he had retired from the Indian service.

HIS STAY IN BENARES AND LABOURS THERE

At the end of 1819, Wilson was sent by the Government of India to Benares, and he remained in that famous seat of Sanskrit learning and Hindu religion for a year, re-organising the Sanskrit College there, collecting materials for his *Hindu Theatre*,—a monumental work, and adding to and improving his knowledge of Sanskrit by intercourse with the ablest and most erudite Pandits then living in Hindusthan. Wilson, though

* Some of his verses have found place in D. L. Richardson's once popular *Selections from the British Poets*.

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a true-born Briton, was such a warm lover of Oriental learning as to have almost identified himself with it. So that it was only natural that in the fierce controversy which had been raging for some time at Calcutta between the Anglicists and the Orientalists, as to whether education should be imparted to the natives through English or through their own vernaculars, he took the side of the latter.

With a view to give some idea of the great versatility of Wilson's talents, we cannot do better than give the following extract from the biographical notice in the Report of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1860, referred to at the outset of this Memoir,—a notice which, considering that Wilson was for many years both Director and President of that Society, and an incessant contributor to the pages of its journal, might well have been made more complete. Says the Report:—

> Neither official duties nor literary pursuits nor these combined, were sufficient for the active mind of our late Director (while he was resident at Calcutta). As a member of Society he joined with ardour in every scheme of public amusement; and was, besides, the originator and promoter of many measures for the permanent improvement of the people among whom his lot was cast. The theatre at Chowringhee owed for many years its success to his management and histrionic talents; while his musical skill and proficiency gave him a place in every concert. But his name will live in India, and especially in Bengal, for the part he took in promoting useful instruction. H. H. Wilson was the first person who introduced the study of European science and English literature into the education of the native population whose knowledge of English had hitherto been confined to qualification for situation of an office clerk. For many consecutive years Wilson was the Secretary of Public Instruction at Calcutta, and he devoted himself especially to directing the studies of the Hindu College from the date of its establishment.

THE BODEN PROFESSORSHIP

Wilson lived and worked in Calcutta till the close of the year 1832.

When the intelligence of his election to the Boden Professorship reached India, Wilson lost no time in resigning his appointment at the Mint, and made the necessary preparations for his return to England. On the eve of his departure from this country, the Pandits met to bid him farewell, and one of them, who was more enthusiastic than the others, addressed him in a Sanskrit *Sloka* which being rendered into English would run thus:—

> The Pandit swans, who dwell in this lake of the Sanskrit College, are deprived of their wings by the influence of malignant fate when thou art gone away for good.

It was said that this flattering *Sloka* moved Wilson's serious face to tears.

WILSON AS BODEN PROFESSOR

Wilson left Calcutta in January 1833,—the very year in which Macaulay arrived at it,—and on landing in England went direct to Oxford, where he took a house in St. Giles' Street. His inaugural lecture was delivered sometime in the summer term of the same year. He chose for his subject, "The General Principles of Sanskrit Grammar,"—a subject which he thought likely to interest classical scholars from the point of view of its bearing on Comparative Philology,—a subject which had come to receive special attention at the hands of European savants of the day. It is not known for certain whether he gave any other lecture on the same subject; but there is no doubt that he delivered two public lectures at Oxford before general audiences on "The Religious and Philosophical systems of the Hindus." These lectures were written to help candidates for a prize of £200 given by Mr. John Muir,*—a well-known old Haileybury man and great Sanskrit scholar,—for the best refutation of the Hindu Religious system. The prize was obtained by one Mr. Mullens.

His usual lectures were given to classes of one or two, and rarely more than four University men. But the audience, though few, were select. Mr. Monier Williams was a regular attendant, and so was Mr. E. B. Cowell, both well-known names in this country. Mr. Cowell was candid enough to say that when he was an Oxford graduate, he learned Sanskrit from Professor Wilson; and he, also, said that the good Professor was always ready to give lectures, three times a week to one person alone in any book he liked to choose. Thus, it is clear that Wilson was not only anxious to store his own mind with knowledge of all kinds, he

* This gentleman was Judge of Fatehpore, and retired from service in 1853. He must not be confounded with Dr. Muir, who was Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. Provinces and is well known in Anglo-Oriental literature for his "Sanskrit Texts."

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was equally ready to impart it to others. Mr. Monier Williams, to whom we are mainly indebted for our information on the subject, has observed that it was, perhaps, more by the ardour of his enthusiasm for Oriental studies,—an ardour which, though outwardly suppressed, occasionally burst forth to kindle sympathetic fire in his pupils,—than by any striking excellence in the matter or method of his lectures that he promoted the cultivation of Sanskrit at the University. Verily, therefore, was Mr. Monier Williams justified in comparing him,—which he did in one of his Calcutta speeches in the Asiatic Society's rooms,—to the Vedic Aruni.* It must have been about this time that he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, which was followed a few years after by his being appointed both Director and President thereof,—an honour which fell to the lot of only a select few among Oriental scholars.

THE INDIA HOUSE LIBRARIANSHIP

Professor Wilson resided at Oxford for about three years; but inasmuch as the climate of the place did not agree with his family, and as in August, 1836, shortly after the death of Sir Charles Wilkins, he was appointed his successor in the post of Librarian at the India House,—an office which carried with it the duties of Oriental Visitor at Haileybury,—he removed in that year to a house in London, merely visiting Oxford for his lectures, which only occupied three weeks three times a year. He used to go to the East India College for the Oriental examinations twice a year. He, also, attended regularly at the terminal visitation of the Directors, and always wrote a Report of the result of the Oriental examinations, which was incorporated in the Principal's general report.

* Aruni was a pupil of the great Rishi, Dhauma, and was so very devotedly attached to him that he always tried his level best to bide his biddings, however hard and risky. Once he was directed by his "Guru" to stop an opening in a certain field, but not being able to do so, he laid himself down at the opening in order to prevent water from coming out. By comparing Wilson to Aruni, Mr. Monier Williams meant to say that the Professor was a devoted student of Sanskrit, and spared no pains to promote its study and cultivation.

HIS KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGES

The versatility of Wilson's powers was best shewn by the wide range of his acquirements in Indian languages. He knew Sanskrit, Bengali, Persian, Hindusthani, Hindi, Telugu, Tamil and Marathi. Of course, his knowledge of some of these languages was all but scanty, but his tact was so great that he somehow managed to conceal his deficiency. As for his knowledge of Sanskrit, it was of a very high order; and what is very remarkable in a foreigner, he could pronounce it with the ease and accuracy of a true-born Hindu. Bengali, Hindusthani and Persian, also, he had a fair mastery of. He had good knowledge, too, of Telugu, which Madras officials were required to learn in lieu of Persian. But with all his scholarship he fell considerably short of the old Haileybury Professor, Mr. Francis Johnson, than whom a better Oriental scholar has not existed.

HIS WORKS

Professor Wilson's literary works are so many that a bare list of them would fill several pages of an ordinary book. Some of these works were written while he was in India; but most of them issued from his fertile pen after he had returned to England on being appointed Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. Of the books which were written in this country there was one which proved exceptionally useful to Europeans who were then learning Sanskrit. This was his Sanskrit-English Dictionary, which first appeared in 1819. A second edition was brought out in the very year the author was appointed Boden Professor. By this excellent lexicon Wilson laid the earliest European Sanskritists under a deep debt of gratitude, so much so that without the aid of such a guide they would have hesitated to venture on the thorny field of Sanskrit learning.

Another useful work of Wilson's is his well-known treatise on the Religious Sects of the Hindus. This gives a more or less detailed account of Hindus of different religious persuasions, and forms, as it were, a companion volume to Colebrooke's valuable essay on the Religious

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Ceremonies of the Hindus. Though the work is not all that could be wished, still it contains a mine of information which is not accessible to the ordinary run of writers on the religions of the world, and if the learned author of the religions of antiquity could get hold of this important work he might have added considerably to the account which he has been able to give of the Hindu religion. It is noticeable that Professor Wilson has laid under an immense debt of gratitude the excellent Bengali writer, Babu Akshoy Kumar Datta, who largely drew upon his work in the preparation of his *Upasaka Sampradaya*,—a work upon which his fame as a Bengali writer principally rests, and which is justly regarded as a classic of a very high order in the whole range of Bengali literature. It is true that Wilson's work contains some errors and inaccuracies, but they were almost inevitable and fairly excusable in a foreigner. With all its defects and shortcomings Wilson's "Religious Sects of the Hindus" is a valuable contribution to Hindu religion and theology.

Wilson's translation of the *Rig Veda* is another work for which he is deservedly famous. It is a very creditable performance and appears to have done yeoman's service to those subsequent Sanskritists who made their attempts in the same direction. The learned Professor had commenced to translate that great work before he left India. In the last letter which he wrote to Mr. E. B. Cowell in India, he stated that he had finished the rough draft of the translation; but it is very much to be regretted that he did not live to publish the whole of it. The publication commenced in 1850, and had advanced only barely half when in 1860 he died. The work was taken in hand by Dr. Ballantyne, his successor in the Library of the India Office; but his failing health prevented him from carrying the remainder through the press. In fact, he had been able to do only a little when in the early part of 1864 he departed this world. Dr. Goldstucker, so well known to fame as a deep Sanskrit scholar, had just undertaken to finish the volume, when finding Mr. E. B. Cowell returning from India he made over the unfinished thing to him, who partly in consequence of the interest which he took in Vaidic studies, and partly because he was an old pupil of the Professor, took up the work with great pleasure and in right good earnest.

The translation of the Rig Veda was the last literary work undertaken by Wilson. It had greatly occupied his thoughts, and he had set his heart on its completion. His translation was mainly based on the very excellent commentary of *Sayana*, a very able and erudite Pundit of Southern India. This commentator, as Professor Cowell justly observes, stands to the Veda as Eustathius does to the Homeric poems. Professor Wilson has with his usual candour said that were it not for Sayana's commentary, he could not have finished that most ancient and most difficult of Sanskrit works. As it is, Wilson's translation of the Rig Veda is a splendid performance and has secured for him a high place among Orientalists.

Wilson's essays, which Dr. R. Rost brought out in three big volumes, testify to the variety of his knowledge. They are a very rich storehouse of useful information and are very largely read and highly valued. But his *Hindu Theatre* is a more useful work in one respect, consisting, as it does, of translations of most of the Sanskrit dramas, and places him in addition to his other merits among poets worthy of the name. Indeed, Professor Wilson was a wonderful man, and there have been very few, indeed, who would bear to be compared with him in the domain of Oriental learning.

ILLNESS AND DEATH

Professor Wilson had been suffering from stone for years. As the disease could hardly be cured without operation, one would have wished that he had submitted to it in time; but for some reason or other, it was deferred till after he had completed the Psalmist's cycle of three-score and ten. Unhappily, at that time there had been no successful application of the science of antiseptic surgery to the saving of life in such cases; and, as a matter of fact, the operation, done as it was late in life, did him more harm than good. The Professor died on the 18th March, 1860.

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Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature

A REVIEW BY

MUHAMMAD NAIMUR RAHMAN, M.A.

THIS publication* is noteworthy as it is the first book relating to Arabic studies that has been translated from Russian into English by an Indian gentleman. It throws considerable light on the relative study of Zoroastrian and Moslem literature. The book is not a big one, and would thus be able to attract the attention of every one interested in Oriental studies. The translation from Prof. Inostranzev, the well-known Russian Orientalist constitutes only seven chapters of medium length occupying about ninety-two pages in all, while the rest of the pages of the book are taken up by eight Appendices from Arabic and German sources. The book is originally based on the Arabian historians and geographers of established reputation in Literature and has been further enlarged and supported by references to celebrated Orientalists of the West. The total aspect of the book and its material is brief, but doubtlessly valuable. The Appendices are historical and bibliographical in nature, and some of them consist of translations from Marquarts, Noldeke, etc. They will certainly be found helpful in furtherance of such studies in Arabic as relate to Zoroastrianism and Persia.

The book will be welcomed by the Zoroastrians as well as the Moslems as it brings them together closer and closer by removing all the doubts that the former covers about the latter. But it remains a strange fact, no doubt, that the Moslems too, though building on the same old civilisation of the Parsis in Persia, have now forgotten what they really owed to them. There has unfortunately been a strange, unintelligible and very often latent feelings of distrust with each of the parties for the other. The Parsis have up to this day been regarding Arabic Literature as something antagonistic in form and spirit to their ideas and ideals. The present book, fraught as it is with references to Arabic and Persian books of recognised worth and value, proves conclusively that all such beliefs, reciprocal or one-sided, are quite baseless, and shows the Moslem in his Arabic Literature as not only an impartial dealer with Zoroastrians but also a whole-hearted sympathiser with it. A number of Arabic books of unquestionable authority give accounts of the Persian antiquities and show what important parts the Zoroastrians played in the preservation of them for the abler and more sympathetic hands of the Arabian writers who are full of praise and appreciation for them. The Shubiyyah party of the Arabian litterature during the Renaissance period of Arabic and Islamic Literature were the chief promoters of learning, and as great "exponents of literature they concentrated their activity in the cultured centre of the Khalifate at Baghdad and other cities, and being familiar with Persia played an important part in the development of Moslem culture of the middle Ages.... They turned only to the Parsi circles for material, ...Enthusiastic partisans of the Persian element, these circles turned to the glories of Persia principally of the Sasanian past." We are rightly and clearly informed that "the share in these operations of the Persians themselves, was not considerable." The long established idea of the emigration of the Persians from Persia to India based on the religious prejudice of the Moslems will, we are sure, no more haunt the brains. Not to speak of the Moslems' grudge and prejudice against the Zoroastrians they go so far in their impartiality for it that they stand forth as its defenders against the attacks of some of the irreligious Zoroastrians themselves. Surely this speaks volumes in favour of the Moslem spirit of toleration. It is a pity that the study of Arabic literature has not yet been adopted by the Parsis through their old ideas of prejudice. We hope that this book will usher in a new era in the literary activities of the Parsis and they will begin to take a greater and whole-hearted interest in Arabic and Persian Literature, and by thus reconciling the two interests would succeed in implanting love and friendship with the exclusion of all thoughts of grudge and distrust, that are equally harmful and detrimental to the interests of both the parties.

* IRANIAN INFLUENCE ON MOSLEM LITERATURE, PART I. Translated from the Russian of M. Inostranzev, with supplementary appendices from Arabic sources, by G. K. Nariman; pp. 8 and 205 Bombay, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Rs. 4.

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INDIAN FINANCE: 1914-18

BY

MR. ROBERT W. BROCK,

Assistant Editor of "Capital."

THE instinct that fastens upon sound finance as the mainspring of competent government is rooted in common sense and practical experience. The Finance Member can make or mar. Without his moral support and practical aid his colleagues in control of great administrative departments (Education, Agriculture, etc.), may have vaulting ambitions but their actual achievement will be circumscribed. This governing power of finance, and of its official representatives, is well understood; hence the attempts in some quarters to lay upon Sir William Meyer responsibility for military and other deficiencies in the early British campaigns in Mesopotamia. A circumstance less generally realised is the limitations the Finance Member himself is subject to.

Governments, it has been aptly said, are paupers. Their own resources, in other words, are *nil*. An apparent exception is railway property. The Government of India has recently derived enormous profits from this source. But even railways are financed originally from loans and taxation. And taxation, however urgent the need, has, in this country, always been subject to severe limitations. As is well-known, considerations partly political and partly economic induced the Government of India in the pre-war period to maintain taxation at the lowest possible level compatible with the barest administrative efficiency. Now, that policy may, or may not, have been inspired by sound principles. I am not concerned to discuss that point. I can understand the attitude being taken up that the Government of India's financial programme was too cautious; but that a cautious policy was actually followed will not be denied.

Thus the Government of India refused to finance universal primary education and other schemes of social amelioration and advancement and they followed this cautious policy despite strong advocacy of bolder action by recognised exponents of indigenous opinion. My object in emphasising this point will appear later, and I would merely add here that this line was pursued notwithstanding the fact that any expenditure incurred would have been devoted wholly to the social and economic benefit of the people of the country.

I now wish to establish another point. This is the heavy outlay that was constantly incurred in attaining military efficiency, with the result that when the day of trial came for this Empire and its Allies, the armies despatched from this country,—trained, equipped and financed by its servants over long years of patient preparation—were able to tender vital aid. I am dealing in this brief note mainly with war finance and I would venture to suggest, that in reckoning this country's financial contribution for war purposes, this high and costly standard of military efficiency must be accorded fuller acknowledgment than from many critics of this country's "war effort" it can yet be said to have received.

Mr. Webb of Karachi in criticising the recent budget makes a great point of the fact that India is the richest division of the British Empire outside the United Kingdom. I will not stay to contest this fallacious assertion: but I would like to point out to the Karachi publicist another distinguishing feature of the country whose military and economic aid to the Allied cause he is so constantly depreciating. I refer to the notorious fact that outside the United Kingdom, India was the only British Dominion that August 1914 found fully prepared for conflict. Apparently with the Karachi writer all this preparedness counts for nothing. Canada was not prepared. Australia was not prepared. New Zealand was not prepared. South Africa was not prepared. There was no strong regular military force in either of these four Dominions. But India, as we know, was fully prepared, and, thanks to Lord Hardinge, who thus rendered such conspicuous service, her striking power was used at the right time and in the right way. The effective contribution of this country to Imperial defence therefore did not begin, as with the above-mentioned Dominions, in 1914. It began long previous and involved high and prolonged military expenditure which cannot fairly be excluded from any fair estimate of this country's war finance.

The croaker at Karachi reminds one of the famous estimate of critics by Byron:—

> A man must serve his time to ev'ry trade,
> Save censure, critics all are ready made;
> Take hackneyed jokes from Miller, got by rote,

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With just enough of learning to misquote;
A mind well-skilled to find or forge a fault,
A turn for punning—call it Attic salt—
Fear not to lie—'twill seem a lucky hit;
Shrink not from blasphemy—'twill pass for wit;
Care not for feeling, pass your proper jest—
And stand a critic, hated, yet caress'd.

I would venture to counsel Mr. Webb to obtain, and publish, the figure of the comparative military outlay of this country, and of the self-governing dominions, from loans and taxation, prior to 1914. India was "ready" because she had paid to be "ready" and paid heavily. When the other Dominions, with the possible exception of Australia, were lavishing all available funds primarily on economic development and social reform, this country, under British leadership, was acting upon the policy of military efficiency first—all other national interests second. Yet in face of this high degree of self-sacrifice, Mr. Webb has the extraordinary effrontery to depreciate this country's effort. This is sheer political slander—no less.

Slander,
Whose edge is sharper than the sword; whose tongue,
But venoms all the worms of Nile; whose breath
Rides on the posting winds, and doth belie
All corners of the world: kings, queens, and states,
Maids, matrons, nay the secrets of the grave
This viperous slander enters.

The merit of any aid or gift is generally considered to be proportioned by the means of the giver. It is asserted—and I give the story for whatever it may be worth—that when the question arose in the Viceroy's Executive Council of this country taking over part of the British war debt, Lord Chelmsford intimated that he would be guided in his final decision mainly by the stand taken by the exponent in his Cabinet of Indian opinion, viz., Sir Sankaran Nair. The ex-High-Court Judge, it is said, after two sleepless nights, indicated to his colleagues his view that the resources of India should be pledged—to uphold the Empire's honour and integrity—to an extent without limit. The Finance Member, with closer regard for practical possibilities, demanded definite figures and the final offer decided upon, as every body now knows, was £100,000,000 which may or may not represent the final contribution.

When Mr. Webb urges heavy war taxation he forgets that military efficiency in the narrow sense of the term, as is increasingly recognised, is not the exclusive basis or shield of national integrity which also requires pursuit of economic development and political tranquillity. Nor, again, are funds handled by Government our only financial contribution to military efficiency. Funds are required also to maintain industry and, quite apart from Government outlay, to finance the manufacture of munitions and establish essential industries. Nor is it wise policy to press for the last rupee. This country, it must be remembered, is poor. High prices are pressing hard upon many sections of the population, and, in any event, the standard of living is extraordinarily low. Very little has been done towards its education and not too much towards its economic development. Its enlightenment is therefore limited and its resources small. The wonder is, with its restricted opportunities, that it has accomplished, not so little, but so much.

I would venture, at this point, to set down a suggestion. The British Government has recently issued its War Book describing its total achievement. The Government of India, taking 1914-18 as its period of survey, and, including finance, munitions, military forces, etc., would be wise to follow suit.

Sir William Meyer, taking the financial side of the Government of India's achievement, began boldly and continued to act courageously throughout. He has, in his last financial statement, recounted his earlier ambitions. It may be said of the present Finance Member that in his financial career, aspiration and achievement have kept perfect step and marched constantly in close comradeship. I need not here recount the features of his first and only peace budget, though it is worth recalling, to the minds of those who have girded at his apparent initial timidity in issuing war loans, that the first rupee loan floated during his period of office was the largest that had been issued for some years—if, indeed, it was not the largest on record. Did this indicate timidity? The retiring Finance Member's strongest ambitions when assuming office were to give full rein to economic development especially through the agency of railway and irrigation extensions, and, in his initial budget, he made unprecedently heavy provision for these latter schemes.

Then came war and temporary economic chaos, and one hears it frequently nowadays—nobody suggested it at the time—made a reproach against the Finance Member that he did not

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instantly impose heavy taxation and issue unlimited loans. The public memory is notoriously short, or otherwise, we may be sure, such pointless criticisms would receive short shrift. When trade was disorganised, when the economic outlook was so extraordinarily doubtful, when popular opinion was unsettled, when post-office savings deposits were being hastily withdrawn and Government currency notes hurriedly cashed; when all this was happening, and when, in addition, the political outlook was so puzzlingly uncertain, this was certainly not the time to impose extra taxation, and, with equal certainty, it was not the time to launch big loans.

We are all now very confident concerning war loans and know that large invesments therein can be depended upon. But what was the financial situation in 1915? The boom in trade, it must be remembered, had not then begun. The Government of India was, indeed, so uncertain,—and, as events proved, so justifiably uncertain—of the success of its first war-period loan, that it took the precaution to have it under-written by the Presidency banks and these institutions, I believe, took up large blocks of the security. As I have noted on another occasion, there have, as regards Indian war finance, been roughly three periods of more or less equal duration:—The first year, when Government were forced to pay out money through post office savings banks and encashment of notes, etc.; the second, the period of the conversion loan, when less loan money was raised from investors than Government asked for; and the third period, the big war loan period, when, in consequence of accumulated funds due to high prices for economic products, reduction of imports, heavy Government outlay and abnormal expansion of currency, investors indicated readiness to lend much more money to Government than anybody, official or non-official, had in the least expected. If the war loan of 1917 succeeded so brilliantly, it was largely because Government was borrowing back its own payments. A similar high investment would not have occurred two years previous, nor will it be repeated in periods of peace.

Then again, as I have pointed in my money market articles in *Capital*, Mr. Webb contends there has been undue inflation of currency and puts such inflation forward as contributory to high prices. I assume this refers to exports only; I will therefore put imports aside. The three chief products of Bengal for commercial purposes—apart from local foodstuffs—are jute, tea and coal, and prices have risen in each case but not due to inflation of currency but simply to ordinary commercial causes, as transport difficulties, increased demand, etc., wherein currency inflation plays not the smallest part. Again, take wheat, Karachi's leading export, a trade Mr. Webb may really know something about. The shortage of wheat is world-wide, the direct consquence is high prices. An equally convincing case could be made out in regard to other prominent products.

As to Government not raising funds—in war taxation, loans, treasury bills, etc.,—their indentation, upon rupee resources can have fallen little short of £100,000,000, viz., an increase of revenue, under all heads, of fully 100 per cent and with another big war loan due shortly, when perhaps even last year's investment will be exceeded, cause for complaint is hard to find. Again, where is the excess of currency? How can higher priced products, an enormous official outlay, etc., be financed without increased currency?

The war loan results achieved during Sir William Meyer's period of office have been unexpectedly brilliant. The biggest rupee loan raised before 1915 was five or six crores. The amount raised last year exceeded 50 crores. But this achievement occurred in 1917. What had intervened since 1915 to make this enormous investment practicable?

I would say chiefly two things. The Government of India had incurred abnormal outlay involving very large payments for purchases effected on behalf of the British Government. Moreover, strong demands came from abroad for local products at practically any price demanded. The result was an extraordinary accession of prosperity. The Government of India, meantime, was financing itself from its reserves, and thus giving the country time—upon the one hand—to recover its economic equilibrium, and—upon the other—to strengthen and multiply its financial resources.

Formerly India was in the habit of borrowing large amounts from London, and it naturally took some little time to re-adjust this position, and to pay off certain debts outstanding when war arrived; and that he accomplished this, before launching his great war loan, is proof authentic of Sir William Meyer's resource and ingenuity. I will indicate why this was the soundest policy to pursue. There were large temporary debts due on London account, and to have left these unredeemed would have been inconsistent. But, unfortunately for the Finance Member's

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reputation with certain classes of publicists, all this occurred more or less out of the public arena, that is to say, out of the lime-light. It therefore earned little public appreciation. It was, indeed, alluded to in the financial statements but, as, I believe, has been Sir William Meyer's experience, financial statements are rarely studied and still less frequently are they thoroughly understood. The action taken was nevertheless exceedingly helpful because it improved the British Government's borrowing powers, viz., by releasing fresh money for re-investment in Home war scrip.

Another fact often forgotten is that to have launched the Indian war loan before investors were ready, and before the commercial and financial situation had fully recovered, would have been fatal and would have reduced the chances of success of any subsequent issue even in circumstances inherently more favourable.

Full credit is also due to Sir William Meyer for the fiscal and financial arrangements that accompanied his war loan. When the Finance Member asked sanction of the Home Government to impose increased taxation upon imported piecegoods (without levelling up the excise duty) for the purpose of devoting the revenue derived therefrom to purely domestic purposes, his scheme was promptly "turned down." When, however, he offered to devote the proceeds of the proposed new taxation as part payment of interest on the war gift of £100,000,000 he met with deserved success. The obvious merit of this arrangement was that it removed an old standing political grievance. Bombay, whose prosperity is "wrapped up" in cotton goods, was especially grateful and congratulatory and it can be confidently asserted that this politically opportune *bundobust*, by strengthening public confidence in the slow moving British sense of justice, secured support for the loan that would otherwise not have been forthcoming or at least would have been certainly less enthusiastic and effective.

It is true that the shock of Lancashire opposition to this measure nearly toppled over the Lloyd George's War Government and caused other political complications, but that, as the Americans say, is "another story," and concerns British domestic politics pure and simple. What is clear is that this long-sought concession has now been conceded, and, without gravely aggravating the political situation in this country, cannot be modified or cancelled. The opposition of Lancashire was extraordinarily strong but it was defeated by the circumstances of the political situation that alone enabled the British Government to bring the scheme forward. In peace time success would have been impossible. It is to be counted unto the Finance Member for grace that he has put this problem behind us. A Finance Member of the pre-war days succeeding in effecting this reform would have been hailed as establishing a new fiscal epoch but Sir William Meyer took it "in his stride." The position really is that developments are occurring so rapidly that we risk losing our sense of perspective. We are, I fear, too near recent financial and fiscal changes to grasp their full significance.

There have been strident complaints of shortage of funds for financing trade and it may be frankly conceded that with demand for local produce so strong, and prices so high, provision of adequate currency has been often difficult. In this connection two contradictory criticisms are offered for public consumption. One is that currency is inadequate—thus establishing that the Finance Member has been too timid and unenterprising—and the other is that currency has been inflated, indicating quite unmistakably that the Finance Member has been too bold and has created more currency than contemporary circumstances fully warrant. To the suggestion that currency is inadequate and that the Government of India should have foreseen the need of and made provision for fuller supplies, the answer is twofold:—(1) that present demands for currency are mainly contingent upon outlays incurred on behalf of the Home Government who alone could fully foresee what dimensions this outlay would attain; (2) that purchasing operations as regards silver are conducted by the India Office which is in intimate and continuous contact with the primary spending authority,—and not by the Government of India which can only urge, not actually effect purchases.

Then as regards inflation. This, as I have pointed out before, is non-existent, or, if existent, occurs only to a very small extent. The demand for currency, it need hardly be said, is variable; it expands with increase of commercial prosperity and economic productivity. The great expansion of commercial and industrial profits in the last two years is common knowledge; and further currency, even apart from exigencies of official finance, is the natural accompaniment of such conditions.

More goods are being produced, higher prices are being received, and higher prices are paid in

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many instances for goods purchased. To this extent, expansion of currency is the consequence, not the cause, of high prices. Then there are purely temporary causes accounting for increased demands for currency. These causes centre chiefly around current restrictions upon imports. Of these, the best example concerns piecegoods. Normally, imported piecegoods are consumed in enormous quantities. What happens is evident. Upon the one hand, money is paid to agriculturists for produce, either gold or rupees; and on the other, imports like piecegoods, which in normal circumstances bring these millions of rupees back into circulation ready for use in other directions, are either so reduced in quantity or priced so highly (or both) that consumption is curtailed, and circulation of coin is consequently impeded. An analogy would be trucks on a railway which go in one direction but never return, involving constant manufacture of new trucks. The rupees are monetary railway trucks, which go out from the Government Financial station, but (in present conditions) rarely return. Meanwhile, war outlay continues, and, in the absence of old rupees or notes, must be financed with new rupees and new notes.

One effect and object of the war loans is to bring back part of Government's enormous outlay for use over again. New silver for coinage can now be purchased only at prices which threaten to force further rises in the sterling exchange. Consequently the Government of India is anxious to secure as many notes and rupees on loan account as investors can spare. It is not questioned that inflation of currency forces up prices.

One feature of recent new currency that is bound to attract attention is that it has consisted almost exclusively of silver coins and notes. I need not recall the enormous imports of bullion and sovereigns that occurred in the years immediately prior to the outbreak of war and the increasing extent to which gold coin was passing into circulation in certain parts of the country. The suspension or restriction of gold imports except on Government account has led to complications in more than one direction but that the Government of India favours taking the earliest opportunity of extending the circulation of gold coin can be inferred from its action and success in persuading the British Treasury to start local minting of sovereigns and half-sovereigns—an experiment that will give our currency policy an entirely new bias. The Chamberlain Commission, it will be recalled, was not flatly against the establishment of an Indian gold mint but considered it should be left entirely to local sentiment. The Commission formulated the chief arguments which have been adduced in favour of gold coinage in the following terms:—

1. That gold is a more convenient and portable medium of circulation than the rupee.

(2) That a gold currency is a necessary step toward what may be regarded as the ideal currency, viz., paper backed by gold in reserve.

(3) That some prestige attaches to the possession of a gold currency whereas silver circulation is the mark of less progressive peoples.

(4) That a large amount of gold in circulation is a strong, and, in the view of some people, the only adequate support for exchange.

(5) That the constant mintage of fresh supplies of fresh rupees is objectionable, and would be obviated by an increasing circulation of sovereigns.

(6) That until India has a gold currency in active circulation, India will continue to possess an artificial and managed circulation.

(7) That India should be encouraged to absorb gold in order to protect the world in general from a further rise of prices due to the greatly increased production of gold.

To what extent some of these reasons favouring circulation of gold coin retain their old force is, I may be permitted to think, open to question but,—the mint having been established—the only trustworthy guide in the new and complex currency situation now existent is practical experience and what lessons this will teach us we cannot guess. One or two comments may be inserted here concerning the anxieties created by the enormous expansion in rupee currency. Here there are two points. The first is (*a*) that fresh currency has been due largely to the financial and commercial conditions created by higher prices and (*b*) that high prices are likely to continue. Their level will be lower than at present, but will, it is confidently predicted, undoubtedly be higher than the pre-war figures. Then there is another fact. When peace returns, this country will find itself on a permanently higher level of general prosperity and economic productivity, and will, therefore, require more currency than previously to finance its industries and trade. Incidentally, we may possibly see some contraction in note circulation whose expansion is due partly to absence of gold coin but upon this point we can but wait and see.

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Two facts, then, are clear. First, that Sir William Meyer, by various devices, has financed an enormous official outlay, over and above the ordinary Government expenditure. Secondly, that this outlay—thus ingeniously provided for,—is, and has been, and, while it lasts, will continue to be no small factor is in fact the dominating factor in current commercial and industrial prosperity.

To the traditional problem of the financing of trade and the profitable employment of Government revenues; to the problem of the wider establishment and expansion of the currency note circulation; to the solution of our fiscal problems; and to the problem of widening the basis of Government loans, Sir William Meyer has admittedly made contributions of enduring value. No Finance Member in recent years has faced difficulties so numerous or complex, and none, I dare assert, could have faced them with greater courage and patience or solved them with greater ingenuity. This is not of course, to say that, in competent opinion, Sir William Meyer's regime has been free from blunders. But the fairest attitude is to take his policy "by and large." There are, I think, two at least of his achievements that will live in our financial history. He has taken the first step in democratising our paper currency. He has also taken the first step in democratising our official securities. These are important measures even though their fruit will take time to mature. The issue of Treasury Bills is another remarkable innovation. The graduation of the income-tax stands in an almost equally important category and has been accompanied for the first time by the imposition of the super-tax.

I have heard Sir William Meyer described as an auditor, nothing more. I think the foregoing record is more than adequate to refute that gibe, and I believe that history will endorse the verdict upon his lustre of the leading British banker in India, viz., that "Sir William Meyer is, beyond doubt, the ablest Finance Member this country has known since Sir Clinton Dawkins." I give Sir William Meyer the Irish salutation *Slan Leat*.

LOVE AND REST

BY

HUSAIN ALI MIRZA

First Lancers, Hyderabad, Deccan.

O sleep! why art thou fled from me
Have I done anything sinful, any wrong?
Tell me live thou only for the pure?
Of heart I am pure, but where does a sinless
[mortal dwell?
To live is to sin, to die is a crime,
O where, O where is the path for me?
Speak; I stand a mystery to me.
Why so restless do I lie?
Is love the only guilt of mine?
To hate is cruel; to love is guilt,
Man can you a third passion divine?
A storm within me rages.
Some elements conflict, some feelings
Rise to seek for feelings like.
Between the ebb and flow of breath
Mortal you toss from heaven to earth,
Earth to heaven.
The heaven and earth clash in me;
One takes me high the other throws down,
Lo! the tide of love heaves my breast,
Divine hope signals from the silvery shore
But now the clouds of despond crowd
All is dark; My image of love floated
Off my mind; Thus life passes on
T'wixt hope and despair, man is never at
[rest.
Is not harmony then in the elements
Of our being? is this perpetual to be the
[internal fight?
Dictate O Goddess! Solve the mystery of
[life,
I hear some undertone speak
In me; "Of discord will come Harmony,
Of storm calm". Magnetic love
Aspires up, Earth draws us down. "Of earth
To earth shall fall, and Divine meet
Divine." Thus shall end the strife; Love on
Love much; Be lost. Losing self Him
You find. Love; Love; and be lost.

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AN EPITOME OF JAINISM

A REVIEW BY

MR. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A.

THIS* is an attempt to expound the main principles of an ancient creed which still retains the allegiance of a rich and influential Indian community. Jainism has been described as the Cinderella of Indian religions; for, among them, it was the last to attract the attention of the Western scholar and so suffered from his partiality for his earlier studies, viz., Hinduism and Buddhism. Because of some superficial resemblance, it was even represented for some time as an offshoot of the latter. But of late, thanks chiefly to the labours of scholars like Jacobi, the system has been receiving the recognition due to its antiquity and importance.

The work under review is something more than an exposition of the Jain faith and its terminology. As indicated in the subtitle, it purports to be a historical and comparative study and the authors throughout elucidate their position by bringing it into relation on the one hand with different systems of ancient Indian philosophy and on the other, with European schools of thought like those of Hegel and Spencer. Although there is much that is suggestive here, we cannot say that the treatment is always either clear or correct. The authors, now and then, allow themselves to be carried away by religious zeal and so do scant justice to the systems they criticise. For example, in dealing with the Buddhistic doctrine of the momentariness of all things, they try to make out that Buddhism is, at bottom, a crude faith leading only to a life of inclination. It is hardly necessary to point out how much this distorts the truth, for the ethical excellence of Buddha's teaching is recognised by all. Buddhism yields to no other Indian religion in the determination with which it sets its face against instincts and appetites; and yet the authors of this book state that the only logical result of a belief in it is "a careless surrender to the present" (p. 466). The fact is that they forget the other and equally important doctrine of Buddhism that all is suffering which makes it impossible for a sincere adherent of that religion to turn a sensualist. Again the account of Vedantism given in the preface is open to serious criticism. That the Kshattriya had much to do with the development of the essential Upanishadic doctrines may be true, but to speak of Vedanta as a militant faith is plainly self-contradictory. We should like to refer to one other point, viz., the description of *Jivanmukti* as an *inferior* ideal (p. 605). That, however, is a commonly current misconception for which we need not hold the authors of this work specially responsible. *Jivanmukti*, if we rightly understand the spirit of Indian philosophy, is indeed the highest and the most truly philosophical of all conceptions of deliverance, and may be said to represent a landmark in the history of philosophic thought in India. It is one of the points where Indian philosophy emerges clearly from Indian religion and what was once a mere speculation is thought within the range of practical life. For the goal of existence according to this conception is salvation on this side of death —not the attainment of any mysterious bliss *hereafter*, but the achievement of mental equipoise *here and in this life*, such for instance as is described in glowing terms in the Bhagavad-Gita (ii, 55-72). The conception of *Jivanmukti* belongs to the later Upanishadic period, but it seems to have acquired its full significance in the Epic period whose essential merit it was to have developed the Indian ethical ideal to the fullest extent.

In spite of limitations like those which we have pointed out, the work, taken as a whole, succeeds in convincing the reader of the basal soundness of Jainism. It should also be commended for the attempt it makes to differentiate Jain philosophy from Jain religion. The intermixture of religion and philosophy is a prominent feature of ancient Indian speculation. It has no doubt its own advantages, for religion thereby becomes rationalised and philosophy ceases merely to gratify theoretic curiosity. But, however useful this intermixture may be in life, for purposes of presentation, the two should be separated. Otherwise our philosophy will not appeal to the modern mind with sufficient force and its worth will ever remain underrated. One of the first duties of the student of Indian philosophy is accordingly to turn his attention to an independent exposition of what is strictly philosophical in Indian thought.

The work closes with a description of the art and literature of the Jaini, a knowledge of which is so essential to understand their view of life. There is also a chapter on the Jain places of pilgrimage which—as every one that has visited them will readily admit—may well have for their motto, "cleanliness next to godliness."

* AN EPITOME OF JAINISM. By Puranchand Nahar, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S. and Krishnachand Ghosh, Vedanta [illegible]ani, Calcutta, 1917.

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THE SAINTS OF MAHARASHTRA

I. NOTE BY THE EDITOR

AMONG the several saints whose lives form the subject of this series,* a most interesting and remarkable group come from Maharashtra. Beginning with Dnyandev, who wrote his famous commentary on the *Bhagavad Gita* in the spoken language of the people, we find a galaxy of saints and prophets whose names have become household words with the people of Maharashtra. The stream continued to flow in full tide for more than four centuries and then it appears to have dried up.

Roughly speaking we may state that the history of this religious revival covers a period of nearly five hundred years, and during this period some fifty saints and prophets flourished in this land, who left their mark upon the country and its people so indelibly as to justify Mahipati in including them in his biographical sketches. A few of these saints were women, a few were Mahomedan converts to Hinduism, nearly half of them were Brahmans, while there were representatives in the other half from among all the other castes, Marathas, kunbis, tailors, gardeners, potters, goldsmiths, repentant prostitutes, and slave girls, even the outcaste Mahars: (Ranade's Rise of the Maratha Power).

Alike in the testimony their lives afford to the qualities of independence and spiritual devotion, alike in the great power and intuition underlying their utterances and in the work of social and religious reformation they carried out, these saints of Maharashtra form a remarkable group.

Among these Maratha saints, more than fifty in number, the lives of five have been chosen as being at once most typical of Maharashtra and as being those who have left most abiding influence on the thought and religion of the Maratha people. Dnyandev (1275-1296), poet and thinker, was the first to raise aloft the banner of the new religion and his intrepid utterances and writings first awoke the national mind. Next came Namdev (1370-1440) whose poems and preachings gave wide currency and popularity to the new-won Vaishnavite faith. His impassioned life and utterances irrevocably connected the old shrine of Pandharpur with the heart and faith of the Maratha people. In the 16th century came Ekanath (1528-1599), poet and resolute philanthropist. He gave in his poems and the *Bhagavat* full form and expression to the new religion of Bhakthi and Bhava. More than his poetry, his life, so full of courage, charity and philanthropic love, demonstrated the victory of those ideas of Brotherhood and Religious and Social Fellowship that were making themselves felt. The 17th century is filled with the lives and doings of the two well-known saints, Tukaram (1608-1649) and Ramdas (1608-1682). Tukaram, born mystic and poet, is however the most endeared and widely-read of the Maratha saints and poets. In his great spiritual earnestness and power, in his poetic depth and sincerity, there are few perhaps that can compare with him, even outside Maharashtra. The other great figure is Ramdas, the statesman-saint, the guru of Sivaji. Combining in himself the ideals at once of a Vaishnavite reformer and a nation-builder, Ramdas stands unique in the annals not only of Maharashtra but of India itself.

The lives of these saints are based upon the poetic biographies written by the Marathi chronicler, Mahipathi who flourished in the latter part of 18th century.

As is the case with all biographies of saints, the popular imagination attributes to these persons wonderful and miraculous powers, notably those of raising the dead to life, healing the sick and feeding the hungry. The stories which are told of the way in which they were helped by supernatural agency in their mission of love may or may not be] accepted in these days of vigilant criticism. As Mr. Lecky has remarked, it is the atmosphere of child-like credulity which predisposes men to require and accept these wonders and miracles as events of ordinary occurrence. The saints and prophets themselves did not claim miraculous powers. They were meek and suffering men who placed their trust in Providence, and their trust was justified beyond their expectations, often-times to their own surprise. The moral interest of these biographies centres, however, not in their miraculous feats, but in their struggles, and in the testimony their lives afforded in vindication of the eternal verities of the moral law and man's higher spiritual life. It is with this aspect of their life that we are more immediately concerned in the sequel, and we hope to show that in this respect the work they accomplished was priceless and blessed beyond all comparison.

The religion of these saints has been thus beautifully described by the late Ranade.

There is one point, however, in which the reforming saints and prophets in this country differed essentially from those who were working in the same cause elsewhere, the contemporary Protestant reformers in Europe

* "The Saints of India Series" G. A. Natesan & Co. See details at the foot of the article on page 298.

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From the Vedic times downwards, the *Aryan* gods have been gods of love and of brightness, of sweetness, and of light. There were, of course, terrible gods also, such as Varun and Rudra who inspired awe and filled the mind with terror. But the national tendency was to dwell with affection on and contemplate chiefly the bright side of divine Providence, unlike the Shemitic idea which dwelt upon the terrific manifestation of a distant god whose glory could not be seen save through a cloud, a severe chastiser of human frailties, and a judge who punished more frequently than He rewarded, and even when He rewarded kept the worshipper always in awe and trembling. This conception lies at the root of all Shemitic religions, and it is to the credit of Christianity that it attempted and partly succeeded in bridging the gulf by securing the intervention of God incarnate in the flesh, as Jesus Christ, who suffered for mankind, and atoned for their sins. This intervention was never found necessary in the *Aryan* religions of Greece or Rome or of India. God with us has always been regarded more as a father and a mother, a brother and a friend, than a judge and a chastiser and a ruler. Not that He does not judge, or rule, but He judges, rules and chastises with the love of a father or mother, ever ready to receive the repentant prodigal son back into his arms. The orthodox Brahminical conception does not bring out this feature of a kindly Providence so prominently as it is found to be realised in the teachings and life's experiences of our saints and prophets. They are emphatic in their assertions that they were able to see their God, and hear His words, and walked and talked with Him, and held intercourse with Him. In their higher moments they, no doubt, describe Him as One Who did not speak, but their most normal condition of mind was one of satisfaction when they realised His presence as we realise the presence of sensible things. The *yogis* and the *vedantis* only talk in their waking dreams of being one with God, but Namdev and Tukaram, Ekanath and Dnyandev, were not content with this distant and difficult union, which did not last during all the moments of their conscious life, and compared their own happiness in such daily intercourse with God as being above all the attainments of *yoga* and *Vedant*. We may believe the miracles ascribed to these saints or disbelieve them, but we cannot disbelieve their emphatic statements on this point. All the love that in Christian lands circles round the life and death of Christ Jesus has been in India freely poured upon the intense realisation of the every-day presence of the Supreme God in the heart in a way more convincing than eyes or ears or the sense of touch can realise.

As a consequence of this conception of God's relations with man, the supreme efficacy of devotional love (*Bhakti*) over all other methods of attaining to His knowledge became the cardinal creed of these *Vaishnav* sects. There is not a life in all these sketches drawn by Mahipati in which *Bhakti* and Faith (*Bhâwa*) are not emphasized as being far superior in virtue to all other forms of worship, such as the performance of rites and ceremonies of external worship, pilgrimages and ablutions, self-mortifications and fasts, learning and contemplation. . . . . Namdev cried while removing the bark of a tree, because he thought he saw blood coming out from the stroke of his axe, and he struck himself with the axe to see how he felt, and realise what the tree might feel. Shaik Mahomed, being sent by his father to practise the butcher's trade, first cut his own finger with his knife to see how the animal would feel, and the pain he felt drove him to forswear his trade, and retire from the world in which such pain had to be inflicted for earning one's livelihood. Tukaram felt that there must be something wrong about him, when, on seeing him, the sparrows left the field he was sent to watch, though he did not intend to disturb them. This intense spirituality and absolute surrender of self may sound somewhat unreal to men not brought up in the atmosphere these saints breathed. But there can be no doubt about the fact, and there can also be no doubt that the national ideal of spiritual excellence has been shaped by by these models.

We may quote at the end the general estimate of their work given by Ranade.

The religious movement, commencing with Dnyandev who lived in the fifteenth century, can be traced to the end of the last century as a steady growth in spiritual virtues. It gave us a literature of considerable value in the vernacular language of the country. It modified the strictness of the old spirit of caste exclusiveness. It raised the *Sudra* classes to a position of spiritual power and social importance, almost equal to that of the Brahmans. It gave sanctity to the family relations, and raised the status of woman. It made the nation more humane, at the same time more prone to hold together by mutual toleration. It suggested and partly carried out a plan of reconciliation with the Mahomedans. It subordinated the importance of rites and ceremonies, and of pilgrimages and fasts, and of learning and contemplation, to the higher excellence of worship by means of love and faith. It checked the excesses of polytheism. It tended in all these ways to raise the nation generally to a higher level of capacity both of thought and action, and prepared it, in a way no other nation in India was prepared to take the lead in re-establishing a united native power in the place of foreign domination. These appear to us to be the principal features of the religion of Maharashtra, which Saint Ramadas had in view when he advised Shivaji's son to follow in his father's footsteps, and propagate this faith, at once tolerant and catholic, deeply spiritual and yet not iconoclastic.

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II. SHRI DNYANESHWAR*

BY MR. D. V. ATHALYE, B.A.

"What the little firefly is beside the brightness of the sun, what a grain of sand is beside the vastness of Mount Meru, so is the life of householder when compared with that of a *sanyasin*." So said Swami Vivekananda on one occasion. So also thought Vithal Pant, the father of Saint Dnyaneshwar. A Brahman by birth and a *Kulkarni* by profession, all the love of a devoted wife could not reconcile him to a worldly life. Before marriage he had been on a long pilgrimage, visiting every shrine in Guzerat and Maharashtra. Ever since his childhood he was a devotee of Shri Vithal (or Vithoba) of Pandharpur in the District of Sholapur. It is possible that this seed of devotion was well-watered in his travels and though, for a time, he settled down to married life, yet it was not long before he repented. He longed to go to Benares and to become a *sanyasin*. But he was childless and besides, there was that difficulty—the permission of his wife. How was that permission to be got? Great as is our respect for the yellow robes, still the aspiring monk is allowed to pursue his ambition only if his wife allows him to leave her. What woman would cheerfully consent to bury her own happiness?

But the mind of Vithal Pant was unalterably fixed. He would be a *sanyasin* at all costs. Soon after his marriage he lost his parents and was, at the request of his father-in-law, living at the latter's house at *Alandi*.† One day, he left his wife and all her people and went to Benares. There, he sought and found the house of the Swami Ramananda, a celebrated *sanyasin*. "Have you taken your wife's permission?" asked Ramananda. "But I have no wife, no child," boldly replied Vithal Pant. Believing in his words, Ramananda gave him the yellow robes and allowed him to study under his care.

But this episode, instead of ending here, had a melancholy course to run. The unsuspecting Ramananda became very fond of Vithal-Pant, now Chaitanyashram, and soon made him his chief disciple. One day he asked Vithal-Pant (so we shall continue to call him, in spite of his temporary change of life and habit) to look after the *math* and its inmates and accompanied by a few disciples went southward on a long pilgrimage to Rameshwar. Being himself a Mahratta Brahman, he chose the western route, visiting on his way sacred towns and rivers. It was impossible for him to avoid *Alandi*, then one of the principal centres of orthodox learning. Vithal Pant must have foreseen his guru's prospective visit to *Alandi* and that is, perhaps, why he did not accompany him. But the gods were determined to act prejudicially to him. At *Alandi* Ramananda had, as usual, taken residence at the village temple, where, in the evening, he was saluted by a lady, the picture of grief and anxiety, looking older in appearance than she was in years. That woman was the disconsolate wife of Vithal Pant. Ramananda blessed her with the words "mayest thou have a son." The blessing was quite customary and had nothing curious about it. But thinking of her 'runaway' husband she could not repress a rather ironical smile at the benediction, though she did not utter a single word. Surprised at her conduct Ramananda asked her what she meant. In the conversation that followed, it transpired that her husband had, even against her permission and before she had any issue, renounced the world and had taken *sanyasa* at Benares. The mind of Ramananda became more uneasy when after full investigation he found out that the husband of the woman was no other than his favourite disciple Vithal Pant. Now, further journey was at an end. He determined to set things right. So, taking the wife Rukmini and her people with him back he went to Benares. Surprised at the early and unexpected visit of his master Vithal Pant asked what had happened. With voice choked with rage, the master said "I had been to *Alandi*, you see," and then asked almost ferociously "Have you any explanations

* Condensed considerably from a sketch prepared for the "Saints of India Series," published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price As. Four.

† A village fourteen miles from Poona.

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to make?" Disconcerted more by the word "*Alandi*" than even by the question, the disciple fell to the ground, made a clean breast of everything and begged his guru's pardon. He would, he said, do anything to please his master. "Then," said Ramananda, "take your wife and go back to *Alandi* and live the life of a householder." No doubt, it was a critical moment and must sorely have tried the devotion of Vithal Pant for his master. He did not like what he was directed to do; but disobedience being out of the question, he quietly took the hand of his wife and sped back to his village about 1261 A.D. a householder again.

Cruelly disappointed in his spiritual dreams, Vithal Pant returned to *Alandi*—there to find another, perhaps keener disappointment awaiting him. He was boycotted. His friends avoided him; the rest persecuted him. He had no friends but hunger and destitution. He had no hope except from the Faith that in him lay. And yet this harassed, persecuted man had not one word of blame, of censure for his enemies! Gentle, meek, and uniformly forgiving, he blessed those that cursed him and went on, in spite of fatigue and privations, chanting the name of the Lord!

In 1273 A. D., however, the tedium of his life was broken. In that year his wife bore him a son, later named Nivrittinath, literally 'The Lord of Renunciation.' Two years later was born Dnyanadev, "The God of Knowledge," the subject of this short sketch. After him Vithal Pant had two children,—one son and the other a daughter. They were named Sopanadev and Mukta Bai 'The Liberated.' The joy, which the parents felt at the birth of these children, was not unalloyed. They had that hard battle to fight, the fight with poverty. And in that trying duel, the more spiritual the soldier, the fewer chances he has of success. Starvation was not new to them. The neglect of their friends and the cruel and almost vindictive persecution of their villagers, had made them pretty familiar with it. What was worse was the consciousness that the children would have to inherit ostracism with the possibility that the happiness of their life might be blasted. That was as iron to the soul of the fond parents.

But whatever happiness the ostracised family derived from one another's company was soon to end. An event occurred which shows to what extent the perverse obstinacy of blind orthodoxy can go. The ceremony of wearing the sacred thread is of extreme importance in the life of a Brahmin boy. In fact, real Brahminhood dates from that ceremony. Every one, therefore, can understand how anxious Vithal Pant and his wife must have been to get that ceremony, Upanayana of Nivrithinath and Dnyaneshwar, now ten and eight years old respectively, performed. They hoped that time and their own forbearance had appeased the anger of their villagers and that no further difficulty on the point would be raised. They, therefore, broached the subject before the leading luminaries of their neighbourhood, hard-hearted, though scarcely hard-headed Shastris, who constituted themselves as the sole repositories of religious wisdom. But they were in no mood to grant justice or even mercy. For a *sanyasin* returing to the second *Ashram*, they thought, there was but one punishment. The sin was monstrous and the sentence death. Believing (without reason) that their own death would make the path of their children smooth and their thread-ceremony possible, Vithalpant and his wife once more saluted those Brahmins, trusted their children to the care of God, walked straight to Allahabad and there in the holy confluence of the three rivers, ended by one plunge their life and what was more bitter still, their suffering.

So ends the sad chapter in the history of Vithal Pant's life. Now begins the brilliant career of his children. As serene and cheerful as ever they discussed what the next step should be. Nivrithinath perhaps heartily sick of the dogmatism of the leading Brahmins of *Alandi*, was for no submission. "What is that thread-ceremony to me?" he cried, "I am holiness incarnate!" But the hero of our present sketch, born as he was to lead the people instead of defying them, thought conciliation to be the best course.

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An appeal was made to the *Pandits* of *Paithan* who at first refused to admit this brotherhood into the fold of Brahmanism, but being amazed at the miracle which Dnyaneshwar wrought by making a buffalo recite verses from the *Rig Veda*, they, in terror and reverence, yielded and gave the necessary permit which enabled Nivrithinath and Dnyaneshwar to have their thread-ceremony performed. But the putting on of the sacred thread was not with them the beginning of study; rather was it the beginning of their life's work—religious revival. At the feet of their father they had drunk deep of spiritual learning. Nivrithinath when a stripling of seven had come across a great sage, Shri-Gaininath at Tryambakeshwar near Nasik, who, struck with the attainments of the lad, initiated him into the mysteries of *yoga*. Dnyaneshwar his junior by two years, became his disciple and throughout his short life referred to his elder brother as his spiritual master, at the touch of whose blessing-hand he had penetrated the 'unknown.' But he was not satisfied with his own spiritual freedom. He had love infinite for his ignorant brothers and sisters in Maharashtra, and ever since his childhood, his mind was busy thinking as to the best way he should help them. In those days, Maharashtra was ruled by the Yadav kings of Deogiri, better known by the subsequent name Daulatabad. The tide of Moslem conquest that had deluged the northern part of India, was soon (1294 A.D.) to reach Deccan and to shatter the already waning power of the Yadav kings. Twenty-one years (1273) before the invasion of Allauddin, Ramdeo Rao, the then king of Deogiri had headed a strong movement in the Deccan to rebuild the dilapidated temple of *Vithoba* at *Pandharpur*. What the encouragement of the king and the devotion of the people did, Dnyaneshwar saw and he resolved to avail himself of the awakening religious consciousness of the people. Already a band of enthusiastic admirers had gathered round him. To train them properly in the science of Realization, he wrote in 1290 at Nevasa (District Ahmednagar) the Bhavartha-Dipika—that celebrated commentary on the *Gita*, which is deservedly considered as the *Magnum opus* of his brilliant career and he has delivered the message of Lord Krishna in a work that will last as long as the Marathi language.

It is impossible to describe the supreme beauty of this book, except in language which, to those who have not read it, may appear hyperbolical. Never have the dry bones of the Vedanta been clothed in a richer manner.

When the work was finished, his master and brother Nivrithidev said to Dnyaneshwar "we have had a good treat. But now let us have something original"; at which Dnyaneshwar composed the Amritanubhav 'The taste of Nectar' at ten successive sittings. The book reveals the same grasp of the subject but being more difficult and less rhetorical is not as popular as the first.

Space forbids us from describing at great length the service of these saints and prophets to their language and literature; and yet it is impossible to pass over it in silence. It can safely be said that if there is any force, rhythm or power of expression in the Marathi language, that is entirely due to these saints and prophets who, when Marathi was neglected everywhere, took this famished orphan and nursed it with all the love at their command. The language really stood in need of protectors. It did not find favour with the Pandit who was too full of Sanskrit; and from the 14th century onward it ceased to be the official language. Discarded by Prince and Pandit, by Court and Camp, it sought shelter at the feet of these saints. It is their writings which gave Marathi a dignity which hitherto it lacked.

The appearance of these two books considerably enhanced the high reputation Dnyaneshwar had attained. And yet, not content with the success his mission had achieved he started ostensibly for a long prilgrimage no doubt, but really to carry the truths of the Vedanta to the remotest parts of his country. He was accompanied by his brothers and sister, by numerous friends and many disciples. The very fact that the party included such men as the goldsmith Narhari, the potter Gora and the gardener Samvta—names respected to this day by even orthodox Brahmans—shows the extent of the awakening,

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At Pandharpur, the party was joined by Namdev, the son of a tailor, than whom the God Vithal had no more fervent devotee. To him, Vithoba was not the stable, stone image that He is to the ordinary *Bhakta*. Namdev played and talked with Him, was free to love and in moments of petulance and anger, to chide the God, whose banner is even now carried by more than a million people in Maharashtra. It is unnecessary to follow the saintly group, visiting shrine after shrine, bathing in sacred rivers, blessing the weak, convincing the doubting, themselves alternately lost in mute ecstacy and eloquent song. The task of preaching *Bhakti* and knowledge to the vast concourse of people who greeted them wherever they wended their way, was generally entrusted to *Namdev*, whose power of waking up the latent fire of Bhakti in the hearts of his hearers was unrivalled. Sometimes it was Dnyaneshwar who addressed them or Gora the potter and *Visobakhechar*. It was a triumphal tour.

After his return from the pilgrimage, Dnyaneshwar and his brothers with their youngest sister, led an even course of life at *Alandi*. They never married; they never worked for their livelihood. They had only one occupation in life—Service of God. If they saved society, that was solely because they wanted to serve God through society. To elevate the depressed and to console the miserable were the basic elements of their religion.

"Whom the gods love die young" says the proverb and in this case the gods were but too anxious for the return of one of their own company. So on 25th October, 1296, two years after Allaudin's invasion of the Deccan, Dnyaneshwar closed his brilliant career by entering into eternal *Samadhi* amidst the subdued sobs of his own loving sister brothers, disciples and friends. He was barely twenty-two. Before the first anniversary of his death, his sister and brothers followed him, too unwilling to live in the void caused by their brother's death.

So ends the story of Dnyaneshwar's life. The history of his inner struggles,—if there were any—of his mental and spiritual development is hopelessly lost to us. What remains is a series of bare facts, happily well authenticated, and a succession of miracles whose account, proceeding though it does from contemporary writers, is, in these days of rationalism, often rejected. To my mind the greatest miracle which this boy-saint wrought was the immortal book which he composed when barely fifteen. There he stands, before the mind's eye of his reader, in the temple at *Nevasa*, the light of knowledge radiating from his countenance, holding the audience bound by the spell of his eloquent words. To me, however, the picture is far less appealing than the other, in which, the saint, as yet undiscovered, begged from door to door returning not railing for railing but love for hatred, compassion for cruelty and nobility for mean conduct. The children of the ostracised *Vithalpant* became the religious leaders of their time. The beardless begging boy is the spiritual light of six centuries. He conquered Maharashtra and made it prostrate before the throne of *Vithoba*. From his time *Pandharpur* became the Benares of the Marathas. At a time when religion was in the hands of Pandits and a sealed book to the people, he spread broadcast the truths of the *Vedas*. And what a love for his people! Himself a great yogin and a follower of the great Shankaracharya, for them he discarded, like Vivekanandà, the bliss of *Samadhi* and the stimulating silence of the cave and worked for and amongst them. Personally partial to jnana only, he preached *Bhakti* and sanctioned *karman*. He opened their heart and kindled their spirit; and though the political complications of the next two centuries put a temporary check on the religious revival, yet with the coming of *Ekanath*, it rose with a rebound, extended to the remotest corners of Maharashtra and made religion first a rallying sound and then the war-cry of the people. The religious revival made the subsequent movement against the Muslim conquerors possible; and though the credit of building *Swaraj* must be given to Shivaji and his followers, yet the contribution of the leading saints and prophets towards the development of the idea of nationality must never be overlooked. For the patriotism of those times was based not on economics but on religion.

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III. SHRI EKANATH

BY MR. D. V. ATHALYE, B.A.

THE ancient city of Pratishthan, later known by the name Paithan enjoyed during the middle ages a wide reputation for its piety and scholarship. At the time we are writing about—the middle of the fifteenth century—there lived at Paithan a Brahman named Bhanudas. He was a great devotee of the God Vithoba of Pandharpur. It is said that the great King Krishna Rai (1430—1452) of Vijayanagar had come once to Pandharpur on pilgrimage. So pleased was he with the beauty of the image of Vithoba that he took it away to his capital to the mortification of all the devout *Bhaktas*. It was Bhanudas who boldly went after the King to Vijayanagar and there at dead of night entered the royal palace and embraced his favourite God! Vithoba presented him with His diamond necklace and promised that He would go to Pandharpur with his devotee. When, on the next day, the necklace was found in the possession of Bhanudas, the King at once sent him to the scaffold but the scaffold was miraculously turned into a beautiful tree, at which Krishna Rai begged pardon of Bhanudas and allowed him to take the image of Vithoba to Pandharpur. It was this Bhanudas who was the great-grandfather of Ekanath. Bhanudas had a son named Chakrapani whose son Surya Narayan was Ekanath's father. Ekanath was born about 1528. The exact date of his birth is not known. Soon after his birth he lost both his father and his mother and was brought up by Chakrapani. He was never a boy in habit and temperament. He spent days and months, not in childish plays and amusements but in going to the banks of the river Godavari, collecting curious-looking stones there and worshipping them as Siva. While the rest of his mates would play the horse with a stick, he, disdaining that game, would, with a staff on his shoulder, play at being a *Haridas* (lit. Servant of Hari), a religious preacher. He was never cross, and was always obedient and uniformly cheerful, so people were naturally drawn towards him and experienced a kind of pleasure in his company. He was a studious boy, quick at figures, and, seeing his sharp memory and understanding, his grandfather performed his *Upanayana* (ceremony of putting on the sacred thread) at the tender age of six. And then, all the craving for worship, for ceremonies, for devotion that was reflected in worshipping stones and playing at being a Haridas welled up into an earnest study of the Vedas, into close and attentive hearing of the lectures of religious preachers. The modest and charming way in which he asked difficult points in Vedanta won the hearts of learned men but often they had to admit their own incapacity to explain his doubts; then he would go to a temple of Siva and there remain absorbed in contemplation for hours. Nobody knew what plans he revolved in his mind in the solitude of that temple. Nobody—least of all his grandfather and grandmother—was prepared to find him give a slip one morning, and leave friends and relations in sorrow and surprise, never to be heard of for the next twelve years.

The voice which Ekanath heard in the temple advised him to go to Daulatabad and take his spiritual lessons at the feet of Janardanswami, chief officer on the fort. Had Ekanath consulted the opinions of well-informed persons he would not have taken a different course. Janardanswami was noted far and wide as being one of the greatest householder saints of his time. Born in 1504 of an humble but pious Brahmin family he started his career at a time when the Brahmans were in high favour with the Muslim rulers of the celebrated Bahamani Kingdom (1327–1526 A.D.). His talents were conspicuous, character reliable, and bravery admirable. He was at once an accountant, a soldier and a capable executive officer. But these qualities, bright as they were, were only the background of his wonderful spirituality. In the duplicity and intrigues of the court of Malik Ahmed, his unwavering probity was everywhere respected; and it is said that out of regard for his worship of *Shri Dattatreya* all the offices in the city and fort of Daulatabad were closed on Thursdays. Such was the man whom Ekanath was directed to join; and after days of travelling, he stood before the house of Janardanswami, footsore, and thoroughly exhausted. At the

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sight of Ekanath, the Swami remembered how that same form had appeared to him in his meditation that morning. With heart alternating between hope and fear, Ekanath told who he was and what took him thither. The Swami replied in suitable terms and promised to do everything he could for a boy of such promise and earnestness.

To make his heart sublime, to purify his mind and develop spiritual faculties he followed the time-honoured course viz., personal attendance on, and service of, his Guru. Ekanath derived great benefit by living with Janardanswami. Occasionally, the Swami would send Ekanath to a neighbouring hill in order to practise solitary and austere *tapasya*. He would now and again put Ekanath to the test and see how far his disciple had advanced. Sometimes again, it was after the lamps were put out and the night far advanced that he would discourse with Ekanath on the subject of the realisation of God. Again and again would Ekanath ask him "Revered Sir, how shall I realise God?" and the answer to the question was to Ekanath's mind indefinitely postponed. On one occasion Ekanath sat up far into the night, for hours occupied in finding out a mistake of one pie in the official accounts which he kept for his Guru. Again and again he turned his eyes over the never-ending pages of the account-books and still no trace of the slip. "Shall I this once fail in my duty and incur the Swami's displeasure?" he thought. But there was no time for such thoughts. So with heart heavy and eyes wet he trimmed his lamp and plunged himself into the ocean of figures. At last the mistake was found and in ecstasy Ekanath clapped his hands and laughed loudly. When he turned back it was to find his Guru standing at his back, the picture of kindness and dignity. Ekanath in silence fell at his feet. "Now my son," the Swami said, "you know the way to realisation. Can you not turn the same concentration Godward and discover this whole mistake of Life?" "To be sure I will," said Ekanath and from that day redoubled his exertions and practised the severest forms of penance in a solitary corner of the fortress.

Several striking episodes of devotion revealed the sterling worth of Ekanath and they at last induced the Swami to rend the last film of ignorance from the mind of his disciple. So on a bright Thursday morning he asked Ekanath to accompany him to a favourite and solitary place of contemplation just a couple of miles away from his residence. Ekanath instinctively knew that *the* moment had come and so with heart beating with wild hope and joy he followed the Swami to the beautiful grove.

"Well, my boy, stand here for sometime. Know that this is the crowning day of your life; and don't you be afraid of whatever form you might see Lord Dattatreya coming in." No sooner had his back turned than Ekanath saw a Mahomedan friar, tall and dark, his form clothed in a fresh hide reeking of stench; he was followed by an ugly and terrible bitch with eyes streaming with blood like those of the fabled Furies. Ekanath gave a start but instantly remembering the caution of his Guru became his former self again. The Swami and his visitor began to converse on diverse subjects till at last the Swami called Ekanath and presenting him to the "*Malanga*"* ordered him to milch the bitch. Ekanath did as was directed and before the "*Malanga*" disappeared Ekanath had the singular good fortune of seeing him transformed into that familiar form of Dattatreya which he had pictured to his mind so often. And who should the bitch be, but that celebrated *Kama-dhenu*, the desire-fulfilling cow? Lord Dattatreya blessed Ekanath, prophesied his future greatness and foretold that he would write a commentary on the 11th Chapter of the *Bhagvat Puran*.

From this time onward Ekanath could, at will, see the saintly form of the Son of Atri. We have it on the authority of Ekanath himself that the Lord Dattatreya lent him aid and

* The word in the chronicles is "Malanga" which according to the dictionary means "a Mahomedan friar professing extreme poverty and leading an austere life partly in monasteries and partly itinerent." But more probably it means a 'Dhor' or a man belonging to that low caste which deals in the hide of cattle, etc.

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SHRI DNYANESHWAR

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SAINT TUKARAM.

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encouragement while writing his works and that the Lord had with His own protecting hand shielded him from danger.

Now that Ekanath had attained the acme of his ambition, it was time for him to leave the residence of his Guru and go back either to his own city or repair to any region which his fancy chose. But he showed no desire of doing anything of the kind. With the same joyful, peaceful, unruffled devotion he served his Guru and lived with him. He would gladly have remained with the Swami till the end of life. But Janardanswami knew that Ekanath had a mission in life and, to further prepare him for it, he asked him to go on a round of pilgrimage, visiting sacred cities, rivers and shrines. At this Ekanath was all tears. Which shrine or river, said he, was more sacred than those revered feet which he had been worshipping? No, he would not leave his Guru under any circumstances. It was only when the Swami promised to accompany Ekanath for some time that the latter consented. They left Daulatabad and went to *Panchabati* near Nasik, far-famed in the Ramayan as having been sanctified by the residence of Rama. From *Panchabati*, they went to *Tryambakeshwar* (20 miles from Nasik), the place whence the river Godavari starts its course and one of the twelve places in the Deccan having a temple of Siva which is said to be the work of no mortal. To Ekanath and his Guru, it was rendered even holier by the fact that the great *Nivrithideva*, the elder brother of Dnyaneshwar had attained spiritual wisdom there. They lived there for sometime and then the Swami intimated his wish to return to Deogad. "Go thou, my son," said he, "and in spirit I shall accompany you wherever you are. On your way you will meet persons of all sorts, persons high and low, rich and poor, saintly and wicked. Remember you are not to display your spiritual power to anybody. My blessings with you always!"

Ekanath's pilgrimage in Upper India was a great eye-opener to him inasmuch as it brought to his mind vividly the destructive work wrought by the Moslem invaders wherever they went. It widened his intellectual vision, deepened his sympathies, strengthened his faith and ingrained in him the ambition of directing in proper channel the religious enthusiasm of his country. So when after many months he returned to *Paithan* it must have been with the fixed purpose of taking up the work for which he was born. To add to this the message which Janardhanswami, his old Guru, sent to him about this time expressly required him to become a householder. The itinerent tendency was still strong in him and when he went to Paithan it was not to his own house that he walked straight but put up in the temple of Siva, where the voice of God had, years before, enjoined him to go to Deogad. As was his wont, he went round the village in the evening a-begging. It was impossible for even his dearest friends of childhood to recognize him, so completely was he transformed in age, dress, features and everything. But his old grandfather who for the last twelve years had been fondly expecting Ekanath's return and who tried to discover the features of Ekanath in every stray traveller and *bairagi* instantly recognised him. He threw his arms round the neck of Ekanath and wept long and bitterly. It is hard to say how much of grief and how much of joy there was in his feelings. "Now, my son," he said, "you must never forsake me." "But, father, shall I not complete my pilgrimage and go to South-India shrines?" "No, you may not," persisted the old man. "The autumn of old age has well nigh made my leaf of life ready to drop down. Stay, stay with me, if only till I die. Besides, here is something for you." With these words he placed a carefully-kept note before Ekanath who instantly recognising the writing to be Janardhanswami's first held it over his head and then read it through. Ekanath made up his mind. He would, to obey his Guru, be a householder and side by side continue his religious and literary work. In pursuance of this plan he got himself married and settled in his old house at Paithan.

When Ekanath returned to Paithan, he was about twenty-five years of age. From that time till 1599, the year of his death, he lived mostly at Paithan, dividing his time between spiritual meditation and prayer on the one hand and religious lectures, discourses and composi-

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tions on the other. In the life of saint Dnyaneshwar we have seen how wide-spread the literary instinct of the men and women of the religious revival in Maharashtra was. They not only sought spiritual knowledge and inspiration, but no sooner did they have it than at once they rushed into literary composition in order to impart it to others. When we see how powerful this impulse for communication was, we need not wonder that Ekanath wrote some books. On the contrary we are surprised to find that, excepting his commentary on what is called the *chattus-sloki Bhagvat* (four verses in the Bhagavat Puran summarizing the conclusions of the Vedanta and of the philosophy of life) he wrote nothing for more than twelve years since his return to Paithan. The simplicity and unassuming modesty of his nature might perhaps be responsible for this. Whatever that be, we might well suppose that he was not idle. He has told us how "Blessed is this *Kali* age, in spite of its wickedness because we can attain salvation simply by singing the glory of Hari. All castes, all creeds, assemble together and praise the Lord according to their knowledge and faith. Your sex or caste does not count. It matters not whether you are a Sudra or a woman. Have Bhakti, sing the glory of Hari and you can attain Heaven. Even the Vedas are miserly because they are open to the first three castes only. But this *Kirtan* is the privilege of the lowest and meanest person. It will deepen your faith and strengthen your spirit. Even the happiness of *Mukti* sinks into insignificance before the ecstacy of *kirtan*. It entails neither the hardships of yoga nor the rigourous tedium of sacrifices. It is the highest worship." This *kirtan*, public and private, was his only occupation; his voice was musical and his presence commanding, and whenever he gave religious lectures with the accompaniment of music, thousands of people eagerly gathered in his courtyard. The theme differed with the occasion. Now it was the glory of Shri Rama and Krishna, the most favourite Avatars of Hindu Mythology; sometimes it was the life of a great Bhakta that was placed before the audience. Whatever the theme, the burden of the song was the same viz., the insistence on the observance of the *Bhagvat* faith. It was the *Bhagvat Dharma* which, before him, Dnyaneshwar, Namdev and others had preached to the people and it was the *Bhagavat Dharma* which Ekanath also preached to his contemporaries.

The *Bhagvat Dharma* of old, as modified in the religious revival we are speaking about, was inseparably associated with the worship of Vithoba of Pandharpur. It is remarkable how without any prestige of antiquity, mythology or Puranic description, this God came to be so widely worshipped in Maharashtra as to induce Dynaneshwar and Ekanath to accept the traditional identity between Him and Lord Krishna. They knew that without the backing of some learned and philosophical literary works this worship of Vithoba was likely to be short lived and confined only to a very small class of people. They therefore availed themselves of the tide of the national sentiment which they tried to strengthen by allying it with the ancient philosophy as found in the *Gita* and the *Bhagvat Purana* and this was more necessary because the worshippers of Vithoba were ignorant and heedless of Sanskrit which contains all the treasures of Hindu philosophy. It was this literary backing of Dnyaneshwar and Ekanath coupled with other causes that we have no time to recount here that has still kept the "cult" living while other sterner, and in their days, stronger cults have languished.

Another feature of this school was the holding up of *Bhakti* over all other forms of *Sadhanas*.

So, leaving the "drill" of *Karma-kanda* to dotards and fanatics and the flights of metaphysics to philosophers, these men went straight to the tree of *Bhakti* and tasted of its nectar-like fruit to their hearts' content; and here also we might find the traces of that peculiar method which for want of a better name we shall call "Indian." It rejects nothing. Whatever forms, rituals, ceremonies they found in their times, these men (Dnyaneshwar, Ekanath and other leaders of the revival) kept in tact. They pulled down nothing. They have not one word of condem-

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nation for even that part of our ritual which is meaningless. They, however, glorified *Bhakti* to such an extent that from its peaks everything else appeared small and contemptible.

These and other causes made the movement an essentially democratic one. The bigots will be bigots always. Ekanath has told us what they thought of him :—

"Look at this Ekanath, the disciple of *Janardanswami*. He cares neither for marks, signs, figures and secret symbols,' nor for our old ceremonies and practices. He chants the name of Hari and by some mysterious force is deceiving the people. Should he not at least give some *mantra* to those who seek wisdom from him—mantra given in secrecy and kept with mystery ?"

But this mystery about religion was exactly what Ekanath and others tried to remove.

It is not strange that a man who saw God in every form, human or animal, and who had been specially trained in this spiritual quality by his Guru should himself have occasionally set aside the restrictions of caste. It is said that on one day at high noon Ekanath was going to bathe in the waters of the Godavari when he saw a Mahar child stumbling and falling in the dust. Ekanath at once ran to the spot, picked up that child and himself took it to the house of its mother. On another occasion he nursed a Mahar prisoner recently let off from jail and on the verge of physical wreck. Another story tells us how one day when the food for *shraddha* was being cooked in his kitchen, some Mahars passing by the house smelt it and whispered among themselves "How happy would it be if we ever get such nice food to eat." Ekanath who overheard the remark at once called them and not minding the inevitable wrath of those Brahmins who were invited to perform the *shraddha*, served the Mahars with the dainty food. These and like other stories conclusively prove how deeply ingrained in his mind was that principle of equality which is the *sine qua non* of true spirituality. Says he :—

"The true *Bhakta* regards each object in universe as the image of God. It is true that the Vedas say 'Never see the face of a man who has strayed away from his proper *karman*.' But this commandment is only for the first few stages. We require a lamp only when it is dark. But when the sun of divine knowledge rises there is no necessity for seeking aid from this petty lamp of the *Vedas*. A man who regards the most enlightened Brahman as being filled with the same God who dwells in the body of the lowliest of the lowly, is a true *Bhakta*. The same element of lustre only in different proportions is found in the sun and the firefly. From the ant to the creator, everything, living or dead, is the image of God. Look at the tree which gives with the same impartiality its shade, fruit and flowers to the man who has watered it as well as to him who wishes to fell it down. Such should be a *Bhakta* in his dealings with others. Equality is the highest spiritual quality."

On his return to Paithan his time was divided between reading, contemplation and preaching; and those who were specially attracted towards Ekanath and who daily drank of spiritual wisdom at his feet requested him one day to write something which would be permanent. It was at their request that he took the text of the 11th chapter of the *Bhagvat Puran* for exposition and commentary. He completed the first five chapters and then went, (at the request of a disciple, it is said,) to Benares to convince some opponents of his of the worth of the book.

From the Pandits he had a tremendous opposition, yet by his patience and his superior wisdom he was soon able to disarm opposition and even those who came to scoff remained to praise. In the end the Pandits of Benares gave royal honour to his book by placing it on an elephant and carrying it in procession throughout that sacred city. At the earnest request of many of the pandits, Ekanath remained at Benares for more than two years, finished his commentary on the *Bhagvat Puran*, and started writing and finished a small but very beautiful poem called the "Swayamvar of Rukhmini." The latter is a composition running into about 1,700 verses but his commentary on the *Bhagvat* is a big work containing 20,000 verses.

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Ekanath's life at Benares was an eye-opener to the Pandits in more ways than one. For the first time in their lives perhaps, they were awakened to the sense of the inferiority of mere book-learning when pitted against *Bhakti*; and when brought face to face with Ekanath they must have hung their heads at the consciousness of their own petty and jealous minds and admired that serene tranquillity which as Cowper says is the noblest fruit of a man's faith in God. What a contrast between their minds bubbling with ideas of self, of honour, of fame, of opponents vanquished and followers made, and the mind of Ekanath which no gross thought could tarnish and which like the bright rays of the sun might touch the earth but would never catch any filth therefrom!

Having established his prestige at Benares Ekanath returned to his own province and with his outlook widened again took in hand the task of religious revival which he was interrupted in, by his visit to Benares. Till now he had confined himself to his own circle at Paithan; now it was that Ekanath conceived the idea of bringing under his influence the worshippers of God Vithoba. He went to Pandharpur where his worth was at once recognised and thus brought him many followers. At Pandharpur and other places he had marked the respect that was shown to the memory of Dnyaneshwar. But unhappily very few people had the text of Dnyaneshwar's commentary with them. Ekanath got copied the original or at any rate a very old and considerably authentic text of Dnyaneshwari and distributed those copies to the remotest corners of Maharashtra.

The smoothness of Ekanath's domestic life was later on disturbed by the conduct and attitude of his son Hari who was in many respects quite the opposite of his father. With the impulsive waywardness of youth he would often find fault with his father for having destroyed the prestige and dignity of the Vedanta by compositions in Marathi. He also disliked the unconventional ways of his father, and, being a proud and unbending champion of orthodoxy, resented his father's behaviour on more occasions than one. At last the son was provoked beyond endurance and left his home in disgust. But Ekanath who had a mind to bring his son round followed him to Benares and after repeated importunities brought him back to Paithan. He had however to stipulate that the work of expounding the Vedanta would be entrusted to his son. But when the son found that his lectures, however learned, drew only scores of people while the audience of Ekanath were to be counted by the thousand, he was quickly disillusioned.

And now came the time when Ekanath had to leave his mortal body. His message was delivered and his life-work done; and though he was amusing himself with writing the story of Rama, he felt that the call from above had come. He told his friends and followers accordingly. "But, Sir," said they, "have you not your Ramayan to complete yet? We remember how you postponed by eleven days the time of the death of Krishnadas the poet? Will you mind performing the same feat again?" Ekanath replied that he had no such intention; he had undertaken the work at the order of Sree Rama Himself. Now if He the God willed that it should remain incomplete, surely he (Ekanath) had no business to bring it to an end. Again and again his friends pressed him. At last Ekanath said "why do you trouble me like that? If it is God's will that the work should be finished, then even this boy will do the work." The people were surprised to see Ekanath pointing to a boy of fifteen, not very remarkable for his intelligence. They did not know what to say. Ekanath noted their incredulous looks, called up the boy and bade him go on; and at once the boy delivered the text of one chapter without pause or hesitation. We have neither time, nor space nor the necessary imagination to describe the tenderness, the love and the sorrow in which on the 6th day of the dark half of Falguna, 1521 Shalivahan (1599 A.D.) the populace of Paithan followed Ekanath to the river Godavari. The sky rang with the loud and ecstatic *Bhajan*. After it was over, Ekanath took off his clothes and entered the stream. Some say he never returned; others hold that after an invigorating bath, he came out of the water and with his eyes shut and mind concentrated, entered with the wings of meditation into eternal Samadhi.

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IV. NAMDEV

BY MR. K. V. RAMASWAMI, B.A., B.L.

NAMDEV'S BIRTH AND PARENTAGE

NAMDEV came of a family belonging to the tailor caste. His ancestors originally lived at Narasivamani, situated near Karhad, Satara district, now known as Bhaya-Narasingpur or Kolem-Narasingpur. His parents, Dama Set and Gona Bai, however, left Narasivamani and emigrated to Pandharpur where the saint-poet was born. Dama Set led a religious life at Pandharpur maintaining himself and his family by tailoring and a little trade in clothes. Legend tells us that Namdev was not "born" but "found" by Dama Set floating in a stream, by the grace of Vittal. Be the legend as it may, Dama Set and Gona Bai brought up the child with great affection and love.

Even as a child, Namdev seems to have been of a devout and spiritual turn of mind. An interesting and curious legend is told which runs thus. Dama Set used every day to visit the shrine of Vittoba and worship him with fruits or rice or the like materials of worship. Once Dama Set being absent at a neighbouring village on business, Gona Bai gave the materials of worship to Namdev and asked him to go and offer them to Vittal. Namdev went, and, placing the food before the image, prayed in true child-like faith, that Vittoba do eat the same. Finding the image silent, the child-worshipper burst into tears. At last we are told, the child's simple faith and devotion were so compelling that the Deity, in order to please him, actually ate the offering.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

As Namdev grew into youth, his parents got him married to a maiden of their caste named Rajai. He seems to have lived lovingly with her and two children were born to them a son and a daughter. Though married and father of a family, Namdev grew more and more unworldly and ascetic in disposition. Ever visiting the shrine or attending religious assemblies, or exercising himself in song and devout exercises, he rarely crossed the threshold of his house. His parents often sought after him and entreated him to give up his devotions and pursue the family trade. They were themselves, they said, growing old and could not work. But neither their entreaties nor even their helpless and aged condition could turn the thoughts of Namdev. Full of reverence and affection for his parents, kind to all beings even to a fault, he could not find it in his mind to engage in any secular task, but went and spent himself in devotion and spiritual exercises in the shrine of Vittoba. Namdev's disregard and neglect seem to have brought poverty and discord into his household, though perhaps they were never so acute as we read in the life of that other great mystic, Tukaram, the doleful sage of Dehu.

Once, we are told, the aged Gona Bai, stung by her son's neglect of the household and the consequent poverty, repaired to the shrine of Vittoba, and, there standing before His image, charged Him thus: "My son whose upbringing cost me so much trouble and anxiety is now a slave of Thee. He lives for ever in Thy Temple; he has neglected his trade; his parents, wife and child he has ruined. You have enticed him away from world and honour. My family is in ruin. Is this Thy vaunted Divine Mercy? Standing on Thy brick pedestal, O God of Illusion, Thou causest a tragedy to be enacted in every home!" Vittoba, the legend continues, secretly put on the guise of a merchant and went and deposited some money and treasure in the house of Namdev, before Gona Bai returned home from the temple. Namdev, as might be expected, on arriving home, took hold of the treasure and swifty distributed it among Brahmans and mendicants.

The chief occupation of Namdev during these days consisted in celebrating what are called *bhajans* and *sankirtans*, chantings of prayer and song. Putting on the *tulsi* garland, cymbal in hand, the tailor-youth would go and stand in the courtyard of the Vittoba shrine and long dance and sing. Or when the temple festivals came and pilgrims poured in, the devout youth forgetful of all, even food, would join in their chantings and songs and pass his time in high spiritual revel.

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Ere long he began to compose songs, and young friends and mystics began to gather round him attracted by his devotion and his songs. His virtues too, his great tenderness, his affection for all, should have endeared him to many. But in that mediæval age, the songs and ecstatic doings of this untutored youth seemed to have struck the minds of the elders and the orthodox with a certain spiritual *naivete* and daring. A remarkable anecdote is told of how, once when Namdev was seated in the midst of an assembly of devotees, a saintly potter, by name Gora, tapping him on the head, said that he was *kaccha* (half-baked), hinting thereby that he should, in order to perfect his religion, sit at the feet of some guru and learn. Namdev sought after a *guru* and found one in Vishoba Khesar, an ascetic dwelling in the shrine at Mallikarjun.

NAMDEV AND VISHOBA KHESAR

A great change seems to have come over Namdev's life and religious attitude after his initiation and discipleship under Vishoba Khesar. In one of his songs, Namdev tells us that he obtained his knowledge of the True and Living God from the Khesar, and by his influence was led beyond idolatry and the worship of stocks and stones.

NAMDEV'S PILGRIMAGES

The next important episode in the life of Namdev is his pilgrimage to the various shrines and holy places of Northern India and Deccan. Namdev's pilgrimage extended as far as Hastinapur and Badrikashram in the north.

NAMDEV'S LATTER LIFE

His discipleship under Vishoba Khesar and his pilgrimage apart, there are no other important episodes recorded in the life of Namdev as written by Mahipathi.

In the poetic biography of Namdev written by Mahipathi, a number of most lovable mystics and saints appear who all seem to have lived in the time of Namdev and on terms of spiritual comradeship with him. How many of these saints, or which of them were really contemporary, we have no means of judging apart from the writings of Mahipathi himself. But their lives and character and the part they play in the life of Namdev are in themselves so interesting and full of beauty that we cannot pass over them in silence.

JANI

Jani, child-poet and mystic, was the offspring of some poor parents. Once the latter coming on pilgrimage to Pandharpur with their daughter, the young girl, barely seven years old, moved by some strange devotion and mystic love at the sight of Vittoba, chose to remain in His city. The parents urged her long to follow them back to their home but she refused and was left at Pandharpur. The little girl all alone lived in the city, a houseless devotee worshipping Vittoba. One day she fell under the notice of Namdev, and the saint, struck with the girl's precocious God-love and courage, took her to his home and giving her unto the hands of Gona Bai bade her look after the girl and nourish her. Gona Bai, with a true mother's heart, took the stranger-girl into her household, set her to some household work and cherished her lovingly. The little girl-devotee, we read, lived happily in Namdev's house, partaking in his *bhajans* and songs and assisting in the household work. Jani, true devotion's child, was also a poetess. Small beautiful songs of hers, telling of God and His Love, are still current and highly popular throughout the Deccan. They are sung by the Marathi woman as she draws water from the village-well or sits at the grinding-stone, and by the hillman tending the flock on the hills. Poet and devotee of Vittoba as she was, Jani never gave up her place in Namdev's household, and it was from out of her common life, a life of toil and service, that she sang forth her rapturous lyrics of love and devotion. Of Jani's latter life, of how it ended, we know no more than in the case of the lives of many another mystic and devotee. She lived perhaps for a long time under the kind protection and spiritual fellowship of Namdev, and, after a life of household toil and religious devotion, closed her days in the city of Vittoba.

RAKHA

Another character that figures in the life of Namdev is the pious and ascetic Rakha. In an age of gentle and pious souls, Rakha was the most pious and gentle. He was by birth a potter

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and lived in the city of Pandharpur with his wife named Banga and a daughter. Once he had made a number of new pots and kept them for baking. A cat laid its young in one of them. Rakha, unconscious of the same, took down all the pots and placed them in the fire to be baked. A little time hence the mother cat came, and, missing its young, loudly began to scream. Rakha was seized with great fear and remorse, and, with a perturbed heart, prayed and vowed to God that he would abjure the world and become an ascetic, if only the little cats be saved. So saying, Rakha kept praying to God till the fires went out, and, then taking out one pot after another, he found, to his devout astonishment, the little cats uninjured and in life, in one of the pots. Beside themselves with joy, the gentle Rakha and his wife prepared to fulfil their vow. They gave away to the poor all they had, and, with nothing but the clothes they wore on their person, they embarked on a life of asceticism. They took not to begging but daily went and gathered the wood and the twigs in the forest and, selling them for a price, maintained themselves. We are told that the ascetic Rakha, while daily gathering the fallen twigs and pieces of wood, would touch them not—such was the intense purity of his mind—where they lay in groups, fearing lest some other hand had gathered them for its use.

NAMDEV'S CHARACTER

In the many anecdotes and incidents of Namdev's life already narrated, we may gather some idea of the great sincerity and faith and the exquisite tenderness of heart and gentility of mind of the Maratha poet. Some more anecdotes are told in his biography which reveal the same beautiful characteristics. Once, on an *Ekadashi* day when the pilgrims were preparing their food in open places round Pandharpur, a dog came on the scene and began to carry away the food they had prepared for their dinner. The pilgrims took some sticks and pursued it, when the dog entered the house of Namdev, and, seeing some newly-prepared articles of food, put out its mouth. Namdev, friend to all beings, at once took the cakes, and, smearing them with ghee, gave them to the dog. No act of kindness could be greater. It is said that Vittoba himself had assumed this guise of a dog to test the heart of his devotees. Another anecdote is told which is, if at all, more touching and beautiful in its tenderness. Once, Namdev's mother being ill, she asked her son to go and bring her some herbs. Namdev took a blade and went out to bring them. As he, however, stood and cut the plants, the sight of the falling juice brought profound tears into his eyes. Suddenly turning the blade on to his own leg, he made a cut there to see how he himself felt it and taking out a piece of flesh applied it to the sundered plant to help it to revive. As the late Ranade said, "this intense spirituality may sound somewhat unreal to men not brought up in the atmosphere these saints breathed. But there can be no doubt about the fact and there can also be no doubt that the national ideal of spiritual excellence has been shaped by these models. It may be that a stronger backbone and more resisting power are needed in the times in which we live, but in an account of the saints and prophets as they flourished more than two hundred years ago, we cannot afford to interpolate our own wants and wishes."

NAMDEV'S CLOSING DAYS AND DEATH

His devotions apart, Namdev seems to have spent his time largely in preaching and in composing songs. More than three to four thousands of poems bearing his name have come down to us. Most of these poems, as is the case with the poems of the other great poets of this movement, should have been composed extempore in the course of the *bhajans* and *sankirtans*. That Namdev constantly figured in such *bhajans* and congregational meetings is certain. But Mahipathi has left us no detailed descriptions of his daily preachings and *bhajans*; of the eagerness and ecstasy and love that would have swelled Namdev's utterances or of the vast crowds at Pandhari and elsewhere that would have gathered to hear him. In the lives of Ekanath, Tukaram and Ramdas written by the same poet, we have vivid descriptions of some of the most memorable *bhajans* and

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meetings they held, of the very men and women who attended them and of the great wave of enthusiasm and religious ecstasy into which they swept whole assemblies of devotees and pilgrims. Perhaps removed by a very long period from the time when Mahipathi came to write the pious lives, the tradition that had gathered round the life and doings of Namdev had faded in parts, while the enthusiasm and the love that attended on the lives of the more recent saints were more fresh in the memory of the people and found their way into the biographies. Be it as it may, Namdev's life could not have been a whit less full of love and devotion and pure ecstasy and charity than that of the 16th and 17th century saints. Living to a pretty good age, some seventy years, Namdev breathed his last at the very door of his loved temple of Vittoba at Pandharpur. The first step leading to the door of the Vittoba temple at Pandharpur is named after him—a fitting memorial to a saint who helped to lead the souls of men on to the feet of God.

NAMDEV'S RELIGION AND POETRY

Namdev, like Tukaram, was more a poet and a mystic than a preacher or the spokesman of any creed. If we may believe the story of his initiation under Vishoba Khesar who was probably a non-idolater and a monist, Namdev should have learnt something of religious theory and philosophy under him. Such as it was, it would have gone to give strength and clearness to Namdev's faith and vision. Namdev's poems, however, little reveal any philosophic theory or speculation. They are, above all, poems of great Devotion and God-love.

The preciousness of the message of Namdev, as that of Tukaram, consists in the fact that it utters with simple sincerity a cry of the heart for God and points out to man the need of God's Grace. As Ranade says, "the charm of Namdev and Tukaram lies in their appeal to the heart and in the subjective truth of the experiences felt by them in common with all who are religious by nature." Again and again there breaks out in these two singers the authentic call of man's unquenchable desire, "O! that I knew where I might find Him." The abundance and intensity of these expressions of desire and love cannot be adequately realised except by a study of those poems themselves. There are in their poems also notes of praise and God-attainment and eager moods of beatitude and peace. The great governing ideas of these mystics are, however, derived from the current Vaishnavite faith.

Few poems in Marathi, except perhaps some of Tukaram, can match the following in their intense spiritual yearning and their cry for God's grace.

Why dost Thou leave me suffering ?
O haste and come, my God and King.
I die unless Thou succour bring.
O haste and come, my God and King.
To help me is a trifling thing.
Yet Thou must haste, my God and King.
O come : (How Nama's clamours ring).
O haste and come, my God and King.
Another is more beautiful :—

O God, my cry comes up to Thee,
How sad a cry is it!
What is this tragic destiny
That Fate for me has writ?

Wherefore, O Hrisikes, dost Thou
So lightly pass me by?
To whom, to whom but to Thee now
Can I lift up my cry ?

As chiming anklets sweetly ring,
So rings Thy name abroad ;
To human spirits hungering
Thou givest peace with God.

Thou on Thy shoulders carrying
All the world's load of care,
To Thee 'tis such a little thing
Thy trouble too to bear!

Ah, Pandurang, Thy hand withhold,
My mother dear Thou art.
My Nama, waxing very bold,
Casts him upon Thy heart.

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TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

CHRISTIAN FORGIVENESS *vs.* KARMA

Sister Rhoda contributes to the current number of *The East and the West*; the missionary journal issued by the S P. G. explains the doctrine of atonement in the Christian faith which has been so deplorably misrepresented and misunderstood and points certain so-called grave defects in the theory of *Karma*. The doctrine of atonement has been understood in two senses; (1) that man had incurred a debt to a relentless God who exacted the payment in full, but without much regard as to who paid it (this is a survival from Rabbinical theology); (2) that the payment was made to Satan to redeem mankind which is equivalent to saying that Christ recognised the right of Satan to hold mankind in bondage; this strongly savours of Mithraic dualism. But it is unfortunate that one or the other meaning has often been attributed to Christianity even by Christian teachers. The real meaning of atonement is twofold: on man's past repentance, on God's forgiveness. Repentance begins with a genuine sorrow for sin, not remorse for consequences, nor shame at exposure, but a genuine sorrow for sin itself. The forgiveness with which God meets repentance looks both backward and forward. God removes the guilt of the past and also grants a fresh infusion of divine strength with which to renew the victorious struggle for the future. The gnostic doctrine of salvation is obliged to fall back upon the other doctrine of reincarnation; in other words, there is no salvation provided for man; he must work it out for himself through an unlimited series of incarnations. It has thus no scheme of salvation to offer and the term 'Saviour' it has merely borrowed from Christianity. The same criticism applies to the world-teachers on Bodhisattvas of Theosophy.

The writer then points out certain grave *defects in the theory of karma*. The doctrine of *karma*, he says, is wholly alien from the idea of sacrifice.

It offers no help to struggling humanity. The law of *karma* is utterly pitiless and mechanical in its operation. There is no escaping the fruits of *karma*.

It reduces to a minimum the scope for free-will in man and regards him almost as a machine, obliged to follow out in the future the sequence of actions initiated in the past, utterly regardless of any change of will he may have experienced in the meantime.

It does nothing towards solving the problem of human inequality, but merely pushes it further back and so deludes the unwary with a semblance of a solution.

It makes human progress to consist in a process of emptying and destroying, not of fulfilling. All *karma*, whether good or bad, must be worked out, and as long as any remains of any kind there is no release from re-birth: the way of escape is therefore to abandon action, and as action is the fruit of desire, desire too must be abandoned.

DEMOCRACY IN VEDIC CIVILISATION

Dr. Biswa Nath Mukherjee, writing in the *Vedic Magazine* for February 1918 describes some aspects of Vedic polity which can be understood only in the real spirit of the Vedic Mantras. The Hindus enjoyed a fully equipped self-government in those days. It was a belief that God himself was the creator and organiser of men and so it was regarded that the king was only a temporary order-carrier of *that Universal Ruler*. The king was selected in the congregational assembly of all the subjects of a particular place, both literate and illiterate, rich and poor and high and low castes. The people's voice was the strongest thing in the country, and they could make or mar the fortunes of a king who had to pay every regard for the opinion, rights and voice of the common masses. There was also a council system of government, the chairman and the councillors being elected in the same way as the king, and taking solemn oaths and pledges of good government. The Vedic system of administration was not of a patriarchal nature. Kingship was not hereditary, the king was unanimously selected by the common masses.

"The administration of the Aryan kings Harish Chandra, Raghu and Daleep, Shantanu and Dashmi Gita were highly democratic. While being rulers of special merits, they were completely under the guidance of their own subjects. Strictly speaking, their councils were the chief instrument for ruling the country. Who will deny that if the people's voice was not a predominating factor in ancient India, a king of world-wide reputation as Raja Harish Chandra would not have been compelled to abdicate his throne and give it to the care of one of his ordinary subjects Maharshi Vishwamitra, who himself again had no wish to rule and had to give the charge over to the responsible members of the Imperial Councils?"

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INDIA'S DUTY

The February number of *The Hindustan Review* contains an article by Mr. V. B. Metta in which he points out that to perceive real greatness and to value it according to its grade indicate true culture and that we, as a nation, have it as a duty to exalt those living Indians who are communing with the Infinite and creating the future soil of India above those who are working for the mentally and materially necessary. Two men, of the few people who are pointing out the new way to Truth and Beauty, are Sir Rabindranath Tagore and Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose.

"Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore has a peculiar significance for the Indians of to-day because he has succeeded in harmonising the emotions and imagination of the West with those which we have inherited from our ancestors without losing his national identity or stooping to mere imitations. He shows in his works how the East can absorb the Romanticism of the West without sacrificing its eternal Ideality and without degenerating into theatricality or superficial sentimentality. The old Indian literature dealt with the relation of Man to the Infinite. The new Indian literature brings in two new links in the chain which unites the individual to the cosmos, *viz.*, the Nation and Humanity. * * * So he goes further, boldly despising the Time-Spirit which is all for 'Nationalism,' and speaks to his compatriots and other human beings somewhat in the following manner :—'O man! create the circle of Race or Nationality, but do not be enslaved by it. Let thy spirit go out of it, and wander about for its benefit in the vaster circle of Humanity, which too, however, must not enslave it.' He thus unites the mysticism of the East with the humanism of the West, eschewing at the same time the unsocial asceticism of the former and the gross materialism of the latter.

Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose is the ideal scientist of the Future. Although trained under European masters, he has retained his soul while pursuing Science, which is a great achievement for any scientist in these days of cheap Agnosticism and cheaper Atheism. How was he able to achieve this?—it might be asked. The answer is, 'He was able to achieve this, because he has inherited and encouraged the spirit of those times when Science and Religion, Philosophy and Poetry, were not severely separated into water-tight compartments in India, as they are in Western countries to-day, but formed a Beautiful Whole, attracting like a lamp men-moths towards itself.'"

HINDU CONCEPTION OF PATRIOTISM

Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., PH.D., P.R.S., in the course of an interesting article in the *Commonweal* on the patriotic note in Sanscrit literature says :—

"The first feature noted by the *Atharva Veda* poet is the primary one of the physical, territorial extent of the country, which is the basis of all life. The very expansion of the people, the growth of their numbers and the expansion of their colonisation depend upon that primary gift of a wide stretch of territory in point of which India is one of the most fortunate and best endowed countries of the world; and so this preliminary formative factor of her national life is expressed in the prayer:

'Let the country make for us wide room; let the country be spread out for us, be prosperous for us,

On whom our forefathers formerly spread themselves upon the brown, black, red, all-formed fixed soil of which the inhabitants stand, unharassed unsmitten and unwounded.'"

There is again the well-known passage in the *Rig Veda* which defines the boundary line of the Aryan civilization in that period and deifies the rivers of the Punjab which were the cradle at once of culture and commerce.

"O, ye Ganga, Yamuna, Saraswati, Satadru and Parusni, receive ye my prayers. O, ye Marutbridha joined by the Asikni, Vitasta and Arjikiya joined by the Susoma, hear ye my prayers."

Here patriotism itself is elevated and refined into religion. To think of the mother-country, to adore her as the visible giver of all good becomes a religious duty; the fatherland is allotted its rightful place in the nation's daily prayers, the fatherland of which the most important manifestation is constituted by the river systems. The *Atharva Veda* takes up this earlier note of the *Rig Veda* and devotes to the same theme quite a number of verses:

"On whom the circulating waters flow the same, day and night, without failure—let that land of many streams yield us milk; then let her sprinkle us with splendour.

Let cleansed waters flow for our body."

There were hills, forests, fields and seasons, and treasures and gold and birds, beasts, the wealth of mine and horses and then to the wealth of heroes and heroines:

"On whom the people of old formerly spread themselves; on whom the gods overcame the Asuras."

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URDU LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

In the March number of *East and West*, Mr. Asaf Ali traces the development of Urdu from its origin and studies it from a non-linguistic and purely cultural point of view. On the one hand there is a tendency to import into Urdu as much of Persian as can conveniently be done without displacing the Urdu verbs and current idioms. There are those who desire to purge Urdu of Arabic and Persian influences to steep it in Sanskrit and finally to change its script from the prevalent Persian to Devanagari. The controversy is at present of a more or less political and religious nature. To-day Urdu stands for a specific culture; it is the resultant of the impact of several types of Asiatic civilisations and is the meeting ground of the Tartan, the Arab, the Persian and the Aryan. As early as the time of the Tughlaqs, Muhammadan authors and poets of note had commenced assimilating the language of the people, the earliest traces of which we find in Amir Khushru's imperishable works. His language was not Urdu, but it was the precursor and parent of Urdu. Wali is accepted to be the first poet of Urdu, its Chaucer. Wali's language had ceased to be Hindi, but enriched by Persian vocabulary, Persian diction and Persianised ideas, assumed the earliest form of known Urdu. Persian being the Court language, it was cultivated with great assiduity by all and Urdu, the spoken language of the people, could not resist the inflow of its influence. Voluntarily or not, the adoption of the Persian script certainly perpetuated the new-born language. "The Hindi civilisation, reduced as it had been, to a picturesque simplicity, a superb elegance and a tranquil poetry, all pensive and lyrical, reposeful and genuine, furnished the graceful background, on which the refined Persian, the graceful Arabic and the valiant Turkish influences blended together to form the beautiful culture which distinguishes all the Urdu-speaking people, from the rest of the world."

During the last one hundred years the language has arrived at sturdy manhood. Ghalil's Urdu poetry marks a very prominent cleavage between the current Urdu and the highly Persianised style to which he gave currency. Nasir of Agra almost overplussed Urdu with Hindi and wrote in the language of the people. The prose works in Urdu literature are chiefly romantic, religious and historical. Fiction and journalism have been strongly in evidence for over half a century and philosophical works, works of travel, biographies and travels are also copious. Dramas are not lacking, but good and unblemished dramatic works are conspicuous works. A very exceptionable style of writing has recently come into existence and although not in favour, is secretly admired. Delhi may or may not have been the actual birth place of Urdu but it certainly became its congenial nursery and all the first great authors and poets of Urdu were born there; the supreme masters of Urdu, Mir Hasan and Mir Taqi are both of Delhi. Urdu, as a symbol of specific culture, represents the *ne plus ultra* of oriental refinement.

OUR AIMS—AN ANGLO-INDIAN VIEW

Sir Francis Younghusband, writing in the February issue of the *Nineteenth Century and After* welcomes the announcement by Government that ultimate self-government to be gained by successive stages is the goal of British policy in India. He says that the Indian *nation* will always include the British among the multitudinous communities of which it is composed. As the goal is approached, the power and number of the Anglo-Indians must decrease, but it is for the unofficial and ex-official Anglo-Indian to see from this time forward that his influence increases. The British, in the course of their 300 years' connection with India, have, as it were, grown into the fabric of the country, identified themselves with its fortunes and become a part of the Indian people, as any other race which has immigrated from outside. Individuals come and go from England, but the British community remains; it is the *cohesive element which keeps the fabric together and is the stimulus which initiates progress.*

He maintains further that the British element must increase in numbers and influence in the future. More of them will come to India after the war, as merchants, planters, engineers, etc., and so the British community will increase in numbers. Improved communications will also contribute to this result. The British community *will demand its own proper share in the Government of the country and will not allow itself to be pushed aside on one side and ignored.*

India needs more of men of the type of Julian Grenfell who adored India, loved the life there, the sport and the beauty of the Taj and the vale of Kashmir. For men of such vitality who combine practical capacity with culture and varied interest, India offers the widest opportunities. *The British public must sternly discourage campaigns of opprobrium upon their representatives in India* and must give all possible support to the British in India, if this aim is to be a success.

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NATIONAL EDUCATION

Principal Paranjpye, writing in the pages of the *Servant of India* subjects the National Education scheme to a severe examination. He condemns the spirit of antagonism to the present system of University Education.

"The present system of education is said to have been invented for the single purpose of providing clerks for Government. Any good results that may have arisen out of it are said to have come in spite of the system. We are afraid that this is going too far. For a rational estimate we must take into account the good results as well as the evil, and every reasonable man will be constrained to say that the former vastly preponderate. Even this present feeling of nationality is the direct result of our present system of education. Did the Madrasi, the Bengali, the Maratha and the Sindhi even do lip-service to the idea that they are all children of the same soil and their interests are mainly identical, sixty years ago? Had it not been for our English education, Mrs. Besant would not have obtained her position in India as the President of the Congress and Mr. Tilak might have been either a soldier of fortune or the founder of a religious sect. The present system has its defects, no doubt, and attempts should be made to improve it; but it would not be desirable to do away with it root and branch, even if it were possible."

National Education in England, says Principal Paranjype, has always meant the education of every child in the country and has generally been regarded as the duty of the Government.

"The late Mr. Gokhale's advocacy of free and compulsory primary education was in this sense directed to secure National Education in India, and so also his followers who try to make Government alive to its responsibilities in this matter may be said to be workers in the cause of National Education. Such a system of universal education cannot be achieved by any private agency, however energetic, though we have a vast respect for the energy of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers. It has got to be done through the agency of Government and Government alone. Private agencies can at the best be only supplementary to Government, stepping in to make new experiments, to fill in occasional gaps and to make Government realise its duties."

The writer contends that the idea of substituting Indian for European agency which is one of the principal items in the cult of National education is no new invention.

"Many Indian witnesses at the last Public Services Commission—and at the one before the last—advocated this view; and the evidence given by the writer of this article asking for a thorough Indianisation of the educational services created some stir four years ago. As Mr. Arundale admits in his manifesto, the Deccan Education Society, the D.A.V. College, the C. H. College and several other bodies have been making private efforts to show that such a thorough Indianisation will not lead to a disaster."

The writer then turns to a discussion of the question of the medium of instruction. Curiously enough he says on this subject extremes meet. The enemies of Indian progress are at one with the advocates of National Education. Still Principal Paranjpye urges that vernaculars should be the medium of instruction in high schools but he holds:

"The question of the medium in Colleges is not so very urgent, as by the time a boy goes there he should have acquired such command over English that the medium would be a minor matter there. It should not be forgotten that English is necessary for India's progress and that no vernacular can take its place in the Indian political, social and intellectual world."

About religious education, the writer has very pronounced views. He believes the attempt has failed in the C. H. College, Benares, and says that it will only create more complications without any corresponding benefits:—

"Whatever the merits of religious education may be, it has nothing in common with anything national. Religion in the accepted popular sense of the term has been mainly an anti-national force in India. There is nothing so efficacious in rousing the most potent anti-national feelings as the introduction of the religious element. Mrs. Besant herself had a good deal to do with Hindu-Moslem claims in our public life. The Jain, the Lingayat, the Christian, the Jew and others are also putting in their separatist claims. The lines of cleavage in India are religious and sectarian. The problem before some Indian leaders is how to efface these lines of cleavage. Nothing would please our enemies better than to see this propaganda attain the utmost success. Is it wise to play into their hands?"

In his second article Principal Paranjpye offers some constructive suggestions. He asks at the very outset:—

"Leaving aside for the moment the well-known dictum that every country has the Government it

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deserves and that therefore a Government, however foreign in its personnel, best represents the nation for the moment, we shall ask our friends whether they are not at present also engaged in a political campaign to make the Government of the country also national, whether, in spite of temporary set-backs and particular incidents in the struggle, the main line of progress is not absolutely assured and whether, in the course of twenty years or so which would be required to allow even the most successful educational campaign to make its results felt, our Government is not bound to be almost completely responsible."

Government should not abdicate the right of educating the people and it is sheer waste of time and money and energy to work a private agency, however wholesome such agencies may be as supplementing the work of the Government.

"But there must be a general policy underlying the educational system, leaving private agencies to make new experiments and supplement the gaps that must necessarily remain in the case of such a vast machine as Government. To say that we are going to have a private educational system would be as ridiculous as to say that because there are occasionally hard cases of mismanagement in the administration of the irrigation works in the country we should straightway do away with a Government system of irrigation and start a complete private system of irrigation works in the country. If we have faults to find with the Government system we should agitate to get these removed."

After detailing the risks of private agencies in education the writer urges that we should work to complete and better the existing system of university education to suit our requirements.

"This we regard as the proper statesmanlike way of setting about the solution of the university problem in India. If we merely sulk and have nothing to do with the existing organisations, instead of improving them we shall only harm ourselves."

Then there is the difficulty of finding students who expect no Government careers.

"The only real directions in which the leaders of the National Education movement can move with profit are technological institutes, perhaps commerce colleges and schools, possibly a medical school or college and, we must add, theological seminaries. If they start Arts Colleges, not many students will join them unless they are guaranteed some careers after they complete their course. Even private firms, with their managers bred up under the old system, will probably prefer a man with a certificate of known value than make experiments with another with problematical attainments."

The writer concludes with a warning:—

"Our firm belief is that education of every kind is in the main the duty of Government as the keeping up of the police and military forces is. It cannot abandon it. No private body can adequately undertake it, though occasionally it can organise bands of volunteers for a sudden emergency or filling up gaps.

"Are we prepared to collect funds by means of our volunteers if Government to-morrow tells us that it is going to close all schools, colleges and other institutions and to discontinue all expense on education if you don't like the present system and, to be fair, to remit the corresponding share of taxation? Those who wish to pose as leaders in educational matters should cease to talk in an irresponsible manner and be sane and practical in any campaign that they undertake."

INDIA AND THE DOMINIONS

The December number of the *Round Table* contains the following interesting sentences on the subject of the future relations between India and the dominions:—

It is beginning to dawn upon many of us that to this vexed question of our 'right' to share in Imperial questions there is a previous question. Are we in these dominions yet fitted for Imperial rule? Are we prepared, are we in any true sense ready, to take up our share of the "White Man's Burden"? Can the dominions, for example, fairly claim at present to take any part in ruling the great dependencies? That question almost answers itself. Our only outward and visible effort in this direction so far has been in the passing of stringent anti-Asiatic legislation! Of the effect of that legislation on India we have had a recent and timely reminder from a casual visitor to these dominions. Sir Henry Richards, Chief Justice of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, gave a brief address to the New Zealand Club at Wellington on June 12, 1917. In the course of his remarks Sir Henry Richards made it very clear to his hearers (amongst whom were two Ministers of Crown) that educated Indians had most decided objections to any Imperial constitution in which the colonies were to be given any voice in Indian matters.

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SOCIAL SCIENCE FOR SCHOOLS

In a recent number of *The School World*, Mr. E. B. Cumberland writes about the value of social science lessons to boys in schools. The position of social science as a course of university study has been gradually improving, and already many enthusiastic workers have extended and made solid the foundations of the science and built upon them a substantial superstructure. In the universities of America, a professorial chair for the teaching of sociology is taken for granted, and outside the universities social activities of public importance have been studied very largely with the view of gaining more exact knowledge concerning them.

Instruction on the lines of the Psychologists' Memorandum can be given to boys of about 15 years of age, with a certainty of its being listened to with evident interest, since it tells them facts that they can understand.

"The distinction between the character, or equipment, of the individual's mind built up for him in the remote past by Nature, and the additional equipment, with its modification of Nature's contribution, which he must acquire for, and through the medium of, the associated life of men, shows a boy that for a full participation in the duties and privileges of social life he must further educate himself until he has accomplished his individual transformation from what he was at birth into a rational and responsible human being. He sees that the serviceable foundations of his daily behaviour are laid for him not merely by kindly and beneficent efforts coming from outside, but also by himself through the exercise of his power of will. He learns, too, that man's task, since he entered upon a life in association with his fellows, has been to strengthen and extend that association until it includes all members of the human family inspired with mutual goodwill; while the initial equipment Nature has provided him with for the task is, unless a vague gregarious instinct or consciousness of kind is included, limited to the parental instinct, which makes for binding ties only between kith and kin. Whatever further equipment he needs must issue from the social life he builds up".

A boy who realises all this reads with admiration of, and pride and hope in, the race he belongs to, the story he finds in history of how man the world over has striven with many stumbles to lead his fellows to live together in larger communities, with a corresponding increase of co-operative strength, until one, in which the British boy is specially interested, has been formed which amounts to an aggregation of five hundred million human units.

History, and Geography even more than History, has been bringing social science more in touch with schools. Those teachers who are shy of social science, but who welcome civics, can put into the latter as much of the former as they approve.

THE WASTE OF MENTAL POWER

The Rt. Hon. Sir George Reid, formerly High Commissioner for Australia, writing in the February issue of the *Mysore Economic Journal* impresses the great fact that it is the duty of mankind to prevent mental waste. There is a great waste of mental power going on for which injudicious methods of selecting teachers, and preparing teachers and teaching children are largely responsible. A more prominent place for Psychology in the examinations for primary school teachers and in the systems of primary education should be given first; since the study of the mental nature in one shape or another lies at the root of the education of every child, especially every child mentally efficient. The child's mind must be made as eager to learn as to play games, and must be made full of an insatiable spirit of inquiry and love of knowledge. The older people must not look upon work as a curse and must devote some part of their leisure time to the higher objects of mental culture. It is really in these that the purer, stronger pleasures are to be found and with them new life and strength for the drudgery of every-day life. If the mind be viewed as a mere machine for earning wages, there is still a tremendous waste of mental power. Another source of mental waste is the altogether absurd views which prevail cencerning work, both in the classes above and the classes below. More education of the right sort and more culture will, perhaps, gradually lessen the tendency to look on industrial work in itself as a badge of social inferiority. Lack of concentration is one of the chief sources of mental waste. If one does not bring one's mental power in downright earnest upon everything that one does, one misses the most valuable of all mental habits. Another source of untold waste is lack of ambition; and still another is lack of courage. And the battles which may lead to the grandest victories are the wars against our lower selves.

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MISSIONARY PROGRESS IN INDIA

The January number of the *International Review of Missions* contains a fairly exhaustive summary of all the important features in missions and their life in India during the past year. The South India Educational Council of Missions presented a report dealing with vocational training in both urban and rural areas. The Young Men's Christian Association and a number of missions are giving much attention to the development of co-operative banks. The Indian Christian community joined in the protest against the system of indentured labour and some of the leading missionaries in India took part in public meetings on that subject. The rapidly-growing national consciousness is manifesting itself in the Indian Church and creating problems for which a solution must be found. In the Church Missionary Society, in the S. P. G. Telugu Mission, in the Anglican Church and among the Baptists, developments in self-government are in rapid progress The third All-India Conference of Indian Christians was held in December 1916 and dealt, among other questions, with technical and industrial training, and marriage and divorce laws as they affect Indian Christians. Evangelistic work has been actively carried forward and is not only adding to membership of the Indian Church but developing powers of service and leadership. Among the outstanding features of the work may be mentioned, the careful and widespread preparation of workers, the emphasis laid on the service of each individual in working and praying for other individuals, the adoption of Indian methods of work and the active participation of Indian women.

The mass movements towards Christianity continue and constitute at once the highest encouragement and the most pressing problem of the Indian situation. Attention is being directed to find the best methods of education and Bible teaching in village areas and there is a growing sense of the value of co-operative movements along economic and social lines. Comity among missions was finally approved at the meeting of the National Missionary Council in October 1916 and the missionary survey of India is making progress and will complete the survey of the Madras Province by the end of the present year. There is in active preparation, a clean and full statement of the problems of missionary literature in India, showing the literature that is needed, what classes of tracts, books, newspapers and periodicals are required and what is the urgency.

Society for

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THE OUTLOOK IN INDIA

A writer in the *New Statesman* remarks in a recent issue that it may be confidently affirmed that the time has gone by in India for the older Anglo-Indian intransigence, and that it is perfectly well understood that the Viceroy and the Home Government are prepared to move a long way in the direction of provincial autonomy. The position as regards the Indian National Congress, has in the past few months, developed in a way that has greatly disturbed the European community and has caused some perturbation among the moderate Indian leaders. The conversion of the official world to the idea of responsible government is so emphatically a Congress victory, that the occasion would seem to demand above all else a united constitutional party and the most trustworthy leadership.

The following remark is very suggestive:

"There may, indeed, be some positive advantage in having an extreme section of the opposition at work as a counterfoil to the Maximalist section of the Nationalists; and, as a matter of fact, the European Associations of Calcutta and Madras, by their recent agitation, ostensibly provoked by the release of Mrs. Besant, have stimulated the large and influential middle party to attempt the admirable task of seeking a possible basis of agreement between Indians and Anglo-Indians. The Indian reform party stands by the self-government proposals worked out by the executives of the National Congress and the Moslem League, which provide for a large immediate extension of the elective element in the legislative councils, local autonomy and provincial executives responsible to the councils. The European community urge that representative institutions without an instructed electorate must be disastrous, and they insist that the only kind of reform at present desirable or attainable is the improvement of local self-government within the existing constitutional system. Clearly, if these two positions are maintained, racial conflict is inevitable. Common ground must somehow be discovered, and it is such common ground that is indicated by the proposals of the Joint Conference of Indian and European moderates".

WHAT INDIA WANTS: AUTONOMY WITHIN THE EMPIRE.—An appeal to the British Democracy. By G. A. Natesan, Editor of the *Indian Review*. Foolscap 8vo. 160 pages. As 8. To Subscribers of *I.R.*, As. 6.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

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ART AND HUMAN EXPRESSION

Mr. Edgar. H. Wilkins, writing in the April number of *The Theosophist* describes and classifies the various arts, the different modes of artistic expression, their relation to each other and to the essential nature of Art as having two factors in it viz, the emotion-ideas expressed and the purely sensuous beauty of the expression. Emotion-idea is the essence of Art and sensuous beauty is the essence of its expression. Art is a mode of expression representing emotion in human life and has the direct object of giving pleasure.

In Music, the beauty of sound and rhythm is the predominant element, the enjoyment derived through the sense of hearing, being quite distinct from and usually without any intelligent understanding of the ideas which music represents. In prose literature, the novel for instance, we have an art in which the idea, the meaning is the all-important element, and beauty of expression is necessarily subordinate to it. In painting, we have the two elements about equally prominent, the beauty of form and colour and the beauty of the idea expressed by them. In artistic expression, we use the different human faculties singly and in various combination and it is according to the faculty or combination of faculties used in each case, that we name it poetry, drama, music, painting, etc. Art is one, as is human life; but the arts are many, according as human life expresses itself through different and distinct organs of expression.

"The value of prose literature is the emotion value of the particular phase of human life presented, here the beauty of form is entirely dependent upon the beauty of the idea of which it is the expression. The essential truth of literature and its value as an art lies in its trueness to life, in the accuracy with which its emotion pictures, represent phases of the emotion consciousness of the nation or race by which the literature was produced."

Oratory is less an art and more a science or craft, as it deals with present problems and actual facts of life and has not as its primary object, the giving of pleasure by the arousing of emotion. Here we see the mingling of the elements of art and craft. Drama is the highest art of all, in that it comes nearest to actual life, and uses all the powers and forms of human expression.

Music, as an art has greater freedom and expressive power in two respects, viz., the subsidiary and unessential part taken by the fixed mechanical record, and the place taken by each musician in combining his own individuality with that of the composer in giving expression to the composer's work. Drawing and etching are the same art as painting but without the colour element. Sculpture models the form in three dimensions, instead of in two and has the greater expressive power, in being subject to an infinite variation of view-point. Landscape painting has certainly reference to emotion. In pottery, vases, ornaments, etc., the emotional element is not as prominent as in the case of music, and is eclipsed by the beauty of form. Architecture is a craft beautified by art and is the embodiment of human emotion in building. It brings in emotion and expresses it in the style, proportion and ornaments of the building. Dancing and Callisthenic is another method of expressing emotion.

The writer concludes thus:

"I do not claim to have given an exhaustive account of the arts, but have endeavoured to show how they are related to Art in its essence, and the reason of their differentiation; that each art is not something *sui generis*, incapable of analysis and classification, but is, as it were, a ray of the sun, an expression of Art itself. So also I have suggested that Art is not something *sui generis*, but is an expression of one aspect of the Triplicity of conscious Life; and that it does not exist only in a separate compartment of its own, but enters, in some degree, into every detail of life, inseparable from the two other aspects, Science and Craft, of this Triplicity. ". . . In all things the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity are to be worshipped."

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE GURUKULA AT HARDWAR. By Mr. Tara Chand Gajra, M.A., S.T., C.D. ["The Hindustan Review," February, 1918.]

THE 1910 CROSS IN RELATION TO INDIA. By B. A. Ross and C. G. M. Adam. ["The Theosophist," April, 1918.]

A UNITED KARNATAKA PROVINCE. By G. Annaji Rao, M.A., B.L. ["Everyman's Review," April, 1918.]

THE INDIAN BUDGET FOR 1918-19. By Prof. V. G. Kale, M.A. ["Journal of the Indian Economic Society," March, 1918.]

VARNASHRAMA DHARMA IN THE LIGHT OF MODE[illegible] THOUGHT. By Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sas[illegible]

LORD MORLEY AND INDIA. By "Novus[illegible]re the [" The New Review," February, 1918

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NATIONAL EDUCATION

In opening the National Education week festivities at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on April 8, Mrs. Besant read the following messages :—

I. SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The lamp is trimmed,
Comrades, bring your own fire to light it.
For the call comes again to you to join the star pilgrims
crossing the dark to the shrine of sunrise.
The day was when you went forth in your glad adventure of light
and the star of hope thrilled in the sky and kissed your banner.
But as the dark deepened you fell behind in the march
and slept with your lights gone out,
while your dreams grew discordant
like the ominous cries of night birds.
Yet though it is dark, and the wind in the forest
is like the wails of lost souls
has not the breath of that prayer already touched your foreheads
which comes from the past echoing from age to age :
"Lead me to Light from the dark, from death to Everlasting Life"?
Sleepers, arise from your stupor of dim desolation
and know once more that you are the children of Light.

II. MR. M. K. GANDHI

If people can be made to understand what is truly National Education and to cultivate a taste for it, the Government schools will be empty; and there will be no return thereto until the character of education in Government institutions is so radically altered as to accord with National ideals.

III. SIR RASH BEHARI GHOSE, M.A., D.L., C.I.E.

I feel satisfied that the Government system of education does not and cannot fulfil all our needs and it is necessary to supplement it by providing technical, scientific, commercial and agricultural education which our Society is seeking to do. More than that: if general education in its several stages, primary, secondary and collegiate, is to achieve all that is expected of it, it ought to be carried on on National lines and under National control. This is what the National Council of Education has been seeking to do, and this is also aimed at by the Society for the Promotion of National Education.

IV. MR. BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

Good citizenship is the civic goal of the members of a Nation generally; and in this respect the older generation is naturally the best guardian of the interests of the younger one. In the language of Wordsworth, "the child is father of the man." If we therefore want our younger generation to attain to the status of full citizenship, we must educate them according to that ideal. In other words: "A Nation that has not taken its education in its own hands cannot soon rise in literary, social or political importance," and it was this ideal that prompted myself and my colleagues in 1880 to start an independent private English school and, soon afterwards, an Arts College in Poona. Another attempt was also made in the Maharashtra later on in 1907.

V. MRS. ANNIE BESANT

What must our National Education be? It must be controlled by Indians, shaped by Indians, carried on by Indians. It must hold up Indian ideals of devotion, wisdom and morality, and must be permeated by the Indian religious spirit rather than fed on the letter of the creeds. That spirit is spacious, tolerant, all-embracing and recognises that man goes to God along many roads and that all the Prophets come from Him.

National Education must live in an atmosphere of proud and glowing patriotism, and this atmosphere must be kept sweet, fresh and bracing by the study of Indian literature, Indian history, Indian triumphs in science, in art, in politics, in war, in colonisation, in manufactures, in trade, in commerce. The Arthashastra must be studied as well as the Dharmashastra, science and politics as well as religion.

National Education must not be separated from the Homes of the Nation. The ideals, the interests, the principles, the emotions of the one must be those of the other. For the Nation is built out of families, and the present opposition between the Home and the School must cease. The teachers in school and college must work in harmony with the teachers in the Home.

National Education must meet the National temperament at every point and develop the National character. India is not to become a lesser—nor even a greater—England, but to evolve into a mightier India. British ideals are good for Britain, but it is India's ideals that are good for India.—*New India.*

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UTTERANCES OF THE DAY.

THE LATE MR. GOKHALE

I. SIR WILLIAM MEYER

Sir William Meyer, in inviting His Excellency the Viceroy to unveil a marble bust of Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi on March 22, said : " My Lord, this bust of our late comrade, Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, has been subscribed for by the European members of your Legislative Council. Our Indian colleagues had presented to the Council the busts of two eminent European officials, the late Sir John Jenkins and Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, and we Europeans thought that it would be a very fitting return that we should similarly present the bust of a man whom I can describe without exaggeration as the most able and distinguished Indian who has sat in the Viceroy's Legislative Council. I hope the bust will meet with the satisfaction of those who knew our late friend, and I may say that it has been carried out by an Indian sculptor, Mr. G. K. Mhatre. I will not delay Your Excellency much longer, but I should like to say a few words as regards Mr. Gokhale. He was a born leader of men, and while holding fast to the principles he had marked out for himself, he had the true statesman's instinct in grasping what was immediately practicable. He could be, when occasion required, a very shrewd and keen critic, but he only criticised when he thought criticism called for, and when he had fully studied the case on which he spoke. Nor did he confine himself to mere negative criticism, for his was a mind which was fertile in constructive propositions, and his great mental qualities were buttressed by very fine characteristics—single-mindednees of purpose and transparent sincerity, the complete devotion of his life to the public weal, the magnetism that wins and keeps friends, and the habit, so easy to preach but so difficult to practise, of making full allowance for the different standpoints of those from whom he might differ. It is indeed tragic that a man so endowed should have been snatched from India at this time of travail and transition, when she so sorely needed his clear and wise guidance. We can now only cherish his memory and his example, and I hope, that this bust may help to recall him not merely to those who knew him in the flesh but to the Indian politicians of the future. I now ask you, my Lord, on behalf of those who have subscribed for the bust, to put the seal on our purpose by unveiling it."

II. H. E. THE VICEROY

H. E. the Viceroy, in unveiling the bust, said : " In discharging the task which falls to my lot to-day I labour under the grave disadvantage of never having met Mr. Gokhale, and an appreciation of any man without that insight which can only be given by personal acquaintance or friendship must, to say the least, be very imperfect. I would not, however, on this account have foregone the privilege of taking part in these proceedings, which testify to the very high esteem in which Mr. Gokhale was held not only by his own countrymen but also by all who came into contact with him. You may remember that Matthew Arnold wrote of one who saw life steadily and saw it whole. That for most of us, if not for all of us, can only be an approximation, and greatness among men, to my mind, in a large measure depends upon their approximation to that ideal. So many of us cannot see the wood for the trees, so many of us in the midst of the dust of affairs have our vision blurred and indistinct ; and so it comes about that when we at rare intervals in our life light upon a man with a wide vision and with a clear outlook we greet him as one placed above his fellows. I venture to think that Mr. Gokhale's claim to our esteem, apart from his personal qualities with regard to which I cannot speak, lies in his approximation to that ideal of which the poet spoke :

> " Lives of great men all remind us
> We can make our life sublime ;
> And departing leave behind us
> Foot-prints on the sands of time."

If this be true the sense of our loss of such a man at such a time as the present must be borne in upon us. Such men are rare, and when they pass away before they have reaped the full harvest of their promise we doubly mourn their loss. Mr. Gokhale has, however, left behind him a name and a memory which should not be without its lesson for us all. I unveil, then, his bust to-day, not only as a memorial of our appreciation of his worth, but as a lasting reminder to us who pass by, of the qualities which go to make a man great among his fellows.

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THE NIZAM'S FRESH CONTRIBUTION

His Exalted Highness the Nizam has despatched to H. E. the Viceroy the following telegram :— "I have read in the papers the Prime Minister's message to Your Excellency and your reply thereto. As an old and faithful ally of the British Government I am prepared now as in the past to render every assistance according to the means of my Government. Meanwhile I offer one hundred thousand pounds sterling to help in the war."

EDUCATION IN TRAVANCORE

One-seventh of the total expenditure in the State of Travancore is on education. The amount allocated for the coming year is 23 lakhs, which is two lakhs more than in any previous year.

THE CHIEF OF SANGLI

The Chief of Sangli, one of the Southern Mahratta States, has announced his intention of the early establishment of village panchayats throughout his State.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN BARODA

In Baroda there are 323 Co-operative Credit Societies with a membership of 10,620. The working capital is nearly a million rupees and the net profit about Rs. 40,000.

RECRUITS FROM MANDA

The Raja Bahadur of Manda announces the following concessions to those who join the army from his estate :—For combatants (1) in cash a sum of Rs. 100 to every recruit at the time of recruitment ; (2) if a tenant, rent will be reduced by half ; (3) every recruit will also be given two bighas of land free of rent ; (4) if not a tenant, four bighas of land, free of rent, will be given to the recruit. For non-combatants and labourers (1) in cash a sum of Rs. 70 to every recruit at the time of recruitment ; (2) if a tenant, rent will be reduced by one-fourth ; (3) one bigha of land free of rent will be given ; (4) if not a tenant, the recruit will be given two bighas of land free of rent.

COCHIN ADMINISTRATION

The revenue of Cochin is about five million rupees. Primary education is well provided for in the State. Recently the system of nomination to municipalities was replaced by that of election. The panchayats are strongly established and look after the roads, tanks and wells in villages. They are authorised to open schools in rural areas as well as to exercise certain judicial powers. The appointment of members to the panchayats on an elective basis is being considered.

GWALIOR INDUSTRIES

Remarkable industrial developments at Gwalior were disclosed at the first annual meeting of the Gwalior State Trust, Ltd, at Gwalior on the 18th March. His Highness the Maharaja presided. The proceedings showed the many industrial ventures that have been recently developed in the State.

Paper mills under the managing agency of Messrs. Balmer, Lawrie and Company of Calcutta in co-operation with the Bengal Paper Company, Limited, had been started in the State and were now working night and day at a profit.

A Gwalior Agricultural Company is being formed to take over some fifteen to twenty thousand acres of well-selected land for farming operations on a large scale. This company will work in co-operation with the Premier Oil Company of India, Limited. A company has been formed to take over motor repairs. A Gwalior Motor Service Company has also been formed. Plans have been prepared under the advice of Professor Stanley Jevons for the laying out of an industrial city at Gwalior. A factory has also been designed for manufacturing roofing tiles for which, it seems, suitable clay has been found in the State.

EDUCATION IN BHAVNAGAR

A Zenana Boarding School has been opened in the Bhavnagar State under the supervision of Her Highness the Maharani Sahab. It appears that the first girls' school in the whole of the Province of Kathiawar was established in Bhavnagar as early as 1857, and the girls' schools in the State now number 25, giving instruction to about 3,700 girls. The zenana school has been well-equipped with all the modern requirements, arrangements also being made to satisfy the requirements of the purdah system. An Indian lady superintendent has been appointed. The Dewan of the State announced at the opening function of the institution a donation of Rs. 8,000 to the school, the interest of which was to be spent by Their Highnesses in scholarships.

BIKANER'S GIFT

On the centenary of the conclusion of first treaty between the British Government and the Bikaner State, H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner has generously offered the King-Emperor three lakhs including one lakh from his privy purse for any war purpose or war charity. The gift has been graciously accepted by His Imperial Majesty.

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INDIAN COOLIES IN RANGOON

The question of housing Madras and Calcutta coolies in Rangoon, while awaiting steamers, caused a debate at the Rangoon Municipality on April 9, all the speakers except the President urging that as these coolies were birds of passage of no pecuniary benefit to Rangoon, the cost of providing accommodation for them should be defrayed by the shipping company or the Port Commissioners or as the Hon'ble Mr. E. F. Goodliffe termed it, the paternal government. The municipality was asked as the result of the Government House Conference and as an urgent measure to construct a shelter, cook house, and latrines for 2,000 coolies. The shelter was estimated to cost Rs. 15,000 and was to be made of dunny and bamboo with earth flooring. Mr. Goodliffe's proposition was carried that the Local Government be asked to consider the request of the Port Commissioners to utilise the two godowns at the Brooking Wharf for this purpose, the Port Commissioners having previously stated inability to grant this. An alternative proposition was also carried to construct the shelter suggested on the clear understanding that the municipality should not pay the cost.

ASSISTED EMIGRATION

The proposed system of assisted emigation of labour from India, observes an up-country contemporary, has been condemned by educated Indians all over the country. Men like Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Andrews and Mr. Polak who can speak with authority on the subject have expressed their disapproval of the system in no uncertain words. As the *Bombay Chronicle* says, the strongest case against the system is that emigration of Indian labour at all is uncalled for in the existing and future industrial interests of the country. The need is not for foreign but internal emigration. In a communication to the Government on the subject of assisted emigration the Bengal Chamber of Commerce brings out this point very forcibly. The Chamber says:—

"Several important industries of the country are experiencing acute labour difficulty, for instance, the coal industry: the Government has recently thought fit to restrict the output and despatch of second and third class collieries with a view to improve the labour supply of first-class collieries. This industry alone can with advantage employ 40 to 50 thousand people more. The tea industry also experiences difficulty in labour supply. The coal and tea industries admit of vast developments and the two together could give profitable employment to the labour that was being emigrated year after year before the war broke out. The committee hope that with Government encouragement several important industries will be soon established and developed in this country, which will require a large amount of labour.

"Under these circumstances," adds the Chamber in their letter, "it would be inexpedient for the Government to allow emigration of labour from India. The emigration policy has as one of its objects to make provision for a comfortable living for the surplus population of India. But the object has not been attained, nay the result has proved a serious economic, social and moral danger to India and to its people."

INDIAN LABOUR IN CEYLON

"Indian opinion," observes the *National Monthly of Ceylon*, "has been recently expressing itself in no uncertain terms regarding the conditions of Indian labour in Ceylon. There has been a continual discussion in the daily press on the subject for some time and the feeling is growing that the whole question of labour in Ceylon ought to be reconsidered and settled on a basis different from what now exists and with due regard to the interests of the labourer and of the nation. The position and wages of the estate labourer are not certainly enviable, and there seems to be something desperately unfair in that while the shareholders of estates enjoy fat dividends the labourers should be living in dire poverty and want."

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Over the unfortunate new railway regulation which marks off the Indian as an undesirable, to be shut out of railway carriages except such compartments as may be reserved for the purpose, a great deal of commotion has arisen in South Africa. The fire in our countrymen there has been stirred; the spirit of passive resistance, which blazed forth under unbearable conditions, will, we fear, come to life again over this disgraceful demonstration of colour pride in South Africa. . . . The Indian is to be denied the privilege of travelling first or second class even if he pays for it. On the same principle in the tramcar also there is an Indian portion to which alone the Indian can have access—he is liable to be thrown down from a running tramcar should he cause the least inconvenience to any European —*Indian Patriot.*

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GANDHI AND THE MILL HANDS

Writing to the press under date March 27, regarding his recent vow of starvation, Mr. Gandhi explains:—

"When over a month ago I reached Bombay I was told that Ahmedabad millhands had threatened a strike and violence if the bonus that was given to them during the plague was withdrawn. I was asked to intervene and I consented.

Owing to the plague, the men were getting as much as 70 per cent bonus since August last. An attempt to recall that bonus had resulted in grave dissatisfaction among the labourers. When it was almost too late the millowners offered in the place of the plague bonus and for the sake of the high prices a rise of 20 per cent. The labourers were unsatisfied."

Messrs. Shankerlal Banker, V. J. Patel and Mr. Gandhi were appointed arbitrators on behalf of the labourers and they came to the conclusion "that 35 per cent increase was fair and at a huge meeting announced 35 per cent for the millhands' acceptance. Be it noted that the plague bonus amounted to 70 per cent of their wages and they had declared their intention of accepting not less than 50 per cent as high prices increase. They were now called upon to accept the mean,—(the fixing of the mean was quite an accident) between the millowners' 20 per cent and their own 50 per cent. After some grumbling the meeting accepted the 35 per cent increase, it always being understood that they would recognise at the same time the principle of arbitration whenever the millowners did so."

"But the millhands had grown weary of the twenty-two days' struggle, "were preparing to go to work and accept 20 per cent increase and were taunting us (I think very properly) that it was very well for us who had motors at our disposal and plenty of food, to attend their meetings and advise staunchness even unto death. * * *

"I felt that it was a sacred moment for me, my faith was on the anvil, and I had no hesitation in rising and declaring to the men that a breach of their vow so solemnly taken was unendurable by me and that I would not take any food until they had the 35 per cent increase given or until they had fallen.

"Before I took the vow I knew that there were serious defects about it. For me, to take such a vow in order to affect in any shape or form the decision of the millowners would be a cowardly injustice done to them and I would prove myself unfit for the friendship which I had the privilege of enjoying with some of them. I knew that I ran the risk of being misunderstood. I could not prevent my fast from affecting their decision. That knowledge, moreover, put a responsibility on me which I was ill able to bear. From now I disabled myself from gaining concessions for the men which ordinarily in a struggle such as this I would be entirely justified in securing. I put the defects of my vow in one scale and the merits of it in the other. There are hardly any acts of human beings which are free from all taint. Mine, I knew, was exceptionally tainted; but better the ignominy of having unworthily compromised by my vow the position and independence of the millowners than that it should be said by posterity that 10,000 men had suddenly broken a vow which they had for over twenty days solemnly taken and repeated in the name of God."

INDIA'S OILSEEDS

"The great value of India's trade in oilseeds," observes the *Bulletin* of the Imperial Institute, "is not generally realised, in spite of the fact that the production in India is probably well over 5,000,000 tons in quantity and £50,000,000 in value per annum. The exports of oilseeds from India in 1913-14 amounted to nearly 1,600,000, tons, value at approximately £17,000,000. To this there must be added an export of about 3,250,000 gallons of oil, valued at nearly £400,000, and an export of nearly 200,000 tons of oilcake, worth about £1,000,000. The annual value of the export trade of India in oilseeds and their products may, therefore, be placed at about £18,500,000, taking 1913-14 as an average year.

PROTECTION FOR INDIA

Professor Alfred Marshall in the course of a letter to a Madras writer on Economics says that he once intended to write a book on Indian Economics dealing with the need and opportunities of some of the chief industries of India, but he has not been able to complete it. Referring to the question of the adoption of a protective policy after the war, he observes:—"But I do not think that protection is suitable for any country of Western Europe. I do not think it has helped Germany now, nor America in the last sixty years. I should prefer other aid to weak industries even in India but, if no other aid were possible, then I should welcome 'temporary' protection in 'urgent' cases."

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AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES

The Director of Agriculture and the Director of Public Instruction, Ceylon, visited Calicut lately in connection with industrial and economic enquiries. It would appear that as a consequence of the export of copra and oil from Ceylon being prohibited the Ceylon Government are considering starting soap and candle-making.

SUGAR-CANE

In the rural economy of many parts of India sugar-cane, observes a contemporary, occupies an important place. The area under this crop during 1916-17 was 2,414,000 acres as against 2,391,000 acres in the preceding year, and the total production of sugar (mostly raw sugar) was estimated at 2,626,000 tons. As the demand of sugar for total consumption is in excess of the total quantity produced, India has to import a large quantity of it.

AGRICULTURE AS A PROFESSION

It is very doubtful, observes the *Commonweal*, whether even one or two per cent of the hundreds of young men, coming from villages, are aware of the magnificent opportunity they have in Agriculture. A young man can easily earn there far more than a clerk's post will bring him in the cities where the cost of living is far higher. Without any considerable capital, it is not difficult to raise the produce of ordinary agricultural lands by 50 per cent, if only he will closely study the latest improvements. A careful observation of existing conditions, and the possibilities of raising better crops, of using better seeds, or of securing the most paying manures, will surely enable an educated young man to earn more in agriculture than an average graduate obtains in the much-prized Secretariat.

INDIGO CROP OF 1917-18

The final general memorandum on the Indigo crop of 1917-18 issued by the Department of Statistics, India, shows the total area is estimated at 690,600 acres which is 10 per cent below the finally revised acreage (770,000) of last year.

The total yield of dye is estimated at 87,800 cwts., as against 95,700 cwts., the finally revised estimate of last year, or a decrease of 8 per cent.

The season has not been altogether favourable. Heavy rainfall and floods adversely affected the crop in Bihar and Orissa, and in parts of the United Provinces. In Sind the crop suffered from low inundation in the beginning of the season.

AGRICULTURE: THE ROAD TO WEALTH

The greatest talk before us, says the *Times of India*, is the increase of the national wealth. The shortest path to that goal is to develop Indian agriculture. After the war there will be intense competition for markets for all kinds of manufactured goods. All the manufacturing nations have enormously increased their capacity for outturn. On the other hand, the demand for all sorts of produce will far exceed the supply. Whilst on the one hand the world's manufacturing power has immensely increased, on the other hand the world's supply of produce has immensely decreased. Some of the best agricultural land has been overrun ; all the agricultural lands in Europe have declined in fertility; and Russia, for instance, will be distracted from production to anarchy for as far ahead as we can see. The world will be bound to come to those countries which have produce to sell, and to pay the high prices which will be demanded. India has a surplus; if her agriculture is properly developed that surplus can be largely increased. Agriculture being the largest industry in India, it stands to reason that any improvement in that agriculture is bound to react more quickly on the general level of prosperity than any development of manufacturing industry, important as that is.

FRUITS IN THE N. W. F. PROVINCE.

The following is from the Annual Report of the Peshawar Agricultural Station at Tarnab in the North-West Frontier Province for the year ended June 30, 1917:—The latest Tarnab peaches and plums have entirely satisfied the fruit growers, the dealers and consumers. On account of its fruitfulness and good quality, the early apricot that was described in last year's report again deserves special mention. A really delicious melting pear fruited at the farm. It may become even more important than the *batang* in the Peshawar market during September. Several of the Mediterranean olives that were planted in 1912 yielded over 15 lbs. of fruit, and two trees bore over 20 lbs. Oranges that were imported in 1912 fruited very well, and several of the trees ripened 200 beautiful oranges. The persimmons continue to bear freely. Some carob seedlings (*cratonia siliqua*), only 5 years of age, gave a crop of small beans. The carob and the commercial olive must eventually become common trees in the N. W. F. Province. Walnuts and almonds also promise to do well in certain parts of the Peshawar District.

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Democracy after the War.—By I. A. Hobson George Allen & Unwin, Ld., London.

In this little book Mr. Hobson draws attention to the extraordinary conversion of the British constitution "for the duration of the war" from a practical democracy to an autocracy, pure and simple.

> The State restricts and regulates our use of food and drink . . and removes the constitutional guarantees of civil liberty. Military and civil authorities may, and do, arrest, deport and imprison men and women without formulating charges or bringing them to trial. The security of *Habeas Corpus* and of trial by jury in open court, in accordance with rules of law, has been abrogated for whole classes of alleged offenders, and in many instances the onus of proving innocence has been thrown on the arrested person . . . Not only the spirit but the very forms of popular self-government have suffered violation, and a self-appointed triumvirate, speaking through a vocal instrument, a War Cabinet, has usurped all the real powers of Government.

Two reflections arise from this undoubtedly accurate summary of the invasions of civil and political liberty in Great Britain. The first is that for success in war the State must be ruled by a dictator. The second is that as compared with our fellow-citizens in Great Britain we in India are singularly fortunate.

With many of Mr. Hobson's deductions we are unable to agree. But it is true that a taste for powers very often develops ; and that there is a real danger that when the war is over "the steel trap will not automatically open." We, therefore, welcome Mr. Hobson's note of warning, and trust that the British democracy will keep their eyes open, and see to it that the rights they have gladly surrendered in the hour of the Empire's danger are loyally restored to them when the danger is past.

Elements of Indian Mercantile Law. By S. R. Davar, Bar-at-Law, College of Commerce, Bombay.

We have much pleasure in welcoming the above publication which, so far as we know, is the first of its kind. It fully justifies its scope and the object which its learned author intends that it should serve, viz., to furnish students of commerce and accountancy as well as the business-man and the professional accountant with a hand-book in which the various branches of the Mercantile Law of India are dealt with. The name of the author is a sufficient guarantee for its thoroughness and comprehensiveness and we find that it succinctly deals with all the branches of mercantile law, viz., in general contracts, agency partnership, insurance, shipping, etc. The book is written in the form of a treatise giving general discussions of the principles underlying the various heads of law in a simple and easy style with copious illustrations and references to the current statutes and the leading case law wherever necessary and, so far as we had occasion to look into the book, we found the statement of the law to be precise and accurate. We consider that not only a business man but every citizen ought to have a copy of the book in his shelf as a *vade-mecum*; the book also contains a useful appendix giving the full text of the principal statutes, the Contract Act and the Companies Act.

Rig-Veda Samhita—Part 1.—Sanskrit Introduction: By Umeschandra Vidyaratna, Published by Asutosh Das, Calcutta.

This is the first volume of an independent interpretation of the Rig Veda projected by an old pandit of Bengal. The work when completed will contain, in addition to a Sanskrit commentary, a Bengali as well as an English translation. The Pandit is not in agreement with any of the existing interpretations of the Veda—whether old like those of Yaska and Sayana or new like those of Roth and Ludwig. The author believes, for instance, that the original home of the Aryans was in Mongolia, that from there they first came to India and then migrated westwards to Europe. He also tries to maintain, at this stage of philological development, that Sanskrit was the parent speech from which the various Indo-European languages are descended. These examples show very well the novelty of his views, and one will not be far wrong in saying that the value of the projected work will be little more than what belongs to a mere curiosity of literature.

BOOKS RECEIVED

MORNINGS WITH ZOROASTER. By Ruby. Published by Maneck Pithawalla. 3, Arsenal Road, Poona.

SACRIFICE AND OTHER PLAYS. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan & Co, London.

THE SAFETY-CURTAIN AND OTHER STORIES. By Ethel M. Dell, T. Fisher Unwin, Ld., London.

THE NATURE OF MYSTICISM. By C. Jinarajadasa, M. A. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

ENQUIRY AFTER GOD. By Kutbudin Sultan. Thompson & Co,, Madras.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA

THE HOUSEHOLDER'S DHARMA. By Champat Rai Jain. Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah.

SPEECHES OF B. G. TILAK. (1) Edited and Published by R. R. Srivastava. The National Book Depot, Fyzabad. (2) Another collection by Tirumalai & Co., Madras.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

March 24. Sir John Anderson, Governor of Ceylon, died to-day.

March 25. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce held its annual meeting to-day.

March 26. Sir S. P. Sinha formally opened a Social Service Exhibition in Calcutta, Mr. W. R. Gourlay, Private Secretary to the Governor, presiding.

March 27. H. H. the Begum of Bhopal has offered Rs. 30,000 for purchasing aeroplanes for the War.

March 28. Sir William Meyer's speech in Calcutta on the New War Loan.

The Gurukula anniversary at Hardwar.

March 29. The fifth session of the All-Orissa Students' Conference was held at Cuttack.

Mr. Gandhi presided at the Hindi Conference at Indore.

March 30. The All-India Kankubjya Conference met to-day at Cawnpore, the Hon. Pundit Gokaranath Misra presiding.

Bengal Provincial Conference assembled at Chinsura, the Hon. Mr. A. C. Datta presiding.

March 31. The Hindi Sammelan concluded its sittings to-day after passing some resolutions for advancing Hindi as a *lingua franca*.

April 1. A special committee of the Calcutta Corporation submitted its report on the Primary Education Bill.

April 2. The Sind Provincial Conference at Karachi passed Resolutions *re* release of the internees and advocating Congress League Scheme.

April 3. Lord Ronaldshay presided over a public meeting in Calcutta to do honour to the memory of the late Sir Madhab Chandra Ghose.

April 4. It is announced that Sir Hugh Clifford succeeds Sir John Anderson as Governor of Ceylon.

The Home Government refuses passport to Mr. Tilak and party to proceed to England.

April 5. H. E. the Viceroy allows Mr. Tilak and party to proceed as far as the Cape and then to England pending Home Governments' orders.

April 6. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar accepts Vice-Chancellorship of the Hindu University.

Mr. Rahimtoola Currimbhoy Ibrahim has been elected President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation for the current year.

April 7. Opening of the National Education week in Madras by the Hon. Mr. Justice Sadasiva Ayyar.

April 8. Public meeting in Bombay with the Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah presiding, protests against the cancellation of Mr. Tilak's passports.

April 9. The Premier's speech demanding extreme National sacrifice to win the war.

April 10. A public meeting of the citizens of Calcutta was held this evening with reference to the Premier's appeal to India. Resolutions urging people to enlist and the Government to declare a general amnesty to political prisoners and detenues were passed.

April 11. Loss of Givenchy; troops withdrawn from Armentieres.

German capture of Kharkoff.

April 12. The Colonial Secretary, Colombo, informed Mr. Tilak and party that the War Cabinet has finally decided to stop the deputation.

April 13. Sir Douglas Haig has issued a stirring appeal to the troops.

Severe fighting in Flanders.

April 14. Loss of Baillaul and German advance.

Bombardment of Paris.

Allied success at Hangard.

April 15. H. E. Lord Ronaldshay opened the Calcutta Branch of the Tata Industrial Bank.

General Foch has been appointed Generalissimo of the Allied armies in France.

April 16. A press *communique* is issued prohibiting Home Rule and Congress League deputations to England.

April 17. Mr. Gandhi has issued a *communique* to the Kaira landholders advising them to stick to their vow of Passive Resistance.

Fall of Wytschaete.

April 18. British retirement from Ypres.

Loss of Meteran.

Lloyd George's speech in the House of Commons on Ireland and Man Power Bill.

April 19. Bombay Co-operative Conference met to-day with the Hon. Sallubhai Samaldas in the chair.

A cable announces that General Von Bernhardi commands the German army now operating in Ypres.

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Literary

MAXMULLER ON INDIA

A *Contemporary* recalls the following remarks of the late Professor Maxmuller about India :—

"If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power, and beauty that Nature can bestow—in some parts a very Paradise on earth—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky, the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which will deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant, I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature we, here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semitic race the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human—a life not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life—again I should point to India. Whatever sphere of the human mind you select for your special study, whether it be language, or religion, or mythology, or philosophy; whether it be laws or customs, primitive art or primitive science, everywhere you have to go to India, whether you like it or not, because some of the most valuable and most instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India and in India only."

THE POET'S IDEAL

How well these lines fit in with the character of Mr. M. K. Gandhi :—

Some may follow Truth from dawn to dark
As a child follows by his mother's hand,
Knowing no fear, rejoicing all the way ;
And unto some her face is as a star
Set through an avenue of thorns and fires,
And waving branches black without a leaf ;
And still It draws them though the feet must bleed,
Though garments must be rent, and eyes be scorched :
* * * * * * *
It is not day but night, and oftentimes
A night of clouds wherein the stars are lost.
And such are some of those who speak and live,
And wait, and work, though blunted of desire,
And know that their true life is hid with God.

NEWSPAPERS AND GOVERNMENT

In reply to a question in the Imperial Legislative Council, at one of its recent meetings the Government of India laid on the table a statement showing the names and number of copies of Indian and Anglo-Indian journals subscribed for in the several departments of the Government of India. The following are the figures: The *Pioneer* 44 copies ; the *Times of India* 29 ; the *Statesman* 27 ; the *Civil and Military Gazette* 26 ; the *Capital* 18 ; the *Englishman* and the *Madras Mail* 13 copies each. Of the Indian newspapers the *Bengalee* heads the list with 11 copies.

DEMOCRATIC NOTE IN LITERATURE.

A writer in a *Contemporary* points out :—

"It is curious to hear how some people talk of the democratic principle as if it were a quite modern and rather sudden growth—a spirit of common brotherhood that has been called into being, by the exigencies of the war. Most of us, of course, know better, but that there should be any who do not show in what sort of a paradise a few of us have been living. The democratic spirit has been an undertone in our national life and literature, steadily broadening and gathering force all down the centuries. You may catch sounds of it in Chaucer, a fuller music of it in his contemporary, Langland, and from then onwards, to Browning, Tennyson and the poets of our own day. There is scarcely a poet of importance who does not more or less reveal his consciousness of the brotherhood of man and the vanity and folly of those social distinctions and that system of government which, for no personal merit, places some human creatures gloriously on the heights, and for no personal reason, condemns other human creatures to live and die in utter darkness. And these actual or potential democrats are by no means all plebians ; you find your aristocratic poets, where they have a sense of justice and chivarly, passionately taking their stand on the weaker side—whether it is the courtly Sir John Gascoigne in the sixteenth century, or Shelley and Byron in the nineteenth. It is the same with the prose writers. There are as true and trenchant things said for democracy in good Sir Thomas More's 'Utopia' as in the books of such moderns as Ruskin, Carlyle, Dickens, Mark Rutherford, Mr. H. G. Wells, or Mr. G. B. Shaw. With the making of so many anthologies, I have wondered why nobody compiles an anthology tracing this growth and triumph in our literature of the democratic faith. It is one of the few anthologies that ought to be done.

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Educational

ASSAM SCHOLARSHIPS

The Chief Commissioner of Assam in 1913 sanctioned as a temporary measure for a period of five years an award of forty-six special college scholarships of ten rupees a month to indigent members of the Mahomedan and backward communities of Assam. The term of these scholarships has expired and after reconsideration of the claims of the communities it has been decided to renew the scholarships for a further period of five years.

MUSLIMS AND ILLITERACY

The Muhammadans in Bengal number 24 millions—about half the population—but only 5 per cent of them are literate, while only 60,000 have any knowledge of English. The number of Muhammadan children receiving education is strongly low in the higher schools, the percentage being 50 in primary schools, 34 in middle schools, 20 in high schools, 9 in colleges and 7 in professional colleges.

EDUCATION IN CEYLON

During 1916-17 more than three hundred schools, observes the *National Monthly of Ceylon*, admitted Pulayas and Pariahs for the first time, without any opposition. A few years ago when the Pulayas were first admitted to a school there were serious riots. The number of Pariahs in the schools has increased from 900 to 4,500 in the last five years, and of Pulayas from 3,000 to 10,000.

LANGUAGE AND CITIZENSHIP

It seems to many observers, says the *Times*, a profound mistake to make English and the expression of thought in English the basal necessity of an educational system which aims at the rearing of free Indian citizens capable of exercising an intelligent vote. To relegate citizenship to those who can think in a foreign language is to make education a means rather than an end. It would be an attempt to manipulate the soul of India in the interests of a very nebulous political theory.

THE SHIAH COLLEGE

Replying to the address of welcome from the trustees of the Shiah College, Lucknow, on April 6, Sir Harcourt Butler said that the funds they had collected were insufficient for the purpose. It behoved them to see that their college should be such as to take its place worthily in any university for Oudh that might be established.

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU ON WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Speaking at Jullunder, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said: "Your Vice-Principal Lajjavati has revealed a sad tale that in the Punjab, even this day, there is still a large element of prejudice and bigotry against female education. In the Deccan I used to look forward with hope and eagerness unsurpassed to the day when I would visit your beautiful Vidyalaya and the Province which appeared to me a place of pilgrimage from its distance and fame. It is a sad surprise to me, therefore, to learn that there are people here, who adversely criticise the work of a noble and national institution like yours. The narrow-minded people say that the education of women is to be condemned, because it makes them bold. Brothers, have you forgotten the heroic stories and the scriptures of your own Motherland? It was the privilege of India to possess women who were bolder and braver than men. Yes, even to-day the need is that we the women of India should be bold and go to Yama, Savitri-like and beg of him a new life for Mother India. I say if you condemn boldness, the lack of dependence in women, what do your homages to Chand Bibi and Ahalya Bai signify? You demand political rights, you say you are fit enough to manage things for yourself. Pray do not forget a lame person can but walk slowly, a one-eyed man sees only on one side, and that a carriage with one wheel cannot move properly."

THE SADLER COMMISSION

There is a significant passage in that part of Dr. Sarbadhicary's Convocation Address which deals with the Sadler Commission. It runs as follows:

"In forwarding to the University, the notification appointing the Commission, the Education Department expressed a hope that the University would give the Commission all necessary facilities. There has been no other communication between the University and the Government regarding the Commission or its work. Nor had the University any communication from the Commission save with regard to information required from time to time. The University has furnished the Commission with all the required information and facilities, but has not shared responsibility in the framing of its questions or the determination of its programme or procedure of work. Nor have any questions been addressed to the University. A certain amount of detachment has thus been imposed. Whatever be the reason actuating this, the University has loyally respected this imposition and awaits a better ordering of things."

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Legal

JUSTICE MUTHUSAMI AIYAR

In the course of his reminiscences of the Madras Bench Mr. Eardley Norton writes in the *Looker-on* :—

Muthusami Aiyar was the first Indian Judge to sit on the Madras High Court. A Brahmana born of humble parents, he started life on the very lowest rung of the ladder, I believe on seven rupees a month, till by his own sheer ability he worked his way to the High Court and there died in harness. Sir Alexander Arbuthnot and my father contributed their share to his elevation and Muthusami more than justified them both. Very dark in complexion, he wore no collar, his bands were tied round his ebony throat, and a white and gold turban shone on his head, a diaphanous white dhoti fluttered round his loins, no shoes or stockings disfigured his feet and the round Smartha wafer beckoned amiably between his brows. Always calm, impartial, analytical, he had no favourites at the Bar, and Mylapore and Triplicane were not divided into hostile sects each seeking his favour and his patronage. Muthusami was a born Judge. Many Judges don the stolen garments of a King's Counsel in the Bench but leave their consciences, and sometimes their manners, at home with their butlers. Muthusami carried his conscience into Court and was visibly influenced by it. An erudite Hindu lawyer, there was no field of legal literature in which he was not expert and at home. You had to be on guard when arguing before him. His favourite trick—we all have our own little idiosyncrasies and we all fondle our own little peccadillos—was to propound some terrible and unanswerable A.B.C. conundrum and with his chin resting on his hands to ask you mildly, with the air of a Jesuit Father going to evensong, what would be your answer to such a condition of affairs. If you hesitated, he dug another conundrum into you, his bare toes all the time twitching convulsively in public view.

Those toes fascinated me. I could follow the trend of their owner's intellectual vacillations by their comprehensive expansion and retraction. One motion was accepted as indicative of the end of all things. When the big toe of Muthusami's right foot leaned over and clutched its neighbour, argument was at an end and judgment ready. You knew from the viciousness of the embrace which way it would be. A mere temporary touch was not unfavourable. A long, firm, passionate cling meant defeat.

To great intellectual powers Muthusami united indomitable hard work and an innate modesty of character and temperament which made him the most distinguished individual in any gathering of officials. He carried his simplicity to such an extent that when he received a C. I. E. he really believed it was an honour. He was used as the brake-horse of the Bench. Each new judicial colt was harnessed to him and he pulled the neophyte round dangerous corners, forced him to trot instead of gallop in the straight and never knew he was shaping all the while the lives of future knights. But the work killed him and he died as he had lived a gentleman at his post. In the New High Court, at the broad junction of four passages, his marble likeness on a marble chair, wisdom on his front and integrity in every feature Muthusami Aiyar sits pointing the way to the younger generation of Indian lawyers and smiling on me when I pay my pilgrimage to his shrine the warm and winning welcome with which, first for my father's sake and later, I am proud to believe, for my own he greeted my arrival to dear old, sleepy, parochial Madras where two generations of ancestors bid me go in and win my spurs.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

At the Sind Provincial Conference, held at Karachi on the 30th March, Mr. Murlidhar Jeramdas Panjabi, the President, in the course of his address referred to the harsh and unjustifiable manner in which the Press Act was being worked by the executive authorities. After giving recent instances of press security being demanded and of the futility of appeals lodged in the High Courts against executive decisions he remarked :—" It is a well-known maxim of law that every one is to be presumed innocent until guilt is proved. But in the operation of the Press Act the two important words, 'innocent' and 'guilt,' have changed places and the maxim has been reversed. Not only is this true, but the most intolerable feature of the Act is that it is sometimes applied not, as was originally intended, to suppress sedition and disloyalty, but legitimate criticism of men and measures of a kind that is unpalatable to executive officials. It is to be hoped that the Government of India is taking note of the complaints constantly made in the press and on the platform regarding the unjustifiable manner in which the Act is worked and will either repeal the Act or modify it on popular lines."

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Medical

TRAVELLING DISPENSARIES

In the course of the budget debate in the Bombay Legislative Council this year, the Hon. Mr. Kamath moved a resolution recommending that the provision for opening new dispensaries contained in the Financial Statement be increased by Rs. 20,000 for the establishment of travelling dispensaries in selected rural areas of the Presidency and that a corresponding reduction be made under the head of "Irrigation." Of course the usual grant of Rs. 30,000 for new dispensaries was increased in this year's budget to Rs. 60,000; but even this amount is not sufficient to carry medical relief to the doors of the rural population: The inadequacy of the progress made during the last three years is observable in the fact that only 20 dispensaries have been newly opened, of which 12 were in the districts. The Surgeon-General requisitioned the aid of "experience," and stated that a fixed dispensary in an unhealthy district was often better than a travelling one; but it is difficult for one to be convinced of the soundness of this "expert opinion" particularly as the Surgeon-General himself added that the idea was not a new one, and that there were 15 travelling dispensaries doing malarial work before the war. Another argument of the head of the Medical department was the paucity of assistant surgeons in War time who could be placed in charge of the dispensaries and another official plea was that it was useless to vote money when no assistant surgeons were available. But observes the *Commonweal* we heartily agree with the suggestions of Mr. Kamath, that the services of retired sub-assistant surgeons could be easily requisitioned for the purpose. We are, however, glad the Surgeon-General assured the Council that he was going to bring a proposal before a committee of the Council in connection with the question, and on the strength of this assurance the resolution was withdrawn. In any case the paucity of assistant surgeons cannot be a reasonable plea against the extension of the system of travelling dispensaries over a greater area.

X RAYS FOR ARMY HOSPITALS

It has been decided to provide an operating theatre and X ray block for all hospitals for British and Indian troops, where such accommodation may be authorised, on an improved scale which is set out in an army instruction.

SIR SANKARAN NAIR ON AYURVEDA.

The Hon. Sir C. Sankaran Nair presided at the 29th Annual Meeting of the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi, Madras. In the course of his speech he said:—

Laymen were apt to look askance at the present day division of medicine into "systems." Knowledge and fact are not the special property of any one sect, any one race, and any one country. They belong to the world. The votaries of science were building up a great body of doctrine. They were day by day extracting secrets from nature that promised incalculable benefit to mankind. The echoes of their labours reached even those who were not directly concerned in the advancement of science. One of the results was that they all demanded and expected much more of their physicians than they formerly did. "Some of us," he said, "even have the temerity to criticize our physicians and wonder how much of the treatment to which we are submitted has a scientific basis. We are no longer content to look upon you as the high priests of a system of mysteries. Such healthy scepticism was likely to grow and increase and in the future there would be no room for practitioners of systems of medicine who were unwilling to absorb the facts of "systems" other than their own. They should remember always that doctrines and theories were made to explain facts. Theories might have to go or be modified to the facts, but facts could not be explained away. They must be all firmly imbued with such ideas, for otherwise they would acknowledge their unworthiness to be called disciples of the great founders of their systems." The greater their knowledge of the teaching of science, the greater will be their reverence for the philosophers of old who in spite of "means so limited and tools so rude accomplished so much." What would they not have done with opportunities such as the 20th century offered to those present.

He further continued: "It connot be gainsaid that the medicine of the future will be more concerned with the prevention of disease than its cure, and I am very pleased to learn that hygiene is a compulsory subject for all your students. If in that hygiene course you obtain a good working knowledge of how the chief diseases that afflict India are conveyed and spread and how to live so as to avoid contagion, you will be equipped to play a part in the noble task of spreading the gospel of health to all parts of India and carry light and happiness to some of the darkest corners of the land."

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Science

THE AUTOMOBILE

The *Scientific American* writes that during the twenty-two years since the introduction of automobiles in America about five and a half million automobiles of all types are in use throughout the world, four and a quarter million, or 77 per cent. are within the borders of the United States. The automobile industry, we learn, is now the third largest, and it is not one likely to dwindle down. The writer thinks that one of the after-effects of the War will be the stimulation of motor travel and motor transportation.

The extensive, varied and highly successful employment of all types of automobiles by all the military forces involved, and in every part of the world where fighting has taken place or where troops have been mobilised, has paved the way for a similar widespread use in commercial activities.

Food shortage is bringing into requisition a large number of agricultural tractors. There were 39,000 constructed in the U.S.A. during 1916; 50,000 in 1917, and this year a still greater demand, but owing to scarcity of materials, labour shortage, shipping conditions, etc., the demand is likely to outweigh the supply. And then there is the future of the aircraft, which it is impossible to forecast. Difficulties as regards motor fuel will occur of course, but they will doubtless be met, when the exigencies of the time absolutely demand. Looking backward one cannot but marvel at the revolution in our lives that has been caused by the coming of the automobile, and we sometimes wonder how the world managed to get on without them.

THE 24 CENTIMETRE GUN

We learn that Paris has been shelled by the 24 centimetre gun. The only new contribution to exact knowledge regarding its attributes, observes the *Statesman*, relates to the highest point of its trajectory, an easily calculable phenomenon, given length of base—seventy miles from gun emplacement to point of impact of the shell—and the angle of descent. The height—23 miles, or 121,440 feet—is enormous, comparing as it does with the 5,400 feet to which a rifle or machine-gun bullet will rise and the 12,000 or 13,000 feet which is the maximum height obtainable with the ordinary field gun. The height is suggestive of howitzer rather than gun mechanism, although the drawback of the howitzer has always been its comparative shortness of range—only nine miles in the case of the 16¾inch "Bertha." Expert opinion appears to preponderate in favour of the theory of a gigantic explosive charge, possibly of a very slow exploding quality, as compared with the theory of fresh momentum supplied to the projectile *en route*. To the last-named, kinetic and dynamic principles appear to offer almost insuperable obstacles. If a huge propulsive charge be the explanation, the new German monster will be classed by history as but one more German folly comparable with the Hindenburg statue, the Zeppelin, and the mystery ship which enjoyed a brief butterfly existence off the Flemish coast.

ONE WHEEL TRACTORS

With a view to eliminating the possibility of minor collisions which so often take place in narrow and restricted thoroughfares, and to enable a vechicle to be readily extricated from congested areas, a one-wheel tractor of a simple design has been brought out, which seems to meet with much favour. The outstanding feature of the tractor is implied by its name. It has only one wheel which is steered through conventional-type gearing. The power unit is an engine with a bore and stroke of $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. by $5\frac{1}{8}$ ins., respectively. High-tension magneto is used for ignition and the cooling water is carried in a tank which has a 56-gallon capacity. It is so disposed as to counterbalance the weight of the engine. The drive from the engine is transmitted through a clutch to a three-speed gear-box. There are the usual two brakes, the service brake being carried on the cross shaft and is externally operated, while the emergency brake is internally placed. Stability is given to the tractor by attaching the rearwardly-extending main frame to the front axle of the wagon. The weight is balanced on the single wheel, so that the wagon axle is not overloaded; it simply gives support to the tractor. The attachment to a wagon need not be permanent.—*Mysore Economic Journal.*

NEW BATTERY FOR ELECTRIC POCKET LAMPS

A dry battery for electric pocket lamps has been invented by a citizen of Zurich, Switzerland, according to a recent Consular Report. It is said to be cheaper, better, and of simpler construction than those now in use. Instead of a single block battery, it consists of three separate and distinct elements which are placed side by side in the metal lamp case. The chief improvement is the possibility of substitution for a single element in case the battery is out of order. In the event of the battery becoming defective, the voltage of each element is tested to ascertain which one is useless, and it may then be replaced by a single new element.

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Personal

GENERAL FOCH

General Foch has been appointed to command the forces of the Allies on the Western front where the War is now raging with tremendous fury. Born at Metz and educated at the Ecole Polytechnique, the General is now 66 years. In the early days of the war he took part in the operations in Lorraine, and General Joffre was quick to recognise his merit for the command of the newly-formed ninth Army was given to him on August, 20. In that capacity General Foch took up his head-quarters at Doullens, north of Amiens, and assumed the direction of the forces arrayed between Dunkirk and Compiegne. Later, at the time of the battle of the Marne, General Foch was in command of an army who had the honour of throwing back the Prussian Guard into the marshes of St. Gonds. By this feat and by his general conduct of operations he had a leading part in the winning of the battle of the Marne. It was he who later commanded the group of the Armies of the North, and he was in command of two offensives, in Artois in 1915 and on the Somme in 1916. At the end of the latter year General Foch was replaced by General Franchet d'Esperey, and he was subsequently employed on various missions, notably in France and Italy. Later he was sent to replace General Petain at the War Office, as Chief of the General Staff of the Army. Lord French and Sir Douglas Haig had repeatedly acknowledged his help and valuable co-operation in terms which left no room for doubt.

In person General Foch is slim and bears his 66 years with ease and grace. His grey-blue eyes give a singularly-striking impression of a man whose life has been devoted to translating philosophy into terms of the casualty list. His speech betrays the mathematician. It is precise and logical. Its rapidity betrays the man of action. Such is the man who now controls the Allied forces on the Western front.

The latest cable announces that General Foch is appointed Generalissimo of all Allied armies in France The respective Governments have given General Foch the widest powers in order that he may act and his actions will not be questioned, thus an absolutely united Anglo-Franco-American army is constituted.

THE LATE J. N. FRASER

Education in India has suffered a great loss by the sad death of Professor Nelson Fraser which occurred at Bombay on the 12th March after a short illness. "There was certainly no educationist official or layman, in this country," wrote the *Times of India* in its obituary notice, "who possessed so minute and extensive a knowledge of the various systems of education practised throughout the world, and few who had the capacity to estimate and value their relative merits. Professor Fraser applied this knowledge to the problems of education in India, the country in whose service he had whole-heartedly devoted twenty of the best years of his working life, with a burning desire to forward the cause of education in this country."

Mr. Fraser was one of the oldest contributors to the *Indian Review*. He was long editing the *Indian Education* and it is sad to think that we shall miss his sprightly articles on educational topics in many an Indian Journal.

THE LATE SIR JOHN ANDERSON

The death of Sir John Anderson, Governor of Ceylon on the morning of March 24 has caused intense grief all over Ceylon. He had been Governor of the Island since 1916. Previous to his arrival in the Island he was for five years Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies and still earlier (from 1904-11) he had for a long period been Governor of the Straits Settlements. Sir John Anderson was born in Aberdeenshire in 1858 and was a graduate of Aberdeen University. He accompanied the Prince of Wales (now King George) on his colonial tour.

King George called on hearing the news of Sir John's death :—"I have received with heartfelt regret the news of the death of Sir John Anderson and am sure that the people of Ceylon will join with me in mourning the loss of their distinguished Governor whom I knew and held in the highest regard for many years."

The following is from the Secretary of State for the Colonies : "Regret your telegram of the 24th March announcing the death of Sir John Anderson whose distinguished service to the Colonial Office and to the British Empire during nearly 40 years have always commanded the highest appreciation of my predecessors and myself. Please convey my keen sympathy to his relatives in Ceylon."

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Political

THE HOME RULE DEPUTATION

It is regrettable that the Home Rule Deputation headed by Mr. B. G. Tilak should have been stopped by orders of the War Office while the party had gone so far as Colombo. The deputation had been subjected to a great deal of unnecessary vexations by a series of contradictory orders. While we have reason to be thankful to the Viceroy for his kindly though fruitless intervention the tone of the following *communique* from Simla, under date 16th April, is very much resented :

" The question of passports for Home Rule and Congress delegates came again before the Cabinet to-day. The Cabinet have reaffirmed the decision that, in the existing circumstances, none of the Home Rule delegates can be allowed to proceed to this country. It is considered by His Majesty's Government that the journey on which these persons have embarked was uncalled for and the purpose of it lacking in any sufficient justification. It was proposed by those persons, at a period when the Secretary of State himself was in India for the purpose of ascertaining the views of every section of the community, when his conclusions were still unknown and had not yet been submitted to His Majesty's Government, to come to England in the avowed role of agitators, to start an uncompromising propaganda in favour of a Home Rule of their own. Such a proceeding at any time would be improper. Under the existing circumstances, when the country is waging a great war and is confronted with a crisis of the greatest magnitude which calls for a supreme concentration of national effort and so far as is possible, the suspension of purely political agitation and platform controversy in whatever interest, it is one in which the Government could not acquiesce. Further the generous intentions of His Majesty's Government which have already been demonstrated by the pronouncement of the Secretary of State in Parliament and his visit to India would be seriously compromised and might be fatally impaired, if an attempt were made before, or at the very moment when they were considering his report, to force their hands by a premature and possibly harmful propaganda. It is with regret that His Majesty's Government are compelled to give this harmful decision but they have no alternative."

INDIAN MESSENGER IN ENGLAND

Mr. Joseph Baptista writes to Mr. Kelkar, regarding the representation of the National Congress at the Nottingham Labour Conference :—

"I am told India received a magnificent and unparalleled ovation in the person of Mr. Polak. Many present who met me in my political perigrinations regretted that I was not the messenger. It would have made "a world of difference" said several. I believe this is correct—not on account of any personal merit, but simply because I am an Indian. Englishmen believe in Indians representing India, and they are certainly far more impressed by Indians advocating their cause even though they may not possess the ability or the influence of some of our staunch friends among Englishmen."

MR. CHESTERTON ON NATIONALITY

Mr. Gilbert K. Chesterton says in one of his charming essays :—

" I am quite certain Ireland is a nation ; I am quite certain that nationality is the key to Ireland. I am quite certain that all our failures in Ireland arose from the fact that we would not, in spirit, treat it as a nation. It would be difficult to find even among the innumerable examples that exist a stronger example of the immensely superior importance of sentiment to what is called practicality than this case of the two sister nations."

EXODUS TO THE HILLS

The questionof the summer migration of officials to the hills has been thoroughly discussed throughout India and it has become one of the few subjects on which independent Indian and European opinions are in perfect agreement. Referring to the Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel's resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council, " Ditcher" writes in *Capital* :—

"Mr. Patel attacked the subject with such force of argument as to compel the official apologists to take refuge in a miserable *petitio principi*. Mr. Curtis must have blushed at himself when he put forward the plea that unless the Mahabaleshwar trip were allowed, good men in England would not come to Bombay as Governors. My sainted aunt!

"The only party that supports the exodus is the official and this is done against the will of the entire country, but this defiance of public opinion cannot continue long."

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General

MR. GANDHI AND THE KAIRA DISTRESS

In the course of a letter to the press Mr. Gandhi wrote on March 29 :—

"In the district of Kaira the crops for the year 1917-18 have, by common admission, proved a partial failure. Under the Revenue Rules, if the crops are under four annas the cultivators are entitled to full suspension of the revenue assessment for the year, if the crops are under six annas, but over four annas, half the amount of assessment is suspended. So far as I am aware, the Government have been pleased to grant full suspension with regard to one village out of nearly 600, and half suspension in the case of over 104 villages. It is claimed on behalf of the ryots that the suspension is not at all adequate to the actuality. The Government contend that in the vast majority of villages crops have been over six annas. The only question, therefore, at issue is, whether the crops have been under four annas or six annas, as the case may be or over the latter figure.

* * *

"It is known to the public that the Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh and Mr. V. J. Patel, invited and assisted by the Gujarat Sabha, carried on investigations, as also Messrs. Deodhar, Joshi, and Thakkar of the "Servants of India Society." Their investigation was necessarily preliminary and brief and therefore confined to few villages only. But the result of their enquiry went to show that the crops in the majority of cases were under four annas. As their investigation not being extensive enough, was capable of being challenged, as it was challenged, I undertook a full enquiry with the assistance of over 20 capable, experienced and impartial men of influence and status. I personally visited over 30 villages and met as many men in the villages as I could, inspected in these villages most of the fields belonging to them, and after a searching cross-examination of the villagers came to the conclusion that their crops were under four annas. As to the *Rabi* crops and the still standing *Kharif* crops, I was able, by the evidence of my own eyes, to check the statements of the agriculturists. The methods employed by my co-workers were exactly the same. In this manner nearly four hundred villages were examined, and with but a few exceptions, crops were found to be under four annas, and only in three cases they were found to be over six annas."

Since this letter was penned things have taken a rather serious turn, the Government having decided on their own course. Mr. Gandhi thereupon has advised passive resistance, and we read: "Mr. Gandhi and his associates are touring in the interior of the affected district encouraging and heartening the agriculturists to keep their oath. Some 2,000 agriculturists have signed the pledge refusing to pay land revenue. Creditable reports go to show that the enthusiasm of the farmers is increasing though many have lost a good deal in the struggle. In his addresses to passive resisters Mr. Gandhi is exhorting them to maintain civility to Government officials and eternal faith in the justice of their struggle which was for preserving their rights."

Meanwhile the Commissioner of the Division has addressed the landholders, and agriculturists pointing out "the folly and danger some of them were running in by refusing payment of land revenue on the advice of Mr. Gandhi and his friends." He said that in the current season after the fullest enquiry and consideration of all objections and petitions brought forward by Mr. Gandhi and others, officers of the Government passed final orders regarding revenue suspensions that may be justly and reasonably allowed, and those orders must be accepted as final.* * * * To those who were under a pledge or vow not to pay revenue, he urged that it was no shame to break the vow made without proper consideration. Continuing, the Commissioner said "your advisers had been going about freely without any hindrance, making speeches and lectures, but there had been no interference with them because their activities and their advice, bad as it is in most cases, is based upon ignorance, misconception and misunderstanding. If, after full notice and information and warning, you allow yourselves to be misled by this mistaken advice you yourselves will be responsible for the consequences."

Following this Mr. Gandhi has issued another *communique* in which he points out in answer to the threat held out by the Commissioner : —

"The War cannot be permitted to give license to officials to exact obedience to their orders, even though the raiyats may consider them to be unreasonable and unjust.

I venture to suggest that the Commissioner's attitude constitutes a peril far graver than the German peril, and I am serving the Empire in trying to deliver it from this peril from within."

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

Vol. XX. JULY, 1919 No. 7.

THE REFORM BILL

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

WHEN the controversy on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was at its height, I ventured to observe :—

"The authors deserve the thanks of the country for the honest and sincere attempt they have made to start India on the road to responsible government. I feel that when the storm and dust of controversy is over, even the few adverse critics of the Report will give Mr. Montagu a place among the small band of noble Britishers who have laboured for the good of India."

After reading the full text of the Bill, the Memorandum and Mr. Montagu's great speech in the House of Commons on the occasion of its Second Reading, I feel convinced more than ever that India's confidence in Mr. Montagu was rightly placed. Despite the defects and the shortcomings of the Bill now before Parliament, few will venture to deny that it is a genuine attempt to embody the main principles enunciated in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

THE DEPUTATIONS AND THE BILL.

As no other satisfactory alternative scheme could now be considered, the only course open is to accept *diarchy* as the basic principle of the Bill and try to suggest modifications which will improve and widen its scope. It is a matter for great satisfaction that the endeavours of the Moderate Deputation headed by Messrs. Surendranath Bannerjee, Sastri and others are now directed towards this end. We are glad that in their efforts they are supported by Mrs. Besant and by the Hon. Mr. Yakub Hassan who represents the Muslim League. It is a great pity that the Congress Deputation, disregarding even the advice of Mr. Tilak, is persisting in advocating the resolutions of the Delhi Congress, when everybody knows that the older and more experienced Congressmen have disapproved of them as they cut at the root of the Scheme of the Joint Report. It is deeply to be deplored that the Congress Deputation headed by men like Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao should make unity among the Deputations impossible, when such a fearless and doughty champion as Sir C. Sankaran Nair himself has in his historic Minute of Dissent accepted the principles of the Scheme and contented himself with suggesting some important modifications "strictly consistent with its principles."

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

Viewing the Bill from that standpoint, it would still be idle to disguise the fact that all sections of politicians feel keenly that it contains no provision for any reform in regard to the Central Government. Even a cursory perusal of their criticisms will show that there is complete unanimity of opinion that the reforms proposed in regard to the Government of India are of the feeblest and of the most unsatisfactory character.

As Sir Dinshaw Wacha and his colleagues have pointed out in their very able and telling Memorandum on the Joint Scheme, the Reforms of the Government of India are altogether based on a wrong formula for which there is no justification in the terms of the announcement of August 20. The distinguished authors of the Report have given absolutely no valid reason as to why "the Government of India *must* remain *wholly* responsible to Parliament," and why even the *beginnings* of responsible Government in the Government of India should be withheld.

It is entirely wrong in principle and is bound to lead to rigidity and unprogressiveness at the centre of the body politic, which would react on the freedom, elasticity and growth of provincial administrations.

THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Opinion is fairly unanimous that the Council of State must go. It is justly regarded as "a

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discredited device," and second chambers have, on the whole, been far from successful, and there is an apprehension that it may "lead to heat, irritation and bad blood, imperilling the constitution itself." It has evidently been conceived as "an antidote to the elective majority in the Legislative Assembly," and "to serve as a screen, thin though it be, to cover the continuance of the present system of Government." If this ill-fated second chamber is to remain at all, the elected element in it should be strengthened, and it should be shorn of some at least of the powers proposed to be conferred on it.

Without entering into a detailed examination of the various provisions of the Bill, we would draw attention to what is generally considered as some of its objectionable features which it should be the endeavour of the Joint Committee to remove. We refer, for instance, to the extraordinary provision forbidding the Legislatures in India to repeal or alter any rules under the Act, to the restrictions imposed on the power of the purse, the powers vested in the Governor to block the progress of a Bill, to the invidious provisions in regard to the salary and status of the Ministers and to the somewhat wide powers given to the Governor-General in regard to certification.

CONTROL OF THE PURSE.

While we are glad that many of the reactionary proposals of the Government of India have not been embodied in the Bill we consider it a matter for regret that Mr. Montagu has, in the important question of financial arrangements, not stuck resolutely to his original proposal of one joint purse but has left it open to the Joint Committee to consider the highly retrograde suggestion of the Government of India for separate purses. The proposal of the Government of India has been unanimously condemned, and as Sir Sivaswami Aiyar with his experience as Indian Member of the Madras Executive Council has rightly pointed out in his Memorandum prepared for the Madras Liberal League:—

> The separate purse system proposed by the Government of India will have the pernicious effect of dividing the house into two hostile camps each unmindful of the just claims of the other and anxious to aggrandise and benefit itself by extravagant expenditure. While the joint discussion and settlement of the budget by the entire Government will have an educative effect in promoting a better understanding of the needs of all subjects by the different members of the Government and a spirit of compromise, the system proposed by the Government of India will have the deplorable effect of creating a feeling of antagonism between the interests of the reserved and transferred departments and will imperil the sucess of the Reform Scheme.

But the mischief will not stop here. As Sir Sankaran Nair has observed in his Minute of Dissent, the cumulative effect of the Government of India's financial suggestions will be "to place the Minister and the Legislative Council in relation to transferred departments not only in a position of no real responsibility but virtually in subordination to the Executive Councils." The adoption of the proposal of the separate purse would certainly be a "negation of responsibility," and altogether opposed to the spirit of the Declaration of the 20th August.

FISCAL AUTONOMY.

There is intense disappointment too at the omission of a definite pronouncement with regard to Fiscal Autonomy. It is the thing on which the entire country has been keen for years. It is the absence of it that has caused Indian interests often to be victimised to propitiate other vested interests. The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy voices the general feeling of the country when he says:

> Consistent with Imperial interests, it should be possible to formulate a scheme of scientific tariffs dictated by the interests of India. I cannot help thinking that if a radical change of policy had been outlined in regard to fiscal matters, the disappointment of the public at certain features of the scheme in the reform should not have been so keenly felt.

It would be well to remember the warning of Sir James Brunyate that "the Reform Scheme will, to a large extent, be offered to India in vain if that question is not disposed of as nearly simultaneously as may be practicable."

GRAND COMMITTEES.

We regret to find that in the Bill under discussion the provision in regard to the constitution of Grand Committees is still retained. It has been condemned by every shade of Indian opinion. The Grand Committee is evidently created to serve as a check on the popular Assembly, "and is in itself therefore an undesirable institution." According to the proposal it is to consist of 40 to 50 per cent. of the whole Council and that means that a large number of elected members are to be excluded from it—a procedure which is bound to be resented. The purpose of the Grand Committee could very well be attained by adopting the suggestion of the Bombay Government then presided over by Lord Willingdon that in the reserved sphere of legislation the votes of 40 per cent. of the

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members present may be deemed sufficient to carry a measure through the Council. Furthermore, as pointed out by Sir Sankaran Nair, the safeguard of the Imperial Legislative Council for all affirmative legislation and the powers of veto possessed by the Governor and the Viceroy to negative any act which is passed by the local Legislative Council and the power of Ordinance for urgent occasions would be amply sufficient.

THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

We feel bound to take exception to the proposal in the Bill that the main rights and duties of the services in India should be reduced to statutory form. The proper course would be to leave the Governments in India, acting with their legislatures to regulate their own services. And as a well-informed Indian publicist has pointed out in the columns of *India* 'it is an anamoly that a great Government should be compelled to conduct its administration with the aid of services regulated and recruited and safe-guarded by outside authority. Such a position is incompatible with the very idea of authority." The correct view of the position has been thus stated by Prof. A. B. Keith in his able Memorandum affixed to the Report of the Committee on the Home Administration of Indian affairs :—

As regards the public services of India, I am strongly of opinion that there are grave constitutional objections to regulating their conditions of service by an Imperial Act or by regulations made under it, thus withdrawing from the legislatures of India the control of legislation regarding these services. Moreover it is essential in the interest of decentralisation that, as far as possible, the Secretary of State should abandon detailed control of the conditions of service of officers in India, and that changes in the existing conditions should be subjected to the criticism of the legislatures under safeguards against unjust treatment of members already in the services. The proposal to compel the Secretary of State in Council to create a Public Service Commission, and to assign to it such functions as he thinks fit regarding the public services in India, appears to me to be wholly incompatible with the fundamental principles of the reform scheme, and the proposal to provide by Imperial Act that no office may be added to, or may be withdrawn from, the public service, and that the emoluments of any post may not be varied without the concurrence of a finance authority designated by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council is, I think, an injudicious attempt to establish by legislation which cannot be varied by local legislation a principle of undoubted value, but one which cannot properly be given a place in an Imperial Act.

SPECIAL INTERESTS.

We must also strike a note of warning against any attempt to make any provisions in the Bill on the "theory of divided interest." As Mr. Gandhi pointed out :—

One cannot help noticing an unfortunate suspicion of our intentions regarding the purely British as distinguished from the purely Indian interests. Hence, there is to be seen in the scheme elaborate reservations on behalf of these interests. I think that more than anything else it is necessary to have an honest, frank and straightforward understanding about these interests and for me personally this is of much greater importance than any legislative feat that British talent alone or a combination of British and Indian talent may be capable of performing. I would certainly, in as courteous terms as possible, but equally emphatic, say that these interests will be held subservient to those of India as a whole and that therefore they are certainly in jeopardy in so far as they may be inconsistent with the general advance of India.

Indians very rightly claim that where the interests of India and England conflict the interests of India should not be subordinated to those of England ; and Britishers should not forget what John Bright was never tired of repeating that the good of England must come through the channels of the good of India.

In the past it has been our melancholy experience that many a great scheme nobly planned has been shorn of its beneficence at the hands of the bureaucracy by the narrow and petti-fogging spirit in which they have been interpreted and worked ; Parliament cannot be too careful in providing safeguards against "the hazards of bureaucratic jealousy." The Pronouncement of August 20 has justly been regarded by the educated classes in India as a pledge binding the Imperial Government in regard to its future relations with India. Mr. Curtis rightly warned the British public when he said, "Our danger lies in pledges being so framed that mere delay and failure to take the necessary steps forth-with will expose us to a charge of breach of faith."

Hence the insistence by politicians of all classes and creeds that adequate assurance should be given that full responsible government shall be established in India within a reasonable period.

Indian Reforms : The Govt. of India Bill, 1919.— With the full text of the Bill, the Memorandum, Mr. Montagu's Speech and Sir Sankaran Nair's Minutes ; Summaries of Southborough Committee's Reports, Government of India's despatches and connected papers.

First Edition. Price Re. 1.

To Subscribers of the I.R., As. 12.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

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THE REFORM PROPOSALS

A SYMPOSIUM.

H. H. The Maharaja of Bikaner.

With respect to the proposed constitutional reforms it would be superfluous for me to speak of the well-known and whole-hearted sympathy of Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha with whom it was a very great pleasure to be once again associated and whose devotion to duty and loyalty and patriotism for India require no testimony from me. I, however, had several opportunities of discussing these reforms with Mr. Lloyd George and I had the pleasure of listening to Mr. Montagu's fine speech in the House of Commons during the second reading of the Bill. Although we shall probably encounter a certain amount of opposition to the reforms in certain quarters in England, it is my confident belief that the Bill will go through under the able leadership of Mr. Montagu and with the support of His Majesty's Government. (*From an interview published in the 'Times of India'*).

Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray.

It is difficult to form an adequate idea of the Bill from the skeleton supplied by the Government of India. It is a matter for congratulation however, that some of the retrograde and reactionary proposals of the Government of India have not been accepted by Mr. Montagu. The most unsatisfactory feature of the Bill is that the Governor has been given almost unlimited power of certification even in matters of transferred subjects, as this is likely to curtail the power and responsibility of the Legislative Assembly. I welcome, however, the provision that not less than 70 per cent. of members will be elected and this I believe, will afford an excellent ground for the training of the electoral colleges. The ring of earnestness and sincerity in Mr. Montagu's speech in introducing the Bill in the House of Commons prompts me to hope that some at any rate of the objectionable features of the Bill will be eliminated when it becomes law.—*From the 'Bengalee.'*

The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea

We are anxious that the Reform Bill should not be delayed in its passage through Parliament. The educated community of India desire that their views should be placed in the fullest possible manner before the joint committee which will probably be constituted in a few days.

There are two or three points to which I desire to call special attention. In the first place, there should not be any deviation in a reactionary direction from the joint scheme as formulated by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu; and, secondly, there should be some measure of responsibility in the Central Government. The message of August 20, 1917, makes responsible government the end and aim of British rule in India, to be attained by progressive stages of realisation. The scheme provides for such realisation in the provincial governments, but not at all in the Central Government, which will continue to be entirely bureaucratic as at present.

The Government of India in their last despatch make recommendations which amount to a whittling down of the scheme in some essential matters. For instance, with regard to the Budget control by the Legislative Council in the provinces, the recommendations of the Legislative Councils will not be binding, as proposed under the joint report. This report made them obligatory upon the Government, except when the Governor in the interests of public peace and tranquillity considers it necessary to modify a resolution.

The control of the Budget is the crux of the matter, and educated India will deeply regret any departure from this important recommendation in the joint report, which was in 1918 supported by the entire Executive Council of the Government of India and the Council of the Secretary of State for India.

A good deal has been said about the impracticability of diarchy, which has been recommended in the joint report and finds a place in the Bill. Five provincial Governments are against it. Many things in practical politics seem at first to be impracticable, which, however, when put to the actual test are quite good in practice. For instance, the South African Union was considered to be an impracticability. It is, on the whole, working satisfactorily enough. How can there be the gradual introduction of responsible Government in the provinces without diarchy, without certain branches of administration being made over to popular Ministers who, though appointed by the Governor, would be responsible to the Legislative Council? Being placed in charge of distinct departments of the administration, with responsibility to the Legislative Council, they would acquire a training, and the diarchy is only a transitional arrangement which is to be replaced by full measure of provincial autonomy when the Commission to be appointed has pronounced it to be a success.

In truth we have a disguised form of diarchy even now under the present unified administrative system. There are members in charge of distinct departments which sometimes overlap one another, and there is no friction of any kind, and there will be none in the dual system, because the Governor will be the head of the whole administration and he will be in a position to co-ordinate the different sections of the administration and he will be at the head of the whole administration under the dual control system.

A great deal has been said in England against reform on the ground of our caste differences. The whole theory is grotesquely magnified. Caste differences you have in England also, although perhaps in a less stereotyped form. These differences are rapidly disappearing and, as Mr. Montagu said in his speech, democratic customs are engendered and stimulated by democratic institutions.

They say the great body of our people are illiterate, but in the words of the late Sir George Birdwood, than whom there has not been a greater authority on Indian matters, the Indian peasant is the inheritor of the cultured traditions of his race, extending over thousands of years, and he is, generally speaking, as capable as any other peasantry in the world. [*From an interview published in "The Observer"*].

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Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar.

Diarchy.

In view of the fact that the dualism of the executive is the basic principle of the Joint Report and the Bill and the difficulty of framing any scheme which will provide for real responsibility, short of complete provincial autonomy, there is nothing to be gained by pointing out the defects inherent in the principle of a dual executive, which are admitted by the authors of the Joint Report themselves. Public attention must, therefore, be devoted to the improvement of the scheme in other respects without attacking the very foundation of the whole scheme. . . .

Transferred Subjects.

If there is any subject which satisfies the tests for transfer proposed in paragraph 238 of the Joint Report, it is Education. There is no ground for the assumption of the Government of India that the development and improvement of education would be too heavy a burden for ministers alone to bear. In view of the admitted failure of the policy of Government in the past and in the interests of a well-ordered and symmetrical development of education in all spheres, it is absolutely necessary to transfer the whole of education to popular control. The proposal of the Government of India to transfer primary education alone and to treat secondary, collegiate and technical education as a reserved subject is likely to lead to a conflict of interests between these branches of education and to a lopsided development of one branch or the other at the expense of the other. Education is far more likely to advance under the impetus of popular control than under official guidance. . . .

The development of industries is another subject which has been cut out of the transferred list by the Government of India. The total inadequacy of the existing departments of industries, the lack of expert staff and definite lines of work, the scanty progress achieved by the departments of industries under official guidance and the indifference of the Government till the war to the necessity for making India a self-contained country as far as possible in industrial matters are all reasons in favour of transferring the subject to popular control. The argument based on absence of industrial experience can be used just as much against official control as against ministerial. Whatever expert advice it will be possible for the official part of Government to secure can and will be also utilised by the ministry. . . .

There is no sufficient reason for not including the subject of land revenues among the transferred subjects. The assumption that the masses would suffer, if questions of land revenue were left to be handled by the ministry, is totally baseless. Notwithstanding the defects in the existing system of representation in the provincial legislative councils, the interest of the masses and the backward classes have been zealously looked after by the elected members of the legislative councils.

Separate Purse Condemned.

The allocation of provincial funds between the reserved and transferred subjects is left, under the Bill, to be determined in accordance with rules to be made under the Act, The Joint Report contemplated a single coffer for the entire Government and a single Budget to be framed by the Executive Government as a whole. The amounts to be allocated to the two halves of the Government would be the subject of annual settlement by the Executive Government and the question of new taxation was to be decided by the Governor and the ministers. These proposals have been severely criticised by the Government of India in their Despatch of the 5th March and they recommend a system of separate purse for the reserved and transferred departments. It is unfortunate that the Bill should have left this question open instead of rejecting the proposal of the Government of India and adhering to the scheme outlined in the Joint Report. The proposals of the Government of India have been condemned by the public in no uncertain voice throughout the country. . . . .

The separate purse system proposed by the Government of India will have the pernicious effect of dividing the house into two hostile camps each unmindful of the just claims of the other and anxious to aggrandise and benefit itself by extravagant expenditure. While the joint discussion and settlement of the budget by the entire government will have an educative effect in promoting a better understanding of the needs of all subjects by the different members of the Government and a spirit of compromise, the system proposed by the Government of India will have the deplorable effect of creating a feeling of antagonism between the interests of the reserved and transferred departments and will imperil the success of the Reform Scheme. The official half of the Government will be under a constant temptation to work up their expenditure to the full limits of their available resources even though the needs of their subjects do not expand at anything like the same rate as those of the transferred subjects. Far from being an evil the annual settlement of the allocation will have the advantage of apportioning the supply of funds to the precise needs of the year instead of allowing funds to be provided for a series of years either in excess of or below the actual wants. If the funds provided are in excess there will be a temptation to dissipate them to avoid their falling into the hands of the other half of the government. If the funds are deficient, either the needs of the departments affected must be starved or recourse must be had for fresh taxation. The advantage claimed on behalf of the separate purse system that it offers an incentive to either half of the government to develop its own resources, carries its own condemnation. It is obvious that the development contemplated is mainly by means of taxation. The proposal simply means that the people will be liable to be fleeced by two rival sets of tax gatherers each anxious to swell its own coffers. The proposal will defeat the third principle enunciated by the Government of India that during the transitional period the people must be protected from unjustifiable finance burdens. As observed by the Government of India themselves the success of any scheme of reform must depend upon the spirit in which it is worked by the persons who participate in the work of government. We have no right to assume that they will be unreasonable and introduce safeguards for all conceivable dead-locks on this assumption. . . . . .

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Resumption of Transferred Subjects.

In paragraph 102 of their despatch of the 5th March, the Government of India suggest, that in the event of the ministers not yielding to the wishes of the Governor and the legislature supporting the ministers, the Governor must be empowered to assume the control of the administration of the transferred subjects concerned, until the causes of difference disappear. They propose also that if he is unable to find a complaisant minister within six months, he should move the Secretary of State for revoking the transfer of the portfolio. These proposals are of a highly retrograde character and it is not clear whether they are intended to be adopted or not in the Bill. Reference is made in the proviso to clause 1, sub-clause (2) to rules for the revocation of the transfer of any subject with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council. The existence of such powers of resumption and revocation of transfer will be a Damocles' sword over the heads of ministers to enforce compliance with the wishes of the official half of the Government and will be detrimental to the growth of a sense of responsibility in the ministers and the legislature. The remedy proposed in paragraph 260 of the Joint Report that the question of further transfer or revocation of transfer should be considered at the end of 5 years and again at the time of the periodic commissions, is an ample safeguard against maladministration. . . .

Governor-General's Executive Council.

It is necessary that the Indian element in the Executive Council should be equal in number to the official and European element and this equality should be secured, either by amending clause 21 or by some pledge by the Secretary of State. The tendency of the head of the Government is often to side with the majority. If the Indian element in the Council is in a minority, there is a danger of their views not obtaining sufficient consideration. If the Indian and the non-Indian element are equally balanced, the Governor-General would be obliged to give his mind to the question and feel the responsibility of an arbiter between the divergent views of the Indian and non-Indian elements. In this view, the addition of one more Indian member in the Executive Council proposed by the Government of India will be insufficient and unsatisfactory.

Transfer of Responsibility by the Government.

It is to be regretted that no attempt has been made to transfer any part of the administration in the Government of India to popular control. The subjects of Education and Sanitation, of Commerce and Industries would be eminently suitable for such transfer, as being the subjects which stand most in need of development under the quickening impulse of popular control. In any event, the subjects of the Customs and Tariffs at least should be left to the control of the Legislative Assembly, as a step towards the fiscal autonomy, which it is necessary that India should enjoy in the same manner as the self-governing Dominions of His Majesty. [*Condensed considerably from a lengthy Memorandum on the Bill prepared for the Madras Liberal League.*]

An Indian Publicist.

Restrictions on the Indian Legislatures.

Turn now to some of the important details of the Bill which seem open to exception. Clause 30 forbids the Legislatures in India to repeal or alter any rules under the Act. It is an extraordinary provision. The Secretary of State in Council makes some rules, the Governor-General in Council makes others. The arrangement is proper to start with. But is it proper to withhold from autonomous Legislatures the power to amend them subsequently? Natural growth is impossible so long as external authority is requisite, not to sanction, but even to initiate change. For every small improvement in the rules which experience may prove desirable, it is highly inconvenient to wait till it should please the Secretary of State in Council or the Governor-General in Council to effect it. Of course no one will dispute that in respect of some rules of great constitutional importance the sanction of superior authority must be made a condition precedent. To separate that category is easy. For the rest the Legislatures concerned should be endowed with competency subject, if necessary, to the sanction of the Governor or the Governor-General, as the case may be, but not to that of the Governor in Council or the Governor-General in Council. When the Dominions got their start, some had power given them to incorporate territories and some to establish Upper Houses, when they thought fit. There is such a thing as excessive and intolerable rigidity. We do not overlook clause 9 (7); but it relates only to standing orders governing the procedure of the Councils.

Power of the Purse.

The next great objection is to the restriction on the power of the purse. To an Englishman unacquainted with Indian affairs the first idea of a constitution would be the right of the people to control taxation and expenditure. In the Colonies representative institutions had the power of the purse before the beginnings of responsible government were thought of. It is quite time India had this rudimentary right of a free people. Diarchy involves a certain definite limitation on the power of the purse. The Joint Report of Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu hit the limitation with a fair degree of accuracy. The Bill, however, in sub-clause (2) (*b*) of Clause 9, proposes to give the Governor power to authorise expenditure not allowed by the Legislative Council if he considers it necessary "for the carrying on of any department." This power extends to the transferred functions as well as the reserved. We cannot reconcile ourselves to such a drastic limitation of the financial control of the Legislature over the departments entrusted expressly to it. Mistakes as regards the transferred subjects the elected leaders of the people must have the liberty to make and rectify. Where they are so serious as to interfere with "the safety or tranquillity" of provinces they will fall with the reserved group, and if they do not, the sub-clause in question contains a sufficient safeguard.

Sub-clause (2) (c) of the same clause excludes an undefined portion of the expenditure from the purview of the Council. The contribution to the Central Government and the interest on public debt will be the most important items in this category. But it is also usual to make permanent provision, not dependent

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on the annual vote of the Legislature, for the salaries of high officers appointed directly by the Crown. These would be the head of the Government, the Auditor-General, the Executive Councillors, and the High Court Judges. We trust the list will not be allowed to go further in the rules that may be made for the purpose under this Bill.

Governor's Power to block Bills.

Sub-clause (5) invests the Governor with power to block the progress of a Bill, clause, or amendment after certifying that it affects the interests of a specified reserved subject. Now the power to block legislation is new to the Indian constitution. The non-official majority may, under existing rules, refuse leave to introduce a Bill; but if that majority is agreeable and lets a Bill go through, the head of the Government can only refuse his assent to it at the end. Why is it necessary to invent this extraordinary power to interfere with the Legislature? Let it be noted that this power is not applicable where the legislation proposed concerns exclusively a reserved subject or a transferred subject; it is to be exercised only in the case of "mixed" subjects. The anomaly cannot be justified except on ingenious grounds.

Salary and Status of the Minister.

Exception has been taken by every section of Indian opinion to the suggestion that the salary of the Minister should be determined in future by the Governor or other authority. In fact Indians are extremely sensitive on the question of the comparative status of the Executive Councillor and the Minister. If anything, the advantage and precedence should belong, in their judgment, to the latter. It is almost unpardonable ignorance or disregard of the feeling of those directly concerned to persist in the discrimination, see 3 (1). We fail to see any object in the provision. Indians will watch with the utmost jealousy any inequalities or disparities that may lie in the instrument of instructions to Governors. Let us hope that the draftsman of the instrument will remember this fact when drawing it up.

The Central Government.

In the forefront of our observations on the Government of India part of the Bill must be placed the view that some of its functions must be "transferred" to the legislature and entrusted to a Minister responsible to it. On this point all the deputations from India are agreed. They are convinced that it does not violate the Declaration of August, 1917, in the letter or in the spirit, but goes against one of the limitations laid down by the authors of the Joint Report without adequate grounds. We have not the space required for a full treatment of the subject; it has been argued at length in the Indian Press. It is complained that the whole matter of the popularisation of the Central Government is not only put off indefinitely but evaded even in the statement of the scope of the periodical commission for recommending further steps. The Bill does not meet this complaint at all, see 28 (2). The language used here and in 28 (2) is by no means satisfactory: responsible government is spoken of only in connexion with the provinces, not in connexion with the Centra Government. The point must be cleared up beyond doubt or controversy.

Indians in the Executive Council.

There is something in the argument that racial distinctions should not be made, if they could be avoided, in the terms of a statute. The one-half proportion, unanimously desired by the progressive Indian opinion, in the Executive Council of the Viceroy, will therefore have to be pressed when the rules come to be considered.

Governor-General's Power of Certification.

Strong exception must be taken to the very wide language of clause 20 (*a*). It deals with the power of Governor-General-in-Council to take away certain clauses of legislation from the scope of the Legislative Assembly and by certificate bring them within the sole jurisdiction of the Council of State. A law required for the safety and tranquillity of the country or any part thereof is fit matter for such treatment. But why should the same treatment be allowed to every law which may be essential "for the interests of British India or any part thereof"? We can hardly conceive of a law which will not come within the description. The Legislative Assembly could be made to die of inanition, if the Governor-General were so minded. The Joint Report used the words "good government," and people in India criticised even these as too comprehensive. What could have induced the draftsman to adopt the indefensibly wide language of the Bill?

As regards emergency legislation, for which the same certification procedure is provided in 20 (*a*), let it be remembered that the Governor-General now has power to make ordinances which are valid for six months. The proposed Council of State legislation is therefore superfluous. If it be thought that the interests of the people would be better safeguarded by having emergency legislation discussed in the Council of State, which includes a certain number of elected representatives, than by having it passed as an ordinance by the Governor-General—a position which certainly is correct—then the ordinance power must be abolished. Where the emergency is of a nature that touches peace and tranquillity, the case is covered by the earlier part of the clause. Where the matter involved is public money or a taxation proposal, it is proper to let the Executive take action first and then seek the ratification, in due course, of the Legislature. We are unable for this reason to support the provision in question for emergency legislation. On the whole, then, it seems sufficient to restrict the Governor-General's power of certification to cases where the peace and tranquillity of British India or of any part thereof are involved.

The Services.

The next point is the question of the Indian Civil Service and other Imperial services. The rule-making power, it is proposed in 24 (2), may be transferred to the Governments in India by the Secretary of State within prescribed limits. This is satisfactory, so far as it goes. We trust, however, the aim will be to leave the Governments in India, acting with their legislatures, to regulate their own services. It is an anomaly that a great Government should be compelled to conduct its administration with the aid of services regulated and recruited and safeguarded by outside authority. Such a position is incompatible with the very idea of authority. The inheritance of the early days of the Company, however, cannot be

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worked off in a day. It is noteworthy that the subject of pensions is dealt with by itself in 24 (3), that the rules regarding them can be varied or added to only by the Secretary of State, and that it is not proposed to authorise him to devolve any part of this power on the Governor-General in Council. It is not easy to explain this discrimination; under safeguards, which could be provided without much ingenuity, the rules as to pensions should likewise be made alterable by the India Government.

Public Service Commission.

The purposes for which a Public Service Commission is to be appointed permanently by clause 26 are not clearly stated. In para 55 of the Despatch of the Government of India dated March 5, one of the purposes is stated to be the protection of the Service from political influence and the difficulties arising from Ministers' control. We realise the need and note with satisfaction that the Commissioners will be appointed and controlled by the Secretary of State. As in the United Kingdom, these Public Service Commissioners should conduct public examinations of two or three grades and regulate admission to employment under Government without the suspicion of partiality or bias. It is to be hoped that this consummation is definitely contemplated. Otherwise jobbery might establish itself firmly and bring inefficiency and corruption in its train. No greater calamity could be imagined.—*India*

Mrs Annie Besant.

We insist on the necessity for some measure of responsibility being introduced into the Central Government as indeed is implied in the claim for fiscal autonomy. Without this the announcement of August 20, 1917, is truncated, for provincial responsibility even if complete, is not secure with autocracy in the centre; all our worst evils, coercive legislation, arbitrary interference with liberty, supersession of Indian interests, injustice in customs, excise duties, and the like, come wholly from the Central Government, and as the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Shastri pointed out, autocracy there renders the liberties granted in the provinces of small avail.

Personally, I believe that Mr. Montagu sees the great ideal which has fired the heart of many of us, the commonwealth of free nations, the greatest servant of humanity. I believe that he is honestly striving to open the way to that freedom of India which shall be the glory of unborn generations, and the glory also of the England whom we have loved as the pioneer of liberty, who has placed in his willing hand the appropriate and splendid task of leading a mighty nation out of the house of bondage into the Promised Land.—"*Daily Chronicle.*"

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS

BY

MR. G. A. NATESAN

A CABLE from South Africa brings the news that the British Indians in the Transvaal are taking the vow of passive resistance as a protest against the recent Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Bill reported to have been passed by the Parliament of the Union of South Africa. This measure contravenes the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1914 and is an iniquitous attempt to deprive Indians lawfully resident there, of their vested interests. In the words of Mr. Gandhi, it "virtually deprives the Indians of the Transvaal from holding fixed property even as share-holders of companies or as mortgagees. This they have hitherto successfully and legally done. It further deprives them of the right of obtaining new trade licences throughout the Transvaal. This means that the Indian settlers, if they are not now efficiently protected, will be reduced to the status of menial servants no matter what their capacity might be. It was bad enough to restrict so as almost to prohibit fresh immigrants; it is intolerable to confiscate the economic and natural rights of legally admitted immigrants and their descendents." When an attempt is thus made to confiscate their rights, it is by no means surprising that the Transvaal Indians should resort to passive resistance. We trust the Imperial Government will take early steps to prevent the legislation from taking effect and thus avert an agitation which is bound to grow more and more not only among the Indian residents of South Africa but in their mother country as well. It is the good fortune of the South African Indians that Mr. Gandhi is now in India to advocate their cause and that he has been able to enlist the sympathy of H. E. the Viceroy to obtain for them the elementary rights of citizenship and the barest justice which is denied to them purely on account of racial and economic jealousy. It is a matter for satisfaction that the campaign against Asiatics in the Transvaal is confined mainly to the inferior white traders while some of the better class of their community recognise the justice of the claims of the Indians. The attitude of hostility to the Indian settlers in the Transvaal on the part of some of the white population, if not checked at the outset, will gravely imperil the growth of the true spirit of comradeship which has been promoted by the war that has just closed.

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The Menace of "Welfare Work" in Industry.

BY

MR. G. BROMLEY OXNAM.

THERE is a distinct social menace in the welfare work now carried on by large industrial establishments in India, judging from the experience of similar welfare work and its results in America. The writer has had occasion during the last six months to visit many large industrial concerns in India and to discuss social questions with a number of progressive leaders. Welfare work has been pointed to with pride by industrial managers, and seems to have the welcome sanction of social students. It may be well therefore to consider some of the reasons why American labour is fundamentally opposed to welfare work as such.

It is quite true that many socially-minded employers and factory owners are sincere in their attempt to help the worker. It is likewise true that a larger percentage of owners introduce welfare work because it pays, and not a few "far-sighted" managers look upon it as "strike insurance." Schools, playgrounds, baths, hospitals, libraries, entertainments, and the like, are of course valuable to the employee, and at their inception no doubt are of real social worth. But welfare work must not be judged by the results achieved in a year. It must be judged by its results over a term of year. Such results are available from American experience.

First, *welfare work is a menace because it tends to blind our eyes to the basic fact that it is democracy and justice that are needed in industry, and not charity.* The very fact that welfare work exists is a virtual acknowledgment of the indictment that the industrial order as it stands denies the worker certain privileges in life that are rightfully his. The owner, however, does not see this. He feels that he is giving the employee something, and that it is his privilege to revoke the gifts on certain conditions. But education, recreation, health, freedom, justice, and much more, are fundamental rights of men, and giving or refusing them ought not to be left to the discretion of an employer. Furthermore, it is said that the employer pays for welfare work. Actually, the employee pays. He has largely produced the wealth all along, but by some inexplicable method he receives but a small portion of the wealth he produces in the form of wages, the employer of course fixing the wage. Since then the worker has certain rights, which the very fact of welfare work proves he has been denied, since he pays for the privileges handed down, it is unwise socially to speak of welfare work as beneficience. It is a left-handed acknowledgment of rights denied to workmen, at once a social menace and a denial of democracy, confusing the issue which is in reality a question of justice or injustice.

Second, *welfare work is a menace because it tends to become a weapon in the hands of the employers.* In America large employers bought great tracts of land and erected model dwellings. The schemes were lauded to the skies in the capitalist press. But what actually happened was this: A little later when the workers saw profits ascending at a dizzy rate and wages remaining practically stationary with food prices soaring, they decided to organize and strike for higher wages. Upon hearing of their organization, the owners ordered every family off the company property and out of the houses. Married men hesitated before they would endanger their families, the attempt to strike was thwarted, and the men were forced to return to the same unfair conditions. The much advocated model dwelling for industrial workers in India, may become a real weapon to employers when India steps into the next stage of industrial development, namely that of collective bargaining.

Third, *it is a menace because it tends to retard the organization of the workers,* the only sure method of securing permanent justice in our present economic order. In practically every concern where the writer found welfare work in India, there was found a very firm refusal on the part of the employer to allow the employee to organize. The employer seemed to feel that welfare work would keep the worker a docile being, easily controlled. This control is necessary to keep the worker from gaining power to successfully demand a larger share of the wealth he actually produces. While visiting one of the outstanding welfare factories of India, it was pointed out that welfare directors were not allowed to talk over matters of organization with the workers, that the employees were not allowed to assemble together, that wages were little higher than the average, and that twelve hours was the regular day's work. If welfare work is too often "strike insurance," as a leading Indian social worker who is in close touch with it, declared it was, it most certainly is a menace to industrial development, if we think of industrial

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development in terms of democracy and life, instead of in terms of feudalism and profit.

Fourth, *welfare work is a menace because of the fact that certain privileges given the workers by private corporations has a tendency to slow up the demand for the community provision of such privileges.* "Why," say the tax-payers, "do we need a community playground when the corporation has one?" But these are community duties, and should be carried on by the people, with the final word as to their use and purpose in the hands of the people. In America, some corporations went so far as to build churches for their employees and employed the preacher. He was warned not to preach anything that would stir up the workers, and in some cases, when this warning was ignored, the pastor found himself looking for another church. Community needs must be met by the community under a real social control. Industrial despotism is as bad as political despotism.

Fifth, *welfare work has proven a weapon to slow up the demand for industrial democracy, even in its simpler forms of collective bargaining.* Political democracy has won its battle in the minds of thinking men. Government must be of the people, by the people, and for the people. Industrial democracy, wherein industry shall be of the people, by the people, and for the people, is on the horizon. It is a travesty in these days of democratic preaching to think of actual needs being handed down by private corporations with the power in hand to revoke them if they so desire. All the advantages are held up before the worker and he is told that if he strikes or expresses himself as a component and essential factor in the production of wealth, he will lose his pension, his home, his child's education, his job. Why has American labour so strongly opposed welfare work? Because it has proven a menace to the development of the labour movement. Labour demands its fair share of the product of industry under the present system, and states it will do its welfare work in the home or pay taxes and have the community do it. When industrial democracy arrives, the very phrase "welfare work" will be a misnomer, since it is a frank violation of the fundamental principles of democracy, for its posits on the one hand a benevolent overlord and on the other a recipient serf.

Of course it may be urged that communities in India cannot take over these duties at present. This may or may not be true. But in choosing welfare work as a real advance in the interests of the industrial worker, it may prove worth while to note the experience of America. The West has made many fatal errors in its industrial development. It does not desire to pass on its mistakes, but rather to share its experience so that the emerging New India may be a land where the principles of justice, of brotherhood and love are pregnant forces in the industrial, political and social life.

LORD BRYCE ON THE WAR AND AFTER.

BY MR. S. RATNASWAMI M.A.,
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LORD BRYCE is one of the small band of Victorian statesmen still left to us. He is one of the few living representatives of that race of scholar-statesmen which flourished in the Victorian era but has become almost extinct now. In this respect Lord Morley and Lord Bryce, colleagues in more than one Cabinet stand together. But unlike Lord Morley, intellectual and Quaker though he is, Lord Bryce took the national side at the moment of the supreme crisis which has settled the political fate of the "bold Cobdenite." Having taken the national attitude in the war, Lord Bryce, occupying no official position, has seen his influence grow. At home, no great Commission or Report during the war was authoritative without his name, and, abroad among neutrals his utterances on the war have been listened to with an attention which would have been denied to the official spokesmen of England. Hence this collection* of Lord Bryce's *Essays and Addresses in War Time* has a peculiar value and interest.

These Essays and Addresses are concerned with (1) the justification of England's position in the war (2) an analysis of German political philosophy (3) the bearings of the principle of nationality on the war and the problems after the war. Now, the causes that led England into the war form a more-than-twice-told tale. There is nothing new that we learn from Lord Bryce's statement. All the

* *Essays and Addresses in War Time* by James Bryce (Viscount Bryce), Macmillan & Co.

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Essays dealing with this theme were written before the publication of Prince Lichnowsky's famous Memorandum. No statement against the German case could be more damning than that. But although there is nothing new, yet all of it is stated with such moderation, such a grip of the essential facts, natural to a historian who has also been an administrator, and with such a desire to be fair to the other side, that Lord Bryce's defence of England's policy must carry conviction even to the lazy cynic who thinks that the best way to decide between two parties in an issue is to decide against both.

In his analysis of the political theory and practice of the German state also Lord Bryce says only, albeit with his own distinctive *flair*, what has been said times without number during the war. But the curious thing about this English condemnation of the Prussian philosophy of the state is that it came a great deal too late. It was only when England was at war with Germany that English writers began to criticise and condemn Prussia and Trietschke. Till then they were the intellectual fashion in England, a fashion to which Lord Bryce also succumbed as in his references to modern Prussia in the "Holy Roman Empire." The German successes of 1870 made representative intellectuals like Morley and Meredith bow the knee to Baal. There was only one man in England before the war who believed that the Prussian danger "was the greatest danger that remained to be encountered by the Anglo Saxon race." But then Lord Acton was hardly a representative Englishman. However that may be, Lord Bryce's dispassionate condemnation of the German theory of the state is sufficient *lustrum* for the English admiration of Politics made in Germany which was so fashionable in the days before the war.

The Essay on the "Principle of Nationality" contains a clear account of the essential elements of nationality and ought to prove useful to those who wish to thread their way through the maze of questions that are clamouring for settlement. The break-down of the Central Empires has allowed a number of nations with a claim to statehood to spring up, of whom the man in the street had never heard, Croats, Slovaks, Slovenes, Letts, Lithuanians, Ruthenians and so forth. Lord Bryce recognises that the principle of nationality cannot be applied *ad libitum*. If every little people, whatever its political antecedents or aptitudes, is to be made into a state, then Europe would have its hand full—it would not only have to make national states, but it would have to keep them. But we do not find in the essay any recognition of the fact that in Bohemia, Hungary, and other non-German parts of the Central Empires there is a considerable German fringe, and that this German fringe constitutes a powerful element in any Hungarian or Czecho-Slav state that may be created, and that these German settlers monopolise the industry and commerce of these countries. The creation of an independent Hungary, Czecho Slavonia, Jugo-Slavia will not put a term to the problems of Central and Eastern Europe.

Lord Bryce as a Jurist and pacific statesman would like the coming of an era of perpetual and universal peace, and he entertained the idea of a "League of Nations to enforce Peace" even as early as the first months of the war. He bases his belief in the success of a scheme to enforce international peace on the case with which national peace or the King's peace as it is called in the British Empire is enforced. Just as "law and order have been established within every civilised country" so, he argues, ought law and order to be established between nations and states. It is astonishing how such a learned historian and practical statesman as Lord Bryce could have made use of this false analogy. Are nations as equal to each other as individuals in a state, do they share the same aspirations, benefit by the same policy, acknowledge the same culture and civilisation as do individuals in a state? Not till nations have been ground down to something like the position of Individuals in a state, can the analogy between nations and Individuals, between International Peace and National Peace be pressed with any profit to political thought. Lord Bryce however makes a good point in this essay when he acknowledges that "it is idle to construct a system of international law without Force behind it." And this Force he finds "in a Combination of Nations, a League for securing Peace, able to make its will to Peace prevail against the will to violence of bellicose nations." But who is to judge between the League of Peace and the bellicose nations? Or have the members of the League of Peace received a charter of perpetual grace which has washed them clean of the original sin of nations?

These questions are the best kind of compliment one can pay to Lord Bryce's writings. This book like his other works testifies to his great historical knowledge, his political sobriety and that *justesse* of outlook which is the finest flower of scholarship.

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SANKAR'S VEDANTA

BY

LALA KANNOOMAL, M.A.

IT may be said without exaggeration that Sankar's philosophy has been misunderstood to a great extent—more especially by the English educated men. The fault does not lie with Sankar but with the readers who have not taken pains enough to study his philosophy in the original. Sankar's vedanta is an idealism in a sense not understood by Western philosophy. The idealistic philosophy of the West considers mind to be a reality and the world outside to be a projection of the mind. The contrast there is between the mind and the world. Having taken mind to be a reality, Western philosophy strives to prove that the world outside is only its projection, and goes to the length of asserting that there is no objective world. The mountains, the rivers, the land sceneries, the forests, the palaces and the thousand and one phenomena that confront us in the outside world, dissolve when philosophically examined, into a multitude of ideas, whose abiding place is the mind. Berkley says there is no heat in the fire but in the mind within us; there is no smell, there is no taste, there is no sound, there is no visible object outside us. The existence of the world consists in the perceptions that reside in our mind. Hume goes even a step higher and does not believe in the doctrine of necessity—the law of causation. All the primary and secondary qualities of matter have been placed into the mind, and what appears to an ordinary man, a physical object has been reduced to a mere illusion—a figment of imagination, in which only the uninitiated believe.

English educated men have interpreted Sankar's idealism in this light. The doctrine of Maya is an ample *raison-de-tre* for this interpretation. They try to show that Sankar considers this world to be a mere illusion—as having no existence outside the mind. They seem to understand that just as the ultra-idealist of the West considers the objective world to be a mere projection of the mind, having no reality in itself, so Sanker also assigns no reality *i.e.*, the objective existence to the phenomena of the world. But this is not Sankar's point of view. He believes in the outside existence of things as contrasted with the ideas of the mind, and in fact, advances a series of arguments in favour of the realistic world. His commentary on the second chapter of the Vedant Shutras may be referred to in this connection. It was the Buddhistic philosophers who did not believe in the outside world just like Western idealistic philosophers. They were called Vyganvadees. Sankar took up cudgels against them and knocked down their position with the sledge hammer blows of his arguments. Although Sankar takes up a bold position in favour of the realistic world, he is not a realistic philosopher in the sense in which these words are generally understood. He is the idealistic of the ultra-idealistic philosophers. His idealism does not recognise mind to be real in opposition to the external world. To him the whole external and internal world is unreal. The only reality which Sankar believes in, a is Atma—the under-lying principle of all consciousness, existence and bliss. Every thing else is unreal. The whole psychological apparatus is unreal. According to the Hindu philosophy, the psychological apparatus consist of Buddhi—the principle of understanding, manasa—the principle of all perception, memory etc., and Jnan Indryas—the organs of sense, Karma Indryas—the organs of action and the five-fold Pranas—the principle of breathing. All these pyschological factors constitute what is called in Vedanta, Suksham Sharir—the subtle body which, in contact with the Atma which is passive, is man's soul or ego for all practical purposes. It is this soul—the Jiva which migrates from birth to birth and assumes responsibility for all moral actions. Sankar does not recognize even this Jiva, to be real as compared with the real Atma that is eternally behind it.

Sankar's idealism begins with this subtlest Jiva and ends with the grossest particle of matter. To him all these internal and external phenomena are unreal, but his unreality is not an illusion. It means phenomenal existence in opposition to the real existence which he assigns only to the Atma.

Just as mind and its phenomena exist in their own unreality, so do the objective world and its multifarious appearances. Both these unrealities are common only in so far as they are not of the nature of the reality of the Atma but are different from each other in as much as they are two separate existences. Western idealism asserts that the objective world is unreal and the subjective world is real. Sankar says both the worlds are unreal—only the Atma is real. Western idealism does not recognise the separate existence of the objective world—it having arisen out of the mind, Sankar recognizes its separate existence opposed to the existence of the

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subjective world. From Sankar's point of view, the unreality is of two kinds—the unreality of the mind and the unreality of the objective world. Both have their separate existences which do not dissolve into one. Sankar calls the unreality of the mind and the world by the name of Maya, which is indescribable, being both existence and non-existence—existence from the point of view of the worldly phenomena which exist to all practical purposes, and non-existence from the stand-point of the Atma which really exists impervious to all changes to which the external and internal phenomena are subject. As far as the sweep of the chain of cause and effect goes there is Maya—that is phenomenal reality, which, if looked at from the point of view of the eternal and absolute reality of the Atma, is an illusion—a figment of the imagination, but looked at from the worldly point of view, is solid reality not to be brushed aside. People have asked for the cause of the Maya. The answer has always been ambiguous, simply for the reason that all causes are included in the Maya. The law of causation does not go beyond the periphery of the Maya and to ask for the origin of the Maya is to beg the question. Such a question is absurd.

Another question is whether the Maya is eternal. The answer is that the Maya is the world, and is eternal in the same sense as the world is. It has also been questioned that since the existence of the Maya has been recognized by the Vedant, is it not relevant to say that instead of there being only one—Reality as the Vedant declare there are two realities—one the Atma which is als called Brahm, and the other, the Maya which i real for all practical purposes. The answer to this question is that there is only one Reality, the absolute Reality which is Brahm, the other is unreality not reality; so there are not two entities, but only One, and that One is Brahm or Atma.

Sankar's Brahm or Atma is the ultimate principle of existence, consciousness and bliss which pervades the whole creation and without which there is no creation. While it is not of the form of any created object, it is the main basis on which the existence of every created object depends. It is the fount of light, the source of knowledge, the origin of consciousness, the Matrix of all existence, the fountain head of all happiness. There is nothing that it is not; there is nothing that it is. It is beyond all expression, it is beyond all thinking, it is beyond all that appears. Bram is the *neplusultra* of all knowledge, the last rockbed of existence, the infinite fount of joy. While severely one it appears as manifold as the creation. While really absolute it appears split up into as varied objects as the universe contains. There is nothing higher than it; there is nothing nobler than it; there is nothing more real than it. The aim of the Vedant philosophy is not to reach but to become Brahm, by throwing off veils of the nescience that cover it.

EDUCATION IN INDIA

BY

MR. P. A. SUBRAHMANIA IYER, B.A., L.T.

ONE rises from a perusal of Mr. Sharp's reports on Education in India with mingled feelings. Statistics go to show, what would perhaps strike one as very satisfactory at first sight, that during the years 1912—18 the expenditure on education has increased by many lakhs of rupees, the number of schools by thousands and the number of scholars by the million, and yet the distressing fact remains that even now only 3·22 per cent. of the population is under instruction as against 17 38 per cent. in Scotland and 16 52 per cent. in England and Wales. One cannot hide from oneself the depressing thought that, things going on as at present, there is perhaps no chance in the near or distant future of a literate India in the sense of a literate America or Europe. The very large mass of children yet to be brought into schools, the huge sums of money that will have to be spent and the apparent disinclination of the Government to launch on any bold measures of educational reform—these tend to confirm our fears. One looks in vain in the reports for any helpful suggestion as to how this serious problem has to be faced and solved.

Mr. Sharp draws, of course, pointed reference to the top-heaviness of Indian education by comparing the percentage of pupils and students in Secondary Schools and Colleges in this country to the total population with the corresponding percentages in other important countries of the world and comes to the conclusion that

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"while the lower classes in India are largely illiterate, the middle class is, at least numerically, educated to a pitch equal to that attained in countries whose Social and economic condition is more highly developed..... .....The middle class find that higher education pays and loudly make known their wants. The lower classes though no longer hostile are lukewarm and seldom calmour for a type of instruction which brings no immediate and tangible reward."

This statement would imply that the middle classes have not been particularly anxious to advance the interests of mass education and that the lower classes do not care much for it. The fact, however, is that private agencies in India, drawn mostly from the middle class, have done good work in the matter of elementary education, for, according to Mr. Sharp himself, out of a total of 1,24,000 primary Schools in this country as many as 86,900 are under private management and 14,000 of these receive no aid whatever from Government. Again, if the lower classes do not clamour for education, it only shows that they are human and are in no way different from, or superior to, the corresponding classes in other countries of the world. The history of education in all the civilized countries of the world points to the apathy and indifference of the masses to all popular education, and if they realize the good of it at all, it is only after they have been forced through it at first. Even now in spite of so many years of universal education in England and in spite also of the demands of the representatives of labour that the age of compulsion must be raised, do we not hear of large numbers of the labouring classes complaining that the new Education Act with all its guarantees against financial loss to the families of the adolescent acts as a great hardship and inflicts a heavy strain on the parent by depriving him of the wages of his adolescent children?

It is indeed high time that the Government did something very substantial to remove the charge so often levelled against them of want of interest in the matter of the general enlightenment of the masses in this country. When a responsible member of Government like Sir Sankaran Nair who must be trusted carefully to weigh his words before giving public expression to them puts it on record that

'it is the universal belief, and there is little doubt that facts unfortunately tend to support it, that Primary English education for the masses and higher education for the middle classes are discouraged for political reasons,'

the Government must rub their eyes and look about themselves indeed! The unfortunate thing is that the Government themselves have to admit the indictment although they may not be willing to admit the validity of the grounds on which such indictment is based. The Resolution of the Government of India of 1913 'indicated as an aim the *doubling* of the number of Primary Schools and pupils in the not distant future,' but such an advance has not yet been made.

"The number of Children undergoing elementary instruction is now 6,748,101, which is equivalent to 2·8 per cent. of the population, being 4·5 per cent. of the male and ·95 per cent. of the female population. Discouraging as these figures are, they are still more so when it is remembered that 90 per cent. of the children are congregated in the lower primary classes." [Sharp.] "Higher education in India runs in a literary groove and the development of special Vocational Schools is far behind-hand." [Sharp.] "The greatest deterrant (to the expansion of industrial education) is the slow growth of industries and the shyness of capital in supporting them. Were industrial employment assured, students would readily come forward and technological institutions would fill and multiply." [Sharp.] There has been 'no regular financial programme for educational expenditure' in the past. [Sharp's Quinquennial report.—Page 16.)

The critic naturally asks, why all this? What has been Amiss that the Government should have blundered so? Surely, it is not for want of experience in tackling educational problems such as those they are confronted with in this country. The course of elementary education in England has run on much the same lines as here. Neither can it be said that India is a country with no educational traditions of its own where it is difficult to get education spread. If within less than a generation the backward Philippinos have been made literate, surely education in India cannot be an insuperable problem except perhaps for the will to action on the part of the Government. Nor can it be laid at the door of the people that they are unwilling to co-operate with the Government in the matter, for according to the latest returns, out of a total expenditure of Rs. 1,128 lakhs on education in India private funds contributed. 514 lakhs or 45·5 per cent., whereas in 1915 out of a total expenditure of 7,850 lakhs of dollars, private funds contributed only 375 lakhs or 4·8 per cent.

It is indeed pathetic—the confession of the Government of India that their educational policy 'has at times been lacking in foresight and perspective,' and that they 'admit the errors of the past, and ask for time to repair them.' One would have thought under such circumstances they would be willing to transfer the whole of education to the charge of Indian Ministers in

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the new era to be inaugurated and leave *to them* the task of repairing the admitted errors of the past. This indeed seems to have been the view urged by the committee that considered the question in 1917, from whose report the Government of India quote the following:

"At first sight this abandonment of control, by the central or provincial government of a department so vitally fundamental to a National Scheme of education, would appear to be fraught with grave dangers. Nor are all these wholly illusory. It is quite possible, even probable, that at first efficiency will be sacsificed to other considerations and that the popularly elected body will vote money for the less essential objects and neglect the provision for training and inspection. But unless an opportunity for mistakes is given, nothing will be learned. Experience will, we believe beget greater wisdom, and that in no long time once it is realized that education is the business of the people, then the people will see to it that the elected representatives procure them efficient teachers in their Schools. Again it is only thus that education can become really national, and if the demand arises, as we believe it will arise, an elected Council of this kind will be able to raise money for education from sources that never could be tapped by a Government of the existing official type."

And yet the Government of India think there is a 'compelling case for retaining Secondary and University education in the hands of the official and more experienced half of the provincial governments.' And if one looks into their reasons for the recommendations, one has to confess that at the back of their mind there lurks the fear that if transferred to the Ministers education may spread in a manner disconcerting to their views of guardianship and rule. The only answer to people holding such a fear is that contained in the words of a Governor-General of India in the middle of the 19th Century:

"Similar objections have been urged against our attempting to promote the education of our native subjects, but how unworthy it would be of a liberal Government to give weight to such objections! . . . . . All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the happiness of those under them. If we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India and the admiration of the world will accompany our name through all ages, whatever may be the revolutions of futurity."

Dr. Slater on "South Indian Villages"*

BY

MR. K. M. PANIKKAR, B.A., (OXON).

IT was one of the standing complaints of Indian educationists that subjects which had purely an Indian interest, however vital for the development of Indian Nationality and the progress of Indian culture, find no adequate place in the caricula of our universities. Till very recently this was undoubtedly true. Indian history was a secondary subject and no proper facilities existed anywhere in India for an intensive study of it. Indian economics were *tabu* as far as the University authorities were concerned and they even went to the extent of forcing down our throats the absolutely inapplicable principles of a system of national economics which the peculiar conditions of England had given rise to. The university authorities seemed to have forgotten the very existence of economic phenomena in India, apart of course from the principles of Free trade, imperial preference, excise duty and the rest.

With the growth of Indian influence in the Universities all these have changed and new tendencies have asserted themselves separate chairs for Indian economics have been established and students have been encouraged to study economic principles in relation to the main facts around them. The result has been that during the last few years we have an increasing mass of accurate information about the economic conditions of rural India. Such a collection of statistics and information is absolutely invaluable both for a proper understanding of Indian life and for the gradual development of a school of scientific Indian economics. Real India is rural India and therefore it is in relation to agricultural conditions that we in India have to study economics.

The essential preliminary to the establishment of a proper system of national economics for India is the scientific collection of facts with regard to the life land and labour of the people who live in the non-urban areas. Without a vast amount of authenticated facts on this matter with regard to every part of India, nothing in the nature of an Indian school of economics is possible. Thus the first stages of Indian activity in economic study is bound to be an intensive survey of local facts, in fact a fragmentation of the main

* *Some South Indian Villages* By Dr. Gilbert Slater Prof. of Economics, Madras University; Published by the Oxford University Press 1918.

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field of economics. This principle has been well recognised of late in India and the last two years have seen such notable contributions as Dr. Harold to Otauns's "Land and Labour in a Deccan village" Juck's "Economic Life of a Bengal District," Prof. Mukherjea's "Foundation of Indian economics" and more important than these to us in Southern India Dr. Gilbert Slater's book on "Some South Indian Villages."

The work under review is a collection of essays by selected students on the economic life of their native villages. The essays are written after a pattern supplied by Dr. Slater in which sufficient care is taken to bring out the main facts. For this purpose he prepared a question at once elaborate and comprehensive dealing with all the phases of the economic life of the village. This gives the work a certain uniformity and arrangement which are most useful for purposes of reference. In a work like this meant as ground work for further study, arrangement of facts is almost everything. One who is for instance studying the system of wages in South India has now only to turn to the sections dealing with it in these Essays, and has not got to wade through the whole book before they come across their necessary bits of information. We congratulate Dr. Slater on the plan and arrangement of the work.

It is when we come to the conclusions drawn by Dr. Slater that we feel bound to dissent. Dr. Slater shows a fatal facility to draw conclusions based on insufficient grounds. Thus he asserts on the basis of his experience of a few villages that Indian labour is extraordinarily inefficient, and estimates that one day's work by a British agricultural labour is roughly equal to a week's work by an Indian ryot (P. 17). We may be permitted to observe that Dr. Slater's experience is too slight and the bases of his observation too meagre to justify any such wild assertion. Dr. Slater may be a thoroughly sound authority on English agricultural economics and he may even be credited with some knowledge inevitably superficial of the working of some South Indian Villages. To make such a wild and sweeping assertion as that a day's work by a British agricultural labourer is equal to a week's work by an Indian ryot without in any way indicating the grounds on which he takes his stand or the process of thought by which he came by that conclusion, is only to take away from such a book as the one under Review its essentially scientific character and give to it the appearance of a prejudiced Anglo-Indian production.

But after all to the really scientific students such rash statements, which are by no means rare either in the introduction or in the conclusion do not count for much. We are not concerned as to what Dr. Slater thinks or what opinion he holds of Indian labour on Indian Village. The value of the book to the student lies in the fact that in these essays we have for the first time the true picture of South Indian Villages set in correct economic perspective. We may not agree with Dr. Slater either that "low wages, low efficiency and high abstinence form the ground plan of the pattern" or that "social and religious conditions and customs contribute to such a state." But the facts of economic life are there reproduced with accuracy and colouring and the intelligent reader need not necessarily take Dr. Slater either as a guide or as an interpreter.

Sensitive Plants.

"Sir Jagadis Bose, of the Presidency College, Calcutta, announces that he has discovered that plants receive and respond to the long ether waves used in wireless signalling."—(*Reuter.*)

The lilies in the garden,
  The daisies in the corn.
They know all men's secrets
  As soon as they are born.
If you would learn the history
  Of the European Powers,
Don't go to the newspapers.
  Go to the flowers.

The Rose has sent an answer
  To many an S. O. S.;
The Olive got the Peace-news
  An age before the Press;
The Cactus knew the temper
  Of the Great Four in a week;
And the private views of Parliament
  Filter through the Leek.

The lilies in the garden,
  The daisies in the corn.
They knew all men's secrets
  Before the men were born
They didn't come through wireless,
  But through still stranger powers:
The universal secrets
  In the keeping of the flowers.

Daily Herald.

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Mr. Montagu on the Government of India Bill

THE Rt. Hon. Mr. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, in moving the Second Reading of the Government of India Bill in the House of Commons on the 5th June, said :—

I beg to move :—

"That the Bill be now read a second time."

The House having now somewhat approximated, but by no means reached its ordinary aspect on Indian Debates, I rise to discharge the highly important task, a task of which I fully realise the responsibility, of asking this House, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to read a second time the Bill which has been printed and circulated. I desire to avoid going into details upon this necessarily complicated and technical measure. I have flooded the House, in response to requests, and in order to give information to it as far as I possibly could, with a series of elaborate documents, and these will obviate, because I will assume that the House has mastered these documents, a large amount of technical disquisition.

Answering Criticisms

But in view of certain criticisms I want once again to repeat the origin of this Bill. When I took office two years ago much work leading up to the preparation of a Bill of this kind had already been done. Despatches containing schemes for reform had passed between the Government of India and my predecessor, and out of their proposals and his criticisms of them had emerged this principle, that to my predecessor no reform of the Government of India would be acceptable which did not involve the transfer of responsibility from these Houses to the people of India. I took up the work where the Chancellor of the Exchequer left it, and the pronouncement of the 20th August followed, a part of which was that my acceptance of the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India had been authorised by His Majesty's Government. No sooner was that pronouncement made than I appointed a very important India Office Committee, presided over by Sir William Duke, an ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, a member of my Council and an Indian Civil Servant—I repeat all his qualifications because it is suggested in some quarters that this Bill arose spontaneously in the minds of the Viceroy and myself without previous inquiry or consideration, under the influence of Mr. Lionel Curtis. I have never yet been able to understand that you approach the merits of any discussion by vain efforts to approximate to its authorship. I do not even now understand that India or the Empire owes anything more or anything less than a great debt of gratitude to the patriotic and devoted services Mr. Curtis has given to the consideration of this problem. But this Committee, presided over by Sir William Duke, sat at the India Office from the 20th August until I left for India, accompanied by Sir William Duke, Lord Donoughmore, and Mr. Charles Roberts, on the 20th of October. We held repeated conferences in the enforced leisure of a long sea voyage, and discussed the problem almost daily on board-ship up to the time when we reached India, where we were joined by Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu and Sir William Vincent, a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Spontaneously, as a necessary consequences of all these deliberations, as a necessary consequence of the terms of the pronouncement of the 20th August, and as a necessary and inevitable consequence of an unprejudiced study of the question, we reached the conclusion upon which this Bill is based, a conclusion reached after listening to innumerable deputations, after six months of Conference with non-officials and officials, after continuous discussion with the Government in the provinces, and at Delhi with the heads of all the local Governments. From the time I returned to London, a new India Office Committee, presided over by Mr. Charles Roberts, and containing a large number of those Civil servants who have taken part in this discussion, and whose services I have had the privilege to command, have sat upon and discussed all the criticisms that have reached us on the Bill. Sir William Duke, Sir James Brunyate and Sir Thomas Holderness were members. Sir James Meston, the present Finance Member of the Government of India, was home last year and helped in the deliberations of this Committee. In recent months it has been assisted by Sir Frank Sly, Mr. Feetham, Mr. Stephenson, and Mr. Maddiman.

The Drafting of the Bill.

This Committee has been concerned in drafting the Bill, and in considering all despatches and telegrams and criticisms upon the scheme originally proposed.

After this prolonged discussion and deliberation of almost exactly two years in extent, I now ask with some confidence for the Second Reading of the Bill, which I do not hesitate to say has been as carefully prepared and considered in all its aspects as it is possible to consider a measure of this kind.

A General Agreement.

I ask for the Second Reading of the Bill to-day for two reasons. First of all there is so much general agreement on all sides in India and here as to its provisions, so much general agreement and such important points of difference on methods side by side, that I do not believe there is any way of getting on until we examine the details of the measure in a Committee representing Parliament. Second Reading points, as I think I shall show, are points on which there is general agreement, both in India and here. There are very important differences—differences which I do not wish to minimise—as to methods, and you will never get to a discussion of those methods infinitely technical, until you have a small body constituted which will take evidence and consider the alternative merits or demerits of the different plans. It is our intention, if the House gives a Second Reading to this measure to-day, to ask that it should be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses, and that Joint Committee should consider all the questions that are involved. I cannot emphasise too strongly that it is the Government's wish that that Committee should discuss the matter not only from the point of view of detailed examination, but from the point of view of the examination of alternative methods. Let it have free scope. Let the House appoint a Committee to go into the whole question, and, as I have said before, so recently as a fortnight ago, although I believe from the bottom of my heart that you dare not and ought not to do less than we propose in this Bill, I shall be glad, and the Government will be glad, to take the advice of the Committee on any alternative method which really and actually promises at least as much.

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A Vast Problem.

I would only add one thing. We have so many responsibilities in this House, so many important questions needing consideration, that perhaps India looms quite smally to many Members; but this problem to 315,000,000 of people eagerly awaiting, so far as they are politically educated, the decision of this House—to India this subject is all-important. Let no man join in this Debate, let no man accept the incalculably responsible task of helping—and we want help, it is a difficult enough problem to require help—of helping on the Committee unless he is prepared to go there constructively, and not destructively, to help on as perfect a plan as can be devised, and not with the intention to delay or thwart legislation, which, in my mind, and in the minds of the House, I hope, it is absolutely essential to carry out.

An Impatient India.

The second reason why I would urge the assistance of the House in the passage of the Second Reading to-day is the impatience—I think the legitimate impatience—with which India is waiting a start upon the policy enuniciated now two years ago. That policy was announced, and this Bill was drawn up with a view to meeting existing conditions in India. Believe me, my experience of India, my experience of the Government of India now extending over something like six years' of office, make me confident that there is no more fallacious platitude, no more obvious fallacy than that which is on the lips of so many critics of Indian affairs,—that it is a country which never changes, a country which undergoes none of the emotions which other countries experience. One old Indian friend of mine, who has been engaged upon public affairs in this country, who has been absent from his own fourteen months only, and who returned to it the other day, told me when last I saw him that he thought politically it was a different place to fourteen months ago. The War, the causes of the War, the objects of the War, the speeches of those who conducted the political aspects of the War have had their effect from one end of India to the other, and have even reached, as the documents which I published themselves show the Government of Madras.

The Pronouncement of August 20th.

The pronouncement of the 20th August promised that substantial steps in the direction of responsible Government should be taken as soon as possible. There is no use for pronouncements that are not fulfilled; there is no use for pronouncements which take geological epochs to fulfil. Doubts are already beginning to appear. It is suggested already—unworthily suggested, wickedly suggested, but still suggested—that we made the announcement and declared the intention of His Majesty's Government in order to secure loyalty from the Indian peoples during the War, and that now we have achieved victory we are not going on with our purpose. I only mention that to show that, in my opinion, as in the opinion of the Governor of Bombay, delay, inexcusable delay, unnecessary delay, would be fatal to our purpose. For that reason after two years' consideration of this problem I venture to suggest to the House that I have shown no undue haste in bringing this Bill before the House of Commons. First it used to be said, "Oh, you must not introduce the Bill until the opinions of the local Governments have been published and we have had an opportunity of reading them." I promised the opinions of the local Governments, and the opinions of the local Governments have been published in accordance with that promise. To a very large extent they are irrelevant, because, despite the letters which have been published and the arguments they have used in them, they have produced, at a subsequent date, an alternative plan, about which I shall have something to say later on. But they are published. Now, when they are published, comes the new argument, "You are hurrying on the Second Reading of the Bill, when we have not had time to read the papers." So, first you say, "Do not take the Bill because we want the papers." Then, when the papers do appear, you say, "Give us time to read the papers." In other words, for the man who does not want to do something, the day on which you ask him to do something is always the wrong day.

Two White Papers.

I have published also, in order to avoid discussion to day, two White Papers. One White paper explains, as clearly and as concisely as I could do it, the actual effect of the Clauses of the Bill. The other White Paper shows what the existing Government of India Act, passed in 1915, will look like if these Amendments are made in it, for this Bill has been drafted with a view to automatic consolidation and the Government of India Act, 1915, embraces a very large number of Statutes. It is suggested that when this Bill has been passed by the Houses of Parliament it shall be automatically included in the existing Act, and will itself disappear as a separate Act. In order to see the effect of that process—the best form of legislation, I venture to think, when you have a previous Statute—I have published and circulated a copy. That, I hope, will avoid the necessity at this stage of going into details. A few more words I must say as to the form of the Bill. In the first place, it may be said—it has been said—that we propose to rely so much on rules and regulations under the Bill that the Bill itself is only a skeleton. I need not remind the House that there are many precedents for that procedure, in fact, in almost every Statute referring to the Government of India, I think that procedure has been adopted. But I would also remind the House that deliberately, of intention, in accordance with the terms of the pronouncement of the 20th August, this Bill does not pretend to give to India a Constitution that will endure. It is transitional; it is a bridge between Government by the agents of Parliament and Government by the representatives of the peoples of India. It must be in such a form that it shall be not static, but fluid—that alterations can be made in it from time to time, and that you should not form a rigid Constitution by Statute which could not be altered except by trespassing at intervals upon the over—burdened and over-mortgaged time of this House. Therefore we have resorted to the plan of precedent, of asking that details shall be accomplished by rules. Let me hasten to add that this is one of the points upon which I approach this problem with an open mind. If there is anything in which it is suggested should be done by rule which the House would prefer to be done by Statute, let us by all means, in the Committee stage, incorporate it in the Statute, although,

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let us try at the same time to avoid rigidity, which I believe, would be fatal to our purpose. I would add also that it is not our intention to prevent the control by Parliament of these rules and regulations. The Bill provides that they shall be submitted to both Houses. The principle which it is intended to embody in these rules it is intended should be submitted to the Joint Committee which it is proposed to be set up, and the policy of the rules, if not the actual wording of the rules, will therefore be carefully considered at the same time as the Bill itself. I regard that as essential. It has always been said that the Morley-Minto Report was largely by the rules made under it. I am not at the moment prepared to argue whether or not that is so, but I want on this occasion to avoid any possibility of that charge being levelled. Therefore I hope that Parliament will not lose control of the Bill until the policy which is to be embodied in the rules has also been laid down by Parliament.

The Bill

I come now to the Bill itself. What I would like to do, if I may, is to start afresh and try to take the House with me, if I can and if it is not too ambitious a project, in realising that if you start from the place where the authors of this Bill started, the form of the Bill and the recommendations of the Bill are inevitable. Where did we start? We started with the pronouncement of the 20th August, 1917. I propose to ask: Is there any body who questions to-day the policy of that pronouncement? It is no use accepting it unless you mean it; it is no use meaning it unless you act upon it; and it is no use acting upon it unless your actions are in conformity with it. Therefore I take it that Parliament, or at any rate this House, will agree that the policy of the pronouncement of the 20th August must be the basis of our discussion—the progressive realisation of responsible government, progressive realisation by degress, by stages, by steps—and those steps must at the outset be substantial. That pronouncement was made in order to achieve what I believe is the only logical, the only possible, the only acceptable meaning of Empire and Democracy, namely, an opportunity to all nations flying the Imperial flag to control their own destinies. [An Hon. Member: "Nations!"] I will come to nations in a moment. I will beg no question. The Hon. Member raises the question of nations. Whether it be a nation or not, we have promised to India the progressive realisation of responsible government. We have promised to India and given to India a representation like that of the Dominions on our Imperial Conference. India is to be an original member of the League of Nations. Therefore I say, whatever difficulties there may be in your path your Imperial task is to overcome those difficulties and to help India on the path, of nationality, however much you may recognise—and I propose to ask the House to consider them—the difficulties which lie in the path.

Supposing for a moment there are those who consider that Empire has justified itself when you give to a country satisfactory law and order, adequate peace, decent institutions, and a certain measure of prosperity under the defence that you have provided; supposing, in other words, there are people who believe that you have fulfilled your mission when you have run the country as an estate, and not as a country at all; even then, approaching it from the other point, there are large proposals in this Bill which command assent from them. There are the proposals for devolution, the proposals for decentralisation. I have heard no critic in these two years who has not told me that it is absolutely essential to get greater freedom for the Government of India from the India Office. I have hardly met a critic who has not told me that it is absolutely essential for the local Governments to get more freedom from the Government of India. I think that is agreed. I do not think that anybody questions that, from the point of view of administrative convenience, if on no higher grounds, Government by dispatch, with all its cumbrous machinery, all its necessarily delaying methods, all the difficulties attending, upon considering, and reconsidering plans and projects over thousands of miles of land and thousands of miles of sea, all that ought to be got rid of. I ask Parliament to assent to this proposition, that you cannot get rid of it unless you substitute something else for it. Now and to-day you cannot have a government more bureaucratic and less dependent upon Parliament, without being dependent upon, anything else, than you have at present. The only possible substitute for government by dispatch is government by vote. The only possible way of really achieving devolution and making the unit, when you have chosen the unit, responsible for the management of its own affairs, is to make the Government of that unit responsible to the representatives of the people. If you simply say, "Let us have an irresponsible Government in a province, and let the Government of India not interfere and the Secretary of State not interfere, and Parliament not interfere, you have a policy which is merely the enthronement of bureaucracy and the very negation of the progressive realisation of responsible government.

Unit of Government

Therefore, I go a step further. In order to realise responsible government, and in order to get devolution, upon which there is general agreement, you must gradually get rid of Government by the agents of Parliament and replace it by Government by the agents of the representatives of the peoples of India. In other words, you have to choose your unit of Government, and you have got in that unit to create an electorate which will control the Government. What is the unit that you are chosing to be? Some people would say, let us be content with the unit of the local Government area—the Parish Council (I am not using terms of art, but terms which have significance for this country), the county council, the rural district council, the municipalities—in other words, that you should give responsible Self-Government in the area of local Government. That is already being done under the terms of the Joint Report, but that is not enough, for two reasons. The first is this: The policy of complete local Self-Government was adopted by Lord Ripon in 1883, and we are now proceeding to carry it out, after a delay of something like thirty-five years. It is not enough to answer the new conditions arising out of the world War by fulfilling a promise made thirty-five years ago, and therefore that is one reason why you must give something more than local Self-Government. But there is another reason. You are not writing on a clear, clean slate. You are writing, and rightly, in continuation of chapters which have been written before. You are building on foundations that already

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exist. It is in the province that you must look for your unit, because it is in the provinces that the great educational results of Lord Morley's Reform Bill have been achieved. He made the Legislative Councils representative to some extent of the people, with a very small electorate and practically no powers beyond powers of criticism. But it is the existence of those councils which has awakened the appetite for Self-Government, and have added to the appreciation of Self-Government in India, and it is therefore, to my mind, absolutely inevitable that we should proceed to devote ourselves to taking the Morley-Minto Councils a stage further in their development. Therefore it is to the provinces that we go, and the provinces are beginning to be the units of local patriotism in India. I do not say that as time goes on you will not substantially modify the size and boundaries of your provinces. Some of them are very artificial. But when you do, it should be in conformity with the wishes of the inhabitants of the provinces, and not by executive action.

If I have carried the House with me in the suggestion that the province is the unit in which we shall start a progressive realisation of responsible Government, what are the difficulties that we have to face? They were suggested in the Joint Report. I will emphasise them again. It does India no good purpose to attempt to avoid them, but they are not arguments against our purpose. They are arguments which we must overcome. The difficulties are these. Under the system of education which has been given to India by British rulers, education has not been spread wide. You have a very small fraction of the population highly educated and a very large proportion of the population not educated at all. You have, secondly, great differences of race and religion and great difficulties arising out of the harsh customs and precepts of caste. I cannot help believing that there is no better way of getting over these difficulties than by representative institutions. There is no greater stimulus to education, there is no better way of promoting community of action or of overcoming the acerbities of caste than by setting to the population a common task to do together, to work out the prosperity of their country. Many of those who write on India assure us of the insuperable obstacles presented by caste. It can only be a gradual process to get rid of these harshnesses and acerbities to which I refer. But every step you take in this direction brings you nearer to the day when the population will not suffer as a consequence of differences of caste. It has begun. It is idle to say there is no difference of recent years in the conditions. When you realise the fact that men of all castes find themselves in the same third-class railway carriage, the way in which soldiers write to me that men of all castes mess together, the work which is being done by the members of the higher caste in helping the conditions and devoting themselves to the social problems afforded by the lower castes, you will realise that those problems are on the way to being solved. The other day I came across a case of a co-operative society run by a committee consisting of Brahmanas, non-Brahmanas, caste Hindus, and Panchamas. They met to discuss this movement of co-operation, which has grown enormously in India, under a tree of three levels—the Brahmanas on one terrace, the non-Brahmanas a little lower down, and the Panchamas a little lower still. They discusssed the business of the co-operative society in that way. Do you imagine that that is going to endure? Some one will have a difference with someone else in discussing the management of affairs and will talk to him. There is no better way of promoting democratic customs than by working them through democratic institutions.

Train the Electors.

Despite all these difficulties I therefore say the essence of the problem is to train the electors. I desire to express, on behalf of the Government of India and the India Office, and, I hope, of this House, our appreciation of the excellent work done by Lord Southborough's Committee. An electorate has been formed; that is to say, proposals have been made to put 5,000,000 voters on the register. But you do not form an electorate by that mere process. You have to get them to vote and you have to get them to understand what a vote means. You have to get them to appreciate the results of a vote. There is only one way of doing that, and that is to make the vote of some value. If a man is asked to vote, and then nothing happens as the result of it, nothing that he can see, nothing that he can appreciate, nothing that he can either reward or punish by the transference or maintenance of his vote, you will never train an electorate. Therefore it is a necessary step for the training of an electorate that you must give it power through its representative. If the result of a vote is that a certain person is elected, if he cannot only criticise but get things done, if he can do things, if he can be held responsible for the things he does, then the man who wants to turn him out will soon undertake the task of training the electorate to a realisation of the importance of a vote. And therefore in order to train your electorate, which is the only way in which you can transfer the power from this House and its agents to the people of India, you have to give the electorate which you create men responsible to it to carry out its demands.

If I have carried the House thus far, the next step must be that you have to choose a part of the provincial functions which at the outset you will entrust to the representatives of the people. Anyone who has followed me in what I have said about education, about caste, and about religious differences, will realise that it is not right to entrust them with everything at the same moment. There are some things, such as the maintenance of peace and order—I will take the definition which Lord Chelmsford and I suggested in the Report—things in which mistakes are irretrievable, things in which the electorate at the outset should not be able to enforce its demands, things like Land Revenue, which you should keep from the control of the representatives of the people. Immediately you say that, if there is anyone in the House who has gone so far with me, I do not know whether they realise it, but they have swallowed the awful, terrible, much criticised principle of diarchy.

An Hon. Member: Say "duality."

Mr. Montagu: Duality. I have endeavoured to lead them, as I was led myself, to realise that the only way to achieve our purpose was to reserve for the present, and for the present only, certain functions of government under the control of the agents of this House, and to transfer other functions to the representatives of the people. That is what Mr. Feetham's

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Committee proposes to do. That is what the India Office Committee, and that is what the Government of India and ourselves in discussion in India came to the conclusion was inevitable—to separate the functions of government, to transfer some, to reserve others, and to proceed by gradually taking the functions that are at present reserved and transferring them. Having decided that certain functions are to be transferred and that other functions are to be reserved, the question next to be decided is, What is the form of Ministry that you will set up to conduct them? Is it to be one or is it to be two? I submit with great confidence to the House that immediately you try and preserve one Ministry, always acting together and sharing responsibility for all acts, you obscure the lesson of responsibility. Let us take a particular reserved function—say police—and a particular transferred function—say education. You say, "It is our intention that the people shall have their way at once in education. It is our intention that, as far as police is concerned, for the moment those who administer it shall carry out the wishes of the Houses of Parliament as the trustees of the Indian people." If the man in charge of education and the man in charge of Police are both equally members of the same Government, each sharing responsibility for the acts of the other, both equally responsible for police and education, the one or the other may at any moment have to carry out a policy of which he does not approve. The man responsible for this House may have to carry out an educational policy of which he does not approve. The man responsible to the Indian electorate may have to carry out a police policy of which he does not approve. If you separate the two functions, if you separate the Government into two parts, when a man who is responsible for education goes to his constituency, he says "It is quite true that I have carried out a certain education policy. That is quite right. I am answerable for that, and I am prepared to defend it. With regard to police policy I am not responsible. I am there only in a consultative capacity, with no direct responsibility at all. Your only way of modifying the police policy is so to show the House of Commons the excellence of the way in which you have used your educational policy, so that in ten years' time they will transfer to you the police policy too, but at present my responsibility ceases with the transferred subject." By that means, it seems to me, you can make clear, both to the electorate and to the individual who exercises power on behalf of the electorate, the extent of his responsibility, and in no other way. The logical sequence to that form of argument would be that you would have two Governments completely separate in the same area, with separate funds, separate finances, separate Legislatures, separate executive staffs. I would suggest most respectfully to the House that that is impossible, and for this reason. I cannot reiterate too often that the basis of this whole policy is its transitional nature. You want to lead on to something else at the earliest possible moment. If you have two Houses, with two staffs, two purses, the net result would be that the people concerning themselves with transferred subjects would never have anything to say on reserved subjects. But if reserved subjects are to become transferred subjects one day, it is absolutely essential that, during the transitional period, although there is no direct responsibility for them, there should be opportunities of influence and consultation. Therefore, although it seems necessary to separate the responsibility, there ought to be every room that you can possibly have for consultation and joint deliberation on the same policy, and for acting together for the purposes of consultation and deliberation, as the Bill provides, in one Government.

Colonel Wedgwood:—And criticism?

Mr. Montagu:—And criticism. This procedure would be absolutely indefensible if it were not for the fact that it was transitional, and if it were not for the fact that at stated periods it is proposed to hold a Parliamentary inquiry into its working, with a view to further stages. By that means there is a certain method of progress. By that means everything that happens will come under review, and the attitude adopted by each part of the Government to the affairs of the other part will be one of the prime factors in the decision of the Commission that reviews.

I have dealt now with the local governments and the way in which the scheme is evolved. I know it is a very hard thing. I know that it is more than difficult to explain so complicated a procedure, particularly for one who has been saturated for two years past with this sort of argument and discussion. But I have endeavoured as shortly as I possibly could to portray the arguments once again. They are portrayed in the memorandum which I have issued, and the Government of India's dispatch, which have led up to this Bill. I do not think the time has yet come for a similar movement in the Government of India. I think that there we must take the step of one stage only, namely, to make the Legislative Assembly more representative, to give it greater power of influencing and criticising, but not, at this moment, of responsibility; and we must make the Government of India itself more elastic in its composition, less stereotyped, by altering certain of the statutory provisions which govern its executive formation. We must also add to its power of dealing with its own work, because we relieve it of the necessity of controlling a large number of provincial functions. In so far as the Provincial Government has got to defer to its Legislature by Statute, that is to say in transferred subjects, you have a Government which is responsible to the electorate. Therefore there is no necessity to control it by the Government of India, and you get the devolution which the men who want to perfect administration desire. Therefore the Government of India will not be concerned, generally speaking, with transferred subjects, and the Secretary of State will not be concerned with transferred subjects. Therefore, this House will not be concerned with transferred subjects. Therefore, so far as transferred subjects are concerned, we shall have parted with our trusteeship and surrendered it to the representatives of the people of India. There is much more to be done with the Government of India. We have to release it from unnecessary administrative control by the India Office, and for that purpose, incidentally to this Bill, I am awaiting the details of Lord Crewe's Committee's Report, but so far as that is concerned, most of its recommendations, except as regards the composition of the Council, will be administrative and not statutory. At the same time, as was mentioned in the Joint Report, there is very much reason to believe that the secretariat system wants reconsideration and overhauling. I think it is understaffed, and I do not think it is modelled for

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the transaction of the complicated business which falls to the office at the present moment. The House will be glad to learn that Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, one of the most experienced British Civil Servants, has been good enough to accept my invitation, given to him on behalf of the Government of India, to visit India to consider the secretariat arrangements in the Government of India, and Sir George Lloyd has also invited him to consider those of Bombay.

Colonel Wedgwood: Does that include the staffs of Ministers who deal with transferred subjects, or will they arrange their own staffs?

Mr. Montagu: Ultimately, of course, the Ministers will arrange their own staffs, but I want them at the moment to take over their Departments as going concerns. The question of the secretariat, however, is for the Government of India primarily, and nothing else.

Alternative Schemes.

Before I sit down, there are some very important matters with which I must deal. The first is that of the alternative schemes which have been presented and which have been rejected in this Bill. There is the Congress and Muslim League scheme. I will not detain the House with the details of that. It was prepared before the pronouncement of the 20th August, 1917. It does not attempt to realise responsible government, but it leaves an irremovable executive at the mercy of a legislature which can paralyse it but not direct it. I do not believe that this House will ever agree to set up a constitution in India which will leave an executive, that is not removable, at the mercy of a legislature which cannot control it. Much more formidable is another alternative proposal, which comes from the heads of the majority of the local governments. Although I cordially agree with the Government of India in rejecting this proposal, I hope the House will believe that I do not under-estimate its importance. It is the work of no arm-chair critics. It is the work of the most experienced administrators in India. It is the work of men who are entitled above all others to have their opinions carefully weighed, and, although I believe them to be wrong, and desire to show why I believe them to be wrong, and that we shall have to argue this in Committee, yet it is with no sense of disrespect to them that I challenge their conclusions. It is a powerful array. The Government of Madras had no part or share in the elaboration of this alternative proposal. Yet the Governor of Bengal, Lord Ronaldshay, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, Sir Edward Gait, preferred the scheme of the Bill and the Joint Report. That is the position. But although I do not want to discredit them, I want to suggest that really their views are accidental in this sense, that it must not be assumed that whatever the composition of those Governments and whoever had been their heads, the same results would have ensured. For instance, the Chief Commissioner of Assam prefers the scheme of the majority of local governments. But the late Chief Commissioner of Assam, who left only a few months previously—he came home about a year ago—would have preferred, I know, the scheme of the Joint Report and the Bill. The present Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces prefers the alternative scheme of the local governments, but his predecessor would have preferred the scheme of the Joint Report. A great deal depends upon personality.

But although these gentlemen are entitled to give a very weighty opinion, they are not unprejudiced. Where men have grown up under a system they do not like to see it altered. Their proposal is the existing system with another man added to the Executive Council. Nothing much worse than the Morley-Minto scheme—an alleged unity of Government, because one-half of the Government is in their own words "necessarily influenced by the opinions of the Legislative Council," and the other half not. And there is no certainty of control by the legislature because on all subjects, if the Governor certifies it is in the interests of his province, he can override it. It is the same system with just another Indian member added to the Executive Council.

The Place of the Civil Servant.

Let me put it to this House. After all, the Civil Servant in India is not very different from the Civil Servant in this country. Whoever heard of a political reform in any office in this country coming out of the Civil Service. This House is the place for political reform. You will never get it carried out by the Civil Service. As time goes on, that service must carry out the wishes of those who dictate the policy. It must be first in this House, and ultimately in India, that that policy with the Civil Service is to carry out must be dictated to it.

Colonel Yate: Why did you send Sir Llewellyn Smith to make reforms in India? Is he not a Civil Servant?

Mr. Montagu: I am very much obliged to my Hon. and Gallant Friend. His intervention in Debate is always valuable. He has given me the opportunity of pointing my argument. I am using a Civil Servant to advise me on administrative changes as to how the Secretariat can carry out most efficiently the orders and wishes of its political superiors. That is exactly the function of a Civil Servant. And this is what ultimately, when India is a self-governing country, I hope to see the position of the Civil Service. It is quite true that in what I have said about the local governments' alternative plan I have included Lord Willingdon, because, although he is not a Civil Servant, and although he has a plan of his own, he would, I am certain, have preferred the plan of the majority of local governments to the plan of the Bill. But then Lord Willingdon prefers to rely upon those qualities which he possesses, which made him an astonishing success in the Government of Bombay. He brings all the qualities that ensure for him great popularity and all the qualities which made him in this House a successful Whip. He says, in effect, under a Governor such as Lord Willingdon a more elastic arrangement would be far preferable to the arrangement of dyarchy, of the Bill.

Under the scheme as we propose it to this House, if in any province a governor can so influence his advisers and there are governors and governors, and lieutenant-governors and lieutenant-governors—if the circumstances of a particular province make it possible, there is nothing in the Bill which would prevent a governor trying to discharge all the reserved functions as if they were transferred. He can call his Government together and say, "I do not believe much in this dual form of Government. Let us see if we

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cannot get on together. Unless I am driven to it I will use none of the powers given to me under this Bill. We will always consult together. I will do my best to work the scheme in deference to the wishes of the Legislature on all subjects, and I will only use my exceptional powers on reserved subjects if I am compelled to." Perhaps if he is lucky he will get through his term of office without being called upon to use them. Therefore, under my scheme, Lord Willingdon would get all he proposes in his letter. But suppose there is another Governor, who says, "I am not going to consult you. I like the good old way. I believe that good Government, or what I think is good Government, is far better than Self-Government, than the scheme under the Bill. I know what is better for you than you know yourselves." Under the schemes of the Bill, whatever the personality of the Governor, the transferred subjects are guaranteed to the representatives of the people. Under the alternative scheme, under the wide use of certification of the local Government majority, nothing is guaranteed to them at all. The time, I submit, is not one in which you can be content that certain members of your alleged united Government should be "necessarily influenced by the opinions of the Legislative Council." What you want, if you are to launch India upon this road, is that the Government on certain subjects must respond to the wishes of the people. In other words, unless you have that, and more than the local Government suggest, then there is no progressive realisation of responsible Government.

Lastly, I come to the scheme of the Indo-British Association. This is a body which gets very angry when I suggest that it does not intend to carry out the pronouncement of the 20th August in any adequate way, and it has done great harm in India by leading people to suppose that it has more influence on the decisions of Parliament than I hope it is ever likely to have. What are its proposals? "Financial delegation as between the Secretary of State and the Government of India." As a matter of administration, they are in agreement with the Bill and with the Joint Report. But that does not lead to any progressive realisation of responsible Government. "The reorganisation of the India Office intended not only to remedy obsolete procedure, but to obtain more recent knowledge of India." They are in agreement with the Joint Report on a matter of administration. They are suggesting the work on which Lord Crewe's Committee is now engaged. But that does not lead to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government. "Decentralisation in India as between the Government of India and the Provinces in domestic matters and the transformation into a federal system." Once again they are in agreement with the Bill and with the Joint Report. But that in itself does not lead them any nearer to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government. Then there are two points about municipal and local Government and elementary education. These are not constitutional points at all. And then there comes their one controversial and constructive programme. "In every Province place one or two districts in charge of a wholly Indian official staff and extend that, if it proves satisfactory, into a division and finally into a whole Province." That scheme is a scheme of bureaucrats for the consumption of bureaucrats intended for the enthronement of bureaucracy. "Let me, if I am in charge of a Province, be not controlled in any sense by my Legislative Councils." I have got somewhere—I will refer to it if I am challenged—this qualifying statement "that the powers of the Provincial Government are to remain unimpaired." They are not to be interfered with by the Legislative Council or by the Government of India or by the India Office. In other words, the Lord Sydenhams of the future can remain upon their throne, untrammelled by control from above and undismayed by criticism from below. How is that to lead to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government?

Brigadier-General Croft: Was he a successful Governor?

Mr. Montagu: I do not want to express an opinion on that. His record is available. I am not concerned with the authorship. It does not matter who is the author. I am only concerned to test the programme and see whether it fulfils the policy of the progressive realisation of responsible Government. And when I find that the association puts forward a policy which pretends to carry out the pronouncement but which more or less involves bureaucracy, I am entitled to criticise with all the strength in my power. What is the use of ousting a British Civil Servant and replacing him by an Indian Civil Servant? The district officer is the very backbone of the administrative machine. I venture to predict that the Indians themselves would be last to wish to see the complete disappearance of the district officer, but we do no good by establishing an Indian bureaucrat instead of an English bureaucrat. Of the two bureaucrats, having regard to his training, I infinitely prefer at the present moment the English bureaucrat. If that is the best alternative scheme addressed to this House and if we really desire to carry out the pledges made to India then it is far better to carry the Bill as it stands than to pay any attention to this scheme. We shall never get on with all the work that we have got to do in India unless we have settled, as this Bill will settle, the constitutional question and its interminable discussion. I say it "will settle." What I mean is that I hope we shall receive from the Joint Committee an agreed Bill, that all these alternative schemes will be considered in far more detail than is possible this afternoon, and that somehow or other a Statute will pass, as a consequence of the Second Reading this afternoon, which will launch India on the road to complete Self-Government. There is so much other work to do in India that if we can once get a growing constitution for it to win for itself that goal which we have pronounced, we can turn our attention to the spread of education—to the perfection or at least to the improvement of education—we can turn our attention to the development of her great resources and her great industries, we can consider the reorganisation of her defences. But before we can do anything and in order to make these things possible it seems to me to be essential to start her on this road of Self-Government.

I implore this House to show to India to-day that Parliament is receptive of the case for self-government and only seeks an opportunity of completing it by the demonstrable realisation of the success of its stages. There is too much race prejudice in India at the present time. It is beyond this House to correct it. It does not exist only in India; it exists in South Africa too. But Parliament can help to

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correct it in the Constitution. If we hold on to power in India and stand fast to the policy of subordination race friction will continue and ought to continue. If we surrender our trusteeship to the great provinces of India as speedily as they are ready to take it over, then Indians will have something better and more worth doing than fiercely and impotently to criticise those who are at present the agents of Parliament.

Perorations on Indian affairs have a tendency to great similarity; at least the perorations of my speeches on Indian affairs always seem so. I cannot, however—and I say it once again—believe that Parliament is going to afford any obstacle to the partnership of India in the British Empire. We have recently been so sympathetic to the national aspirations of Arabs, of Czecho-Slovaks, or Serbs, of Croats, and of Slovenes. Here is a country desirous of achieving nationality once again, I repeat, an original member of the League of nations, developed under our protecting care, imbued to a greater and greater degree with our political thought. Let us pass this Bill and start it, under the aegis of the British flag, on the road which we ourselves have travelled, despite all the acknowledged difficulties of area, of caste, of religion, of race and of education. If you do that, if you pass this Bill and modify it until it becomes a great Statute, I can say—we can say—as I should like to say with the authority of the House to the peoples of India, "The future and the date upon which you realise the future goal of self-government are with you. You are being given great responsibility to-day, and opportunities of consultation and influence on other matters in which for the present we keep responsibility. You will find in Parliament every desire to help and to complete the task which this Bill attempts, if you devote yourselves to use with wisdom, with self-restraint, with respect for minorities, the great opportunities with which Parliament is entrusting you." That is the message which it seems to me—I say with all deference—this House should send to the Indian peoples to-day, when you are starting to fulfil the pronouncement of the 20th of August. That message cannot be sent unless the House is determined to pass without delay, and with every desire that it should be improved before it is passed, a Statute which means the beginning of self-government, responsible Government, in the Indian Empire.

In replying to the Debate Mr. Montagu spoke as follows:—

By leave of the House, I may say a word in reply to my hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Wedgwood). Assuming that this House, as nearly every speaker has admitted, has accepted the announcement of 20th August, 1917—never mind if it was obtained in a way to which my hon. and gallant Friend objects—then every single point that has been raised in the Debate, to the whole of which I have listened, is a Committee point. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Melton (Colonel Yate) condemned in strong terms the plan which I prefer, which I think essential, just as he prefers that of the local Governments. That is a question which can only be settled by discussion before the Joint Committee, and I give the assurance that this Committee will not only be perfectly free, but I will do my best to supply all evidence that they can possibly want. There are deputations of Indians and Europeans in this country who have arrived specially for this purpose. Sir James Meston, the financial Member of the Government of India, is on his way home to express the views of the Government of India. We shall also have in this country very shortly Sir Michael O'Dwyer and others who represent the views of some of the local Governments who differ from us. We cannot really get on with these matters until this kind of evidence is before the Joint Committee. I never meant to question the great Indian experience of many members of the Indo-British Association. They include among their number a man who stands out as the most eminent of Indian Civil Servants of his time, Sir John Hewett. What I did say was that by their interpretation of the pronouncement of 20th August, 1917, in my opinion they had done great harm by putting before the world a policy which did not accord with that announcement. I do venture to say that I have as much right to rely for advice upon those devoted Civil Servants still in the service who have helped the Governors up to this time as I have to rely on those whose chief claim is that they have ceased to be Civil Servants. Lord Morley is reported to have said:

"It cannot be easy for any man to waken up to new times after a generation of good, honest labour in old times."

This is really what seems to me to be the matter with those to whom I have referred. It is not their experience exactly; it is that they have a natural prejudice for the institution under which they have won their spurs and the gratitude of the whole Empire. As to what my hon. Friend (Mr. N. Maclean) said, he also raises Committee points. There is the question of transferred and reserved subjects. That is a Committee point.

I must add a few final words in replying to other criticisms. I can assure hon. Members—I am surprised that the hon. and gallant Member for Melton fathered the ridiculous story—that there has not been any attempt to prevent the presentation to this House at the earliest possible moment of papers and documents. The dates on which these papers appeared were of vital interest because I wanted to get this Bill forward and, I was pledged not to proceed until I had got the papers. As soon as I could get the papers printed I placed them before the House.

Again, I beseech the House to let us have the Second Reading. I should not, however, be doing my duty if I sat down without a word in reply to the hon. Member for Bishop Auckland, (Mr. Spoor), who is a new comer in Debates on Indian affairs. In the discharge of my duty as the representative of the Government of India and of those public spirited Englishmen who are working to-day in India, I must enter the strongest possible protest against his description of the past and the present in India. We are not exchanging a regime of tyranny at all. We have given to India the best government for one hundred years past and more, which devoted Englishmen in the most selfless task in the history of the world could give to that country. We are engaged now merely on the higher task of substituting for good government self-government. That does not mean any stigma on government methods in the past in India.

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SIR SANKARAN NAIR ON THE REFORMS

The following is the minute of dissent by Sir C. Sankaran Nair, to the Government of India's Despatch of March 5, 1919 :—

The policy of His Majesty's Government has been announced to be 'the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire'. Some critics are apparently of opinion that this means the complete, though gradual, transfer of control from Parliament to legislatures in India. The words that India should be 'an integral part of the British Empire' appear to me to forbid such an interpretation. As long as India remains an integral part of the British Empire, the paramountcy of Parliament must be recognized and maintained. Limitations may possibly be placed upon the exercise of the powers of Parliament by practice and well-understood conventions. In fact 'the control of Parliament' may have one meaning in certain colonies and another meaning elsewhere. But the legal right of Parliament at any time to interfere with the Government of India must, for various reasons which it is unnecessary here to enumerate, be beyond doubt. What in my opinion 'responsibility' implies is the subordination of the executive to the legislative council composed of the representatives of the people. For this purpose, it makes no difference whether they are governments nominated by the legislative council or not. The essential point is that they must carry out the will of the legislature in every respect.

The proposals made by my colleagues tend to the diminution of Parliamentary control not for the purpose of transference of such power to the legislative councils of the country, but to the executive governments in India. What the Indians desire is not that Parliament should surrender in favour of the executive governments its power of control, but that it should delegate it to popular assemblies in India when it should think it proper to do so. During the period of transition, Parliament or any authority in England which faithfully represents Parliament might interfere with the exercise of any delegated authority by the legislative assemblies in India at the instance of the executive authorities or otherwise. I do not think that well-informed moderate, Indian opinion will raise any objection to a real intelligent control by Parliament in Indian affairs. So far as I know, they rather invite it. This difference of opinion will be found to explain a great deal of the differences between many of the proposals put forward respectively by the Government of India and by the Congress Party. The India Office, with the Secretary of State as at present constituted, does not faithfully represent Parliament.

Responsible Self-government not Foreign to Genius of People.

2. Another criticism in opposition to this announcement and the steps proposed to be taken under it is, that it is hopeless to introduce into India a Government responsible to the people of the country, as any system of government other than that of absolute monarchy was unknown in India and is entirely foreign and repugnant to the genius of the people. Those who advance this objection apparently ignore the influence of education, environment, association, political evolution, time spirit, etc. Besides as a matter of fact non-monarchical forms of government are not foreign to the genius of the people. I shall confine myself to the testimony of European writers. According to Professor Rhys Davids 'the earliest Buddhist records reveal the survival, side by side with more or less powerful monarchies, of republics with either complete or modified independence'. He also says : 'The administrative and judicial business of the clan was carried out in public assembly at which young and old were alike present in their common Mote Hall at Kapilavastu. A single chief—how and for what period chosen we do not know—was elected an office-bearer, presiding over the sessions, and if no sessions were sitting, over the State. He bore the title of Raja, which must have meant something like the Roman Consul or the Greek Archon'. The Greek writers refer to tribes who dwelt 'in cities in which the democratic form of government prevailed'. (Ancient India, Alexander's Invasion, McCrindle, page 292). There is also a reference to another tribe 'where the form of government was democratic and not regal'. Various other tribes who opposed Alexander are referred to as living under a democratic form of government (see Arrian Anabasis: McCrindle, page 154). Diadoros speaks of Patala as a city 'with a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan ; for in this community the

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command in war is vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while a Council of Elders rules the whole State with paramount authority.'* The latest authority that I know of on the subject is Mr. Havell.† He says: 'The common belief of Europe that Indian monarchy was always an irresponsible and arbitrary despotism is, so far as concerns the pre-Muhammadan period, only one of the many false conceptions of Indian history held by Europeans.' 'It will be a surprise to many readers to discover that the mother of the Western Parliaments had an Aryan relative in India, showing a strong family likeness, before the sixth century B. C. and that her descendants were a great power in the state at the time of the Norman conquest.' (*a*) 'The liberty of the Englishman was wrung from un-willing rulers by bitter struggles and by civil war. India's Aryan constitution was a free gift of the intellectuals to the people; it was designed not in the interests of one class, but to secure for all classes as full a measure of liberty and of spiritual and material possessions as their respective capacities and consideration for the commonweal permitted'. Megasthenes refers to the assemblies in Southern India also controlling and even deposing kings. How long these forms of government subsisted, it is now not easy to say. It certainly prevailed on the West Coast of India among the Nairs at the time of the Portuguese invasion. The Portuguese writer speaks of the 'Parliament' which controlled the Kings (cited in Logan's District Manual of Malabar). The Jirgahs on the North-West of India which, in the British territories now consist of the nominees of the deputy commissioner or commissioner, are the representatives of the old tribal assemblies which settled questions of war and peace and other important questions of government. Across the frontier the Jirgahs still exercise in some places those rights. The political conditions in India were not favourable for the survival of democratic institutions. That the spirit of popular government had not died when the British Government took possession of the country is however clear.

3. It can scarcely be denied that in the ordinary villages a democratic form of government prevailed when the British took possession of the country. 'Neither ancient nor modern history in Europe can show a system of local self-government more scientifically planned, nor one which provided more effective safeguards against abuses, than that which was worked out by Aryan philosophers as the social and political basis of Indo-Aryan religion.'* The Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons accurately describes how the village republics had survived invasions, convulsions and monarchy after monarchy. On this question Sleeman's Travels and Max Muller's 'What India can teach us' may be referred to. These village assemblies administered justice—both civil and criminal. The supreme government dealt with them and not with the inhabitants of the villages. They apportioned the revenue or tax among the inhabitants. They owned the public lands, and not the government. They consisted of elected members. We have got the election rules, containing the qualifications, disqualifications etc., in detail of the electors of long long ago preserved in inscriptions.† But they were incompatible with the revenue system of the British Government and with their administration of civil and criminal justice. The old village officials were converted by our government into government servants and became, according to popular view, government tyrants. The village entity was not recognized and in some provinces was destroyed by legislation. The common lands became government lands. The so-called village organizations which are the creation of British legislation or administration bear no resemblance to the ancient assemblies. It is impossible for any one who has even cursorily studied the history of village assemblies to maintain that the spirit of popular government has died out among the people.

4. Every Indian lawyer knows the caste assemblies which settle caste disputes, often involving ownership to properties of great value. The argument from administration of justice also seems to be a conclusive answer to those who maintain absolutism as an essential feature of Indian polity. We now administer the Hindu

* I omit all references to the Vedas, Mahabharata and the other Indian, including Buddhistic, authorities which are all referred to, along with what I have cited above, in two forthcoming works by K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. Bhandarkar respectively which will be shortly issued by the Calcutta University; and some of them also by Pramathanath Banerjea in his 'Public Administration in Ancient India'.

† E. B. Havell. 'The history of Aryan Rule in India' Harrap and Company (1918).

* (a) Intro. XIII.

† See "Ancient India" by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, with an introduction by Vincent A. Smith, page 169

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laws of inheritance and certain other laws which are inseparably bound with the law of inheritance. Yet they are not laws which, so far as we know, had the sanction of any sovereign. They were framed by great law-givers, not kings, and those laws were applied by caste or village assemblies to cases of individuals that came up before them. It is not right to say that any system other than that of absolute monarchy is repugnant to Hindu genius.

5. Besides, apart from the ideas and traditions which Indians have inherited with their respective civilizations, they have also imbibed the ideas of representative institutions under British Rule. For the last thirty-five years they have been more or less familiarized with elected or representative municipal boards and district and taluq boards, congresses and conferences. They have been praying for the introduction of representative legislative councils. And there is no form of Government which appeals more to the thoughtful among Indians to-day than a Government where the representatives of the people would sit to decide questions which affect the people.

It is important to note the growth of Indian public opinion on this question in order to judge what measures of reform are needed in the present condition of India and what are likely to satisfy that opinion.

My colleagues have not attached due weight to these considerations and have accordingly proposed various modifications which would make the Reforms Report scheme inconsistent with the announcement of the 20th August and utterly inadequate to meet the needs of the situation. To show this, I shall first state the proposals in the Reforms Report, and before dealing with the modifications proposed by my colleagues, draw attention to the conditions of the problem as they have developed during the last thirty years, which, in my opinion, have not received due consideration.

The Scheme.

The Government in the Provinces.

6. The proposals in the Report may be divided into three broad divisions (i) Certain departments of government, say local self-government, etc., are to be placed under the control of Indian 'Ministers' who will be responsible to legislative councils in the provinces composed of a large majority of members elected by the people and therefore entitled to be called themselves their representatives. Those departments are to be administered by the Minister under the general supervision of the Governor of the Province.

(ii) Other departments, which will consist of what are called 'Reserved' subjects, are to be administered by an Executive Council composed of one official, preferably an English Civilian, and one Indian appointed on the recommendation of the Governor. The Minister and the Legislative Council are to exercise considerable influence in the administration of the 'Reserved' subjects as the entire body, consisting of the Executive Council and the Ministers are to form one united government deliberating jointly in all important matters, though the decisions are to be taken only by the executive authorities in each department; there is to be only one common budget for both, in the settlement of which in cases of differences of opinion between the Minister and the Executive Council, the Governor is to have the deciding voice. The budget so settled may be modified by the Legislative Council in any way they like, subject to the power of the Governor to restore any provision in the budget which he might think it necessary to do in the interests of the 'Reserved' subjects. And finally no taxation in any instance is to be imposed without the consent of the Minister. It will thus be seen that these provisions give the Minister and the Legislative Council considerable influence in the administration of the reserved subjects; and the Executive Council is thus, though indirectly, made amenable to the influence of the Legislative Council in various important respects. In view of what I consider the retrograde proposals which are now being put forward by the Government of India, these proposals about reserved subjects are very important. Periodical enquiries are to be made by Parliamentary Commission for the purpose of removing subjects from the 'Reserved' list into the 'Transferred' list. The success of the Minister and of the Legislative Council in dealing with transferred subjects might not in itself constitute an adequate ground for the transfer of any of the reserved subjects which would ordinarily be of a very different kind. It is only the nature of the advice offered by the Minister and the Council and the influence brought by them to bear upon matters relating to the reserved subjects that would furnish the Commission with satisfactory reasons for their fitness for administering subjects so far withheld from them. These provisions, therefore, as to unity of Government—the influence of the

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Minister and the legislature over the reserved subjects—form an essential part of the scheme of the Reforms Report. From the Indian point of view, their importance is still greater. The reserved subjects will naturally consist of various and important subjects in which great administrative and other improvements, according to public opinion, are necessary. These provisions will enable the Legislative Councils and the Minister to insist upon the various necessary and beneficial reforms, with the result that if those reforms are not carried out, the Commission of Enquiry will be able to hold the executive council responsible for the short-comings of the administration and will feel justified, accordingly, in transferring the government of those subjects to the Minister and the Legislative Council.

(iii) There is a third class of subjects which are under the control of the Government of India, who are to be responsible only to Parliament. They have no responsibility in any sense to the Legislative Council; but the Indian element is to be materially increased both in the Executive and the Legislative Councils so that they might materially influence the decisions of the Indian Government.

It is also a feature of the Report that the Government of India are to retain within their control as few subjects as possible *i.e.*, those which are necessary for peace, order and good government of the country. Therefore as large a devolution to the provincial governments as is compatible with this obligation of the Government of India is to be carried out. It will be seen that this follows necessarily from one of the main conditions of the problem *i.e.*, that under the existing system reforms are difficult, if not impossible.

Principles of the Scheme Accepted.

7. I accept these principles and also generally the scheme in so far as it refers to the provinces. I shall have to suggest a few modifications but they will be strictly consistent with these principles and, in fact, are only intended to carry them out a little further in their application to the provincial Governments, but as will be shown presently, my colleagues have considerably modified the scheme. According to the scheme as modified by them, there is really no responsibility left so far as the transferred departments are concerned, and so far as reserved departments are concerned the influence of the Minister and the Legislative Councils has been eliminated. The justification for their proposals is the assumption made by them, that those to whom powers would be transferred according to the scheme are an oligarchy who may use them to the detriment of the masses, that the demand for reform emanates only from a small and comparatively insignificant class, that political progress will be accompanied with loss of efficiency and that the administration which has hitherto been conducted according to British standards and ideals will gradually acquire what is called an Indian character. In the reforms report also there are indications that these views may have influenced its authors in restricting the scope of reforms. With reference to this the following facts have to be borne in mind.

History of the Reform Movements.

8. The Indian National Congress was started in the year 1885 to divest the Government of India if possible of its autocratic character and to make it conform to English standards and ideals. For this purpose it was hoped that the representation of grievances to the Indian and the British Government by themselves and by elected members in the Legislative Councils would secure their redress. The first Congress demanded an enquiry into the working of the Indian administration on account of the deterioration of the condition of the people. The second Congress, which met at Calcutta in 1886 and which was really the first Congress composed of delegates from the various parts of India, after passing a resolution of congratulations to Her Majesty, passed the following resolution:—

'That this Congress regards with the deepest sympathy and views with grave apprehension the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India, and (although aware that the Government is not overlooking this matter and is contemplating certain palliatives) desires to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of representative institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people.'

It will be observed that representative institutions were demanded in order to deal effectively with the increasing poverty of India. It is also remarkable that many amendments were proposed putting forth palliatives for the poverty of the masses like the permanent settlement, wider employment of Indians, encouragement of indigenous trade, etc., but they were all rejected, and the above-mentioned resolution was carried.

The official report of the third Congress recorded that 'the Indian community despair of obtaining any material alleviation of the misery they see around them, until they can secure a potential voice in the administration.' And it was added:—'It is this conviction, more than

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anything else, that is giving such an intense earnestness to their efforts in the direction of representation.' Accordingly, when General Booth of the Salvation Army, commending 'to the attention of Congress the claims of the millions of India's starving poor', suggested certain schemes, the seventh Indian National Congress passed a formal resolution that the relief of the millions of half-starving paupers, whose sad condition constitutes the primary *raison d'etre* of the Congress, cannot be secured by any palliatives; and said, 'it is only by modifying the adverse conditions out of which this widespread misery arises, and by raising the moral standard of the people, that any real relief is possible. As regards the first, the Congress programme now embodies all primarily essential reforms; as regards the second, in every province and in every caste, associations, public or private, are working with a yearly increasing earnestness.'

9. Among the reforms which the Congress from that time up to the present have been pressing are compulsory primary education in the interests of the masses, technical education for industrial development, local self-government, mainly in the interests of sanitation, etc., separation of judicial and executive functions for better administration of justice, reform of the land revenue system, abandonment of the theory that land forms the private property of the Crown to be dealt with by the executive at its pleasure and the recognition of national ownership of land by bringing what are called the revenue settlements under the control of representative Legislative Council, a far larger admission of Indians into the public services without racial distinction. These are some of the most important of the reforms which have been put forward.

These and other reforms were pressed upon the attention of Government by Indians whose capacity was undoubted, who subsequently rose high in the Government services and with ability which left nothing to be desired. There was agitation not only on the Congress platform but elsewhere also. Subsequently in the Legislative Councils the elected members continued the process but all this was scarcely of any avail. The result, on the other hand, was a stiffening of the Civil Service opposition to Indian progress mainly on the ground that English ideals are not suited to India. Gokhale said that unanimity in expressions of good-will, various proposals of reform by individuals, general opposition to every particular proposal, indifference, if not refusal, to carry out the clear intentions and orders of the British Nation have characterised the attitude of the Civil Service. The Indian politician who has taken any part in Indian public life or who has any experience of the real Government of the country, came to the conclusion that under the Indian Civil Service who form and carry on the real government, no real progress, which in the present circumstances of the country is indispensable, can be expected. The result on the part of the constitutionalists is a demand for reforms of the character now put forward. The grievances due to the alleged mis-government and the apparent hopelessness of their redress under the existing conditions are responsible for sedition and revolutionary movement; latterly the natural desire for self-government and the forces that have been let loose since the war have reinforced the claim for reform. This general demand had not its origin, as stated in the Reforms Report, solely or mainly in the desire, however natural, of the English educated Indians for an increasing share in the administration or for self-government, though no doubt there were a few advanced thinkers who might have put forward Home Rule even thirty years ago. Reform was at first regarded simply as a means to improved administration according to English ideals and is even now so held by a considerable section. Matters have now, however, assumed a different aspect and the association of Indians in every branch of Government and self-government are regarded as an end in itself and the only panacea for the evils complained of.

The opponents of this movement maintained that the Congress was started by the Bengalees and the Brahmins of South India, and that India as a whole was not with them. The Mahrathas were invited to declare that they had nothing to do with these Bengali and South Indian agitators. We know now the answer. The Mahomedans were warned that the Government might tolerate the agitation carried on by certain classes, but they, the Mahomedans, will not meet with the same tolerant reception. No efforts were spared to inform them that the Congress was hostile to them. The exigencies of controversy alone can now represent the attitude of the Mahomedans as hostile to reforms. Indeed their advanced section asks for reforms more far-reaching than any that the Hindus claim. Anti-Congress politicians were certain that the races like the Sikhs and other Punjabis at least are bound to be opposed to Home Rule. It is doubtful now whether there are stronger adherents to Home Rule than those

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in the Punjab. At the last Congress in Delhi it was the determined attitude of the Punjabis that forced the Congress to demand reforms far in excess of those in the Reforms Report. The Non-Brahmans and the depressed classes have awakened to a sense of their political helplessness and to their wretched condition, and no longer content to rely upon the Government which has left them in this condition for the past hundred years, claim a powerful voice, in the determination of their future. It is enough to say that they want half the members of all the Executive Councils, including the Viceroy's, to be Indians, and an elected majority in all the Legislative Councils, without the checks provided by the Grand Committees and State Councils, their interests being adequately protected by what is called communal representation. The demands for a large measure of reform varying from Home Rule to the demands of the depressed classes as stated above have now become general.

After the Mutiny, Sir Sayyed Ahmed pointed out that it was absolute ignorance on the part of the Englishmen of the real condition of the country that was responsible for the Mutiny, and he advocated the appointment of Indian members to the Legislative Councils to give the English rulers information of the needs of the country. The men nominated by the Government proved utterly useless for the purpose. Nomination was found to be an absolute failure. The Congress then claimed a representative element in the Legislative Councils in the hope that if the authorities were kept well-informed by the authorised representatives of the nation, the condition of the masses of the country would be vastly improved. Lord Lansdowne introduced an elected element into the Councils, but there was no real improvement. All their efforts for more than fifteen years proved abortive. They were told that they did not know the conditions of the country themselves; that the officials knew better; and against their strong protests measures were enacted and a line of conduct pursued which led to the growth of sedition in the country. Lord Morley then enlarged the Legislative Councils to provide real representation of the various classes of the people so that the same reproach might no more be levelled that the Councils did not represent the real voice of the nation. He provided for resolutions to be moved in the Council so that the Indians might be able to formulate their views for the consideration of the officials, and the officials might be enabled to give their reasons in reply. He also provided, what is equally important, for the appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils so that they might press acceptance of the popular views upon their colleagues. The experiment has been tried also for a sufficiently long time, only to prove its futility; and not only the Congress and popular leaders of the country but all thinking men in India have come to the conclusion that the existing machinery is insufficient for the peaceful and good governance of the country.

The Reforms Report, therefore, is not only quite right in dwelling upon the political consciousness of the people quickened by the recent events in Europe which demand great political reforms, but it has minimised very much the intensity and volume of that political consciousness. The Report is also quite right in pointing out the growing discontent and the widening gulf between the officials and the non-officials due to the inutility of the Legislative Councils. I think, however, that it has not brought out sufficiently that this is due to the official attitude. I have not thought it necessary to dwell upon the other reasons which have been assigned for reform, that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to initiate or to carry out any progressive policy under the present constitution of the governments in India which has been explained in detail in the Report, as this is generally admitted to be the case.

I have referred to the reasons for reform which have been advanced in the Report and they made out a case for a great change, but in the opinion of the political leaders reform is imperative for another reason. It is required in the interests of peace, order and good government, *i. e.*, efficient government according to English ideals. The present system has proved inefficient. The plague disturbances in the Bombay Presidency would not have been allowed to take place under any democratic or popular government. The Tinnevelly riots and the murder of Mr. Ashe in the Madras Presidency were due to the latter's interference with Chidambaram Pillai's effort to improve the lot of the mill-hands and with the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. This again would not have been possible under the ordinary conditions of good government. The occurrences in East Bengal which were the immediate cause of seditious and revolutionary movements also would have been practically impossible under a popular government. The Punjab unrest in 1907 had its origin in a legislative measure which was vetoed by the Imperial Government on account of the opposition of the sepoys and the military

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classes. The bills now before the Legislative Council to deprive a person of the protection of the ordinary courts of law and of the safeguards which, in civilized countries, have been found necessary to protect the innocent, and to place personal liberty, freedom of the press and speech under the control of the executive, is proof of the necessity of radical reform of a system responsible for a situation which has in the opinion of Government rendered such legislation necessary.

The troubles consequent upon the division of society by races, castes and creeds, far from being any impediment in the way of reform calls imperatively for great political reforms; and there is very good reason to believe that if the leaders of the various communities are left to compose the differences themselves such conflicts will be far rarer, if they will not entirely disappear.

Great constitutional reforms are also essential in the interests of the masses of this country. The educated classes have failed in their endeavours to bring about any substantial amelioration in their condition. Not only have the Government not taken the necessary steps, but they have not supported the efforts of the educated classes.

Further, the various reforms that are long overdue also call for a change in the constitution that would render their realization probable. Promises made as regards the admission of Indians into the public services without racial distinctions have not been kept. Reforms in the land revenue administration which are indispensable were promised by the Government and the promise has been withdrawn. The separation of judicial and executive functions was promised by the Government of India. It has not yet been effected. The orders of Lord Ripon and of Lord Morley about local self-government have been practically disregarded. The wishes of the King-Emperor as regards education have not been carried out. Steps necessary for the revival of industries have not been taken. In all these, we have now passed beyond the stage of promise and without actual performance no weight would be given to our declarations.

It is under these conditions that the Congress and the Muslim League and the non-official representatives of the Legislative Council formulated their demands for representative Legislative Councils, for responsible government by the subordination of the executive to such Councils and for a far larger infusion of the Indian element into the Executive Councils so that the latter might not be in a position to entirely disregard the popular demand, and it was in reply to this demand that the British Government have promised self-government by instalments, substantial steps being taken at once to carry out that promise.

Thus, it is not true that the reforms advocated will result in the transference of powers to persons who are not interested in the welfare of the masses; and it is also quite feasible to transfer power to the masses themselves. The demand for reform is universal and such reforms will not result in the application of the British standards and ideals to the Governments in India. With reference to the official view, that they best understand and protect the interests of the masses and that the transfer of power to the educated classes may result to the detriment of the masses, I would draw attention to the recent events in Champeran and Kaira, see appendix (A). They are also instructive for other reasons.

Bearing all this in mind, I proceed to consider the modifications suggested.

Transferred Departments: Control of Services

First, to deal with the 'transferred' subjects, *i. e.*, the subjects which are presumed to be under the control of the Ministers and the Legislative Councils. According to the Reforms Report, though a Governor does not occupy from the outset the position of a purely constitutional Governor, he is to refuse his assent only when the consequence of acquiescence would clearly be serious. I am not sure whether this is accepted by my colleagues (para. 101). If it is not and if they contemplate any further interference on the part of the Governor, I am unable to agree with them. The new proposals which they have made seem to contemplate such interference. I have no doubt it will be admitted that the Ministers and the Councils will not be able to carry on the administration with any fair degree of success unless they have a loyal service or services which in their opinion are competent to carry out the duties which are entrusted to them. Of course at the commencement as rightly pointed out in the Report, to require Ministers to inaugurate their services for their own departments would doom the experiment to failure; and the Reform Report therefore places the machinery of the public service, as it exists to-day, at the disposal of Ministers, adding also that adequate protection must be given to those services. The Government of India now give adequate protection to those services by various provisions to which it is unnecessary here to draw attention. But instead of only placing the public service at the disposal of the Ministers when the new scheme

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is inaugurated, they would go further and would compel the Minister to accept such officials to carry out their policy. The consequence would be that though the Minister may be saddled with an officer, who is so opposed to the opinions of the Minister and of the Legislative Council that he will not loyally carry out the policy determined upon by them, the Minister is to be compelled to retain him although both the Governor and the Minister may want to get rid of him and appoint another person who, they think, would properly carry it out. Thus, for instance, if the Governor and the Minister want to appoint a sanitary expert from England for carrying out certain sanitary arrangements, they are not to have that liberty, but they will be compelled to appoint a man in the ordinary services. Similarly, if the Governor and the Minister wish to appoint an agricultural expert as the head of certain settlement of agricultural operations in preference to the Civil Service officer who will be ordinarily appointed to it under the rules of the service, they are not to have that right, but they will be compelled to accept a person who would in the ordinary course occupy that position.

We have provided that the appointments of these officers can only be made by or with the sanction of the Secretary of State and subject to any rules that may be made by him. I would, therefore, propose that it should be open to a minister to appoint, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, or request the Secretary of State to appoint any person outside the service for any post under him. The intervention of the Secretary of State should be a sufficient safeguard in such cases.

14. This question becomes of very great importance when we regard their relations with the Governor. According to my colleagues, the permanent heads of departments and the secretaries under a minister should have access to the Governor to bring to his notice any case which they consider that the Governor should see. In fact, the secretary or the permanent head of a department would be entitled to appeal to the Governor against any decision of the Minister overruling him. My colleagues also expect that the Governor would direct all cases of particular types and all cases of major importance to be brought to him as a regular practice. The result would naturally be to weaken considerably the position of the minister in relation to his subordinates. In fact, he might be reduced to a figure-head by the Governor and the Secretary. I do not think that this could have been contemplated by the authors of the Reforms Report, and I do not think it right. No secretary or head of a department should have any access to the Governor for this purpose. No one should come between him and the minister. It is one thing for a Governor to tell the member himself that he would like to be consulted on cases of certain type, and it is a very different thing to allow a secretary to bring to him such cases for decision in appeal against a minister.

Legislative Control.

15. There is another drastic change proposed by my colleagues. They are of opinion that if any proposal contained in a bill dealing with transferred subjects affects the peace, tranquillity, etc., of a province, or the interests of a specified reserved subject, the Governor should have a right to refer that bill to a grand committee. In actual practice this might practically eliminate the control of the legislative council over even the transferred subjects, because almost all bills referring to transferred subjects may be brought by a Governor, whose order according to my colleagues should not be open to appeal, under one or other of these conditions. To take a concrete instance: If a minister wishes to introduce any measure dealing with sanitation or education, the Governor might refer it to a grand committee on the ground that its alleged unpopularity might possibly provoke disorder. We may, therefore, assume that the Legislative Council will in law be as impotent in future in transferred departments as hitherto, and as they will be in the reserved departments in future. This is opposed to the Reforms Report and I am unable to accept it.

16. Further my colleagues would give power to the Governor and the Secretary of State in certain events to transfer *all* departments from the minister to the executive council. It will be noticed that the Governor has the power to dissolve the Legislative Council; but even after this if he finds the Legislative councils and all ministers opposed to him, they would give this right of transfer of *every* department from the minister, presuming that the Governor must be right and all the councils wrong. They want this as the only possible safeguard against a deadlock, which might be fatal to the administration of a province, as a deterrent to factious and irresponsible action; this view is based upon a gratuitous assumption that actions of the legislative council and the minister will always be factious and irresponsible when such actions are opposed to the opinion of the Governor.

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Striking at the Root of the Reform Scheme.

I do not think it should be in the power of a Governor or the Secretary of State—who will be only his mouthpiece—to strike thus at the root of the reform scheme. This proposal is entirely opposed both to the letter and spirit of the Reform Report, which views such proposals with disfavour; the Report would not give such power over the legislature to any executive government and would allow the same, if at all, only after an open enquiry by an impartial parliamentary commission. If two consecutive legislative councils, composed as they would be under the scheme, come to conclusions directly opposed to that of the Governor, the presumption in my opinion, would be exceedingly strong that the Governor was wrong and their views should be given effect to. To give, in such circumstances, this power is to go against the principles of constitutional government and will be taken as indicative of a spirit incompatible with constitutional government. For any sudden emergencies, there is the power of ordinances, if necessary, by the Viceroy. I would not, therefore, allow this power, more especially when it is proposed to confer upon the Government of India certain powers of interference, the exercise of which would adequately meet all possible contingencies.

17. It is proposed to give the Government of India the power of interference even in the case of transferred subjects for the following purposes:—

(*i*) to safeguard the administration of Government of India subjects;

(*ii*) to secure uniformity of legislation where such legislation is considered desirable in the interest of India or of more than one province;

(*iii*) to safeguard the public services to an extent which will be further determined subsequently;

(*iv*) to decide questions which affect more than one province.

18. Again, my colleagues propose that if the decision taken in the reserved department requires in the opinion of the Governor, certain action in the transferred department which the minister objects to take, the Governor must be armed with the power to issue orders in the transferred department. It makes no difference in this view that the Governor can pass an order in similar circumstance in the reserved department. The result of this will be further to curtail the powers of the minister.

Control of Finances.

19. The new proposal about the allocation of the resources available for the purposes of the executive council and those available for the purposes of ministers completes the subordination of the ministers to the executive council. The main sources of revenues, like the land revenue, in the provinces will be under the control of the executive council while all the departments of expenditure, like education, local self-government including public health and public works, will be under the control of the minister. These are the departments which stand in need of development. In normal circumstances, therefore, the revenue which they require will have to be made good to them by the executive council. This places the ministers practically under the control of the executive council. The minister or ministers will not be able to raise money even by taxation without the consent of the Governor, and, as I have already pointed out, it will almost invariably be the case that the bill is one which the Governor would be entitled to refer to the committee for legislation. According to my colleagues their proposal will give the ministers a direct interest in improving the sources of revenue which are placed in their charge, but the sources of revenue which are capable of expansion will be, according to the proposals, placed, not in their charge but in the charge of the executive council. There will be, therefore, no resources to be developed except perhaps excise revenue which it should not be our policy to regard as a source of growing revenue. Further I do not accept this theory that all inducement must be held out to a department to increase its revenue for its own benefit. My colleagues further state that the official government should not have the power to refuse funds for the work of the popular half of the government, but according to the proposals the minister will never have that power as the final decision for taxation rests with the Governor and not with the minister. I do not accept the view which seems to result from the proposals of my colleagues that we should punish the people of the country for any dereliction of duty on the part of the minister or the executive council.

20. The cumulative effect of all these provisions is to place the minister and the legislative council in relation to transferred departments not only in a position of no real responsibility but virtually in subordination to the executive councils. The scheme, therefore, of my colleagues is

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directly against the Announcement of the 20th August, as it means altogether a negation of responsibility, and should not therefore be accepted. The departments of which the minister will be placed in charge are bound to suffer under the proposed arrangement; and I have shown in my review of the present situation that they are not likely to receive any favourable treatment at the hands of the executive council.

In so far as this part of the scheme is concerned, my criticism, therefore, is that while the policy decided upon by His Majesty's Government requires definite responsibility to be laid upon the ministers for certain acts of the government, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy would allow such responsibility only under the general supervision of the Governor; my colleagues would practically get rid of all such responsibility by converting the minister into a subordinate executive officer, and the real legislative council into a subordinate body—subordinate to the Governor and the executive council, the latter being without any responsibility for the consequences,—though my colleagues in terms disclaim any intention to create an inferior government under the superior provincial Government.

21. I shall now take up the question of 'reserved' subjects. I have already referred to the provisions of the scheme relating to reserved subjects, which show the nature and the influence or power which might be exercised by the minister and legislative councils (see paragraph 6). The subject is so very important that even at the risk of prolixity or repetition I take the liberty of referring to them again for the purpose of explaining the objections that I advance to the proposals which are now being formulated by my colleagues.

According to the Reforms Report, no taxation, when it becomes necessary even in the interests of reserved subjects, can be imposed in a province without the consent of the minister who is supposed to represent the legislative council. The first essential, therefore, of a popular government is thereby secured. Again, the entire budget both for the transferred subjects and for the reserved subjects, is to be settled by the executive government as a whole. The minister has, thus, a powerful voice in the settlement of the budget; he is not a mere outsider tendering advice which may be acted upon or not according to the will of the executive council, because unless he is in a position to justify the budget proposals, even as regards the reserved subjects, he will not either undertake new legislation or be able to persuade the legislative council. At the same time he will not have a controlling voice so far as reserved subjects are concerned, because a final decision is to be taken by the executive council alone. Furthermore, even as to reserved subjects, in cases of any disputes between the minister and the executive council with reference to and provision of the budget, the question has to be decided by the Governor, who is also responsible for transferred subjects and who is to act in view of the fact that taxation, if any, can be undertaken only with the consent of the minister. The influence of the minister, in these circumstances, will act on the reserved subjects in the direction of thrift and retrenchment. Similarly, the minister will have the experience and advice of the members of the executive council with reference to his transferred subjects, and he will have to pay serious regard to that advice in determining the relative proportions to be divided among the transferred and reserved subjects; and the influence of the executive council members will, therefore, be exercised in the direction of thrift and expenditure so far as transferred subjects are concerned. Then, again, this is a very important provision: the entire budget has to be submitted to the legislative council, whose resolutions on the budget will be binding even so far as the reserved subjects are concerned, unless the Governor restores the budget on specific grounds (paragraphs 221, 222, 256 and 257).

The proposals that I have referred to above give the minister and the legislative councils very considerable influence in the most important question of finance and everything that depends on it concerning the reserved subjects. They are satisfactory and based on sound principles. All this influence of power proposed to be bestowed upon them in the Reforms Report will be eliminated if the modifications suggested by my colleagues are accepted.

Modifications Proposed by the Indian Government.

22. They propose to omit the very important provision that the resolutions of the legislative council on the entire budget to be submitted to them will be binding on the government unless the Governor exercises his special right of restoring the provision in the budget on any specific ground. The Government of India now would treat every budget resolution only as a recommendation. To my mind, this is a grave departure from the scheme of the Reforms Report. It is said that a Governor would find himself in a very inconvenient position if he had to over-rule a legislative council, and a continuance of that

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course, if the legislative council persists year after year in carrying a resolution with reference to any particular measure, would be almost impossible. The very object of the provisions is that in the absence of any strong reasons to the contrary, the opinion of the legislative council should prevail : and I think this departure from the scheme outlined in the Reforms Report detract considerably from its value.

Separate Purse.

23. My hon'ble colleagues have followed this up by further modifications which practically get rid of all popular and Indian influence.

Instead of one joint budget and one joint purse for the whole government they will create separate purses for ministers and executive council members, respectively, with the result that the budget for transferred subjects will be settled only by the Governor and the minister, and the budget for reserved subjects will be settled only by the Governor and the other members of the executive council. Taxation for the administration of transferred subjects will be left in the hands of the ministers ; and similarly, taxation for reserved subjects will be left entirely in the hands of the executive council members. The rule that the resolutions are binding, unless disallowed or vetoed by the Governor, is not accepted by them. The council's resolutions are to have effect only as recommendations.

The result of all this is that so far as the reserved subjects are concerned, neither the minister nor the council is to have any real voice in the settlement of the budget. This is avowed to be the real purpose of the new proposals. Real popular influence in the settlement of the budget is, therefore, entirely gone. The minister or popular assembly is not to have the final voice in taxation as the executive council member alone presents the bill for taxation, and if the legislative assembly does not pass it, it will be open to the Governor to get it passed over their heads by grand committees or otherwise. The influence of the minister on reserved subjects in the direction of thrift and expenditure also is removed. I think it substantially reduces the value of the Reforms Scheme. I am, therefore, unable to accept any of these modifications in the original proposals which are now suggested.

24. The advantages of this system are said to be that the ministers as well as the executive council will know what their available resources are, what opening balance will be at their credit and consequently what range of expenditure they may provide for and at what point they must face extra taxation. It will secure to each department the benefit of any improvements which can be expected in the revenue departments. It will, therefore, be an inducement to expand and develop the sources of revenue, as the fruits of their labours will not be shared by the other departments. It is also said that each may also borrow for its own purposes. Assuming that there are administrative conveniences in the separation of revenues, these administrative conveniences should not be allowed to weigh for a moment against the outstanding fact that you thereby get rid of the popular influence altogether on the finances of the reserved departments. To this great objection I find no answer forthcoming except that it is desirable that all the reserved subjects should be removed entirely from the influences of the ministers and of the Legislative Council. I cannot agree to this. On the other side, there is the objection advanced by the Congress that under the arrangement proposed in the Reforms Report the transferred subjects will only get 'the crumbs from the table,' and the unwelcome task of taxation is always imposed upon the minister, even though such taxation might have been necessitated by the needs of the reserved subjects. This argument has been availed of by my colleagues in order to support the scheme of a separate purse. It would be extraordinary if an argument intended to strengthen Indian influence should lead to its elimination. I have already referred to the safeguards provided by the scheme. No taxation can be imposed without the consent of the minister, who can ear-mark the proceeds of taxation. No responsible member of an Executive Council is, therefore, likely to press the claims of the reserved subjects too far, and in particular in view of the enquiry by a commission after a few years ; and even if he does so, the final decision rests with the Governor, who is interested in the administration both of the transferred and of the other subjects. Apart from all this the Legislative Council will review the budget and a responsible Governor has to restore the provision of the budget in favour of the reserved subjects by overruling them. It is impossible, therefore, that the transferred subject will suffer, and I feel strongly that this argument should not weigh in favour of a separate purse, which will operate far more against popular influence than the existing provision. The apprehension expressed by Indian politicians is really due to the phraseology in the report. To remove the same, instead of stating that the supply of the reserved subjects will have priority over that of the transferred subjects. I

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would simply say that the executive government as a whole will apportion the revenue between the transferred and the reserved subjects. If the ministers and the council members do not agree, the Governor has the right to decide. The effect is absolutely the same, as in the scheme the supply for the reserved subjects can be determined only by the Governor if the minister does not agree. The proposal of my colleagues that the consent of the Governor is necessary to taxation is a part of the scheme in the Reforms Report whenever there are differences of opinion. After apportionment of the revenue, the necessity of taxation might be considered, the indispensable condition being that provided for in the Report—that there should be no taxation without the consent of the minister. As to who should introduce the Bill into the Council is a matter which might be left to the Governor. Ordinarily, the member whose department needs the fresh taxation proceeds will no doubt introduce the Bill.

25. I have assumed that there are administrative conveniences in this separation of revenue. It is admitted by my colleagues that the proposals in the Reforms Report have not met with any criticism in India. It will not be right in the circumstances therefore to make any alterations They point out that any substantial increase in reserved expenditure will be at the mercy of the ministers, although ministers may have no responsibility for the consequences of refusing the budget provision, but this is an impossible contingency as in the case of any dispute between the ministers and the executive council the decision is left to the Governor. In order to support their argument they have to assume that the Governor under his exceptional powers might insist on expenditure on reserved subjects being provided for in the budget leaving ministers with inadequate funds for the transferred subjects. We are not warranted in making any such assumption, and if the Governor is inclined to exercise his power in that direction he can do it even otherwise. What is to happen if the Governor under the powers of supervision and control which he has over the minister—powers which my colleagues desire largely increased—were to cut down the funds available for the minister even if they were not wanted for reserved subjects? Such assumptions would render the working of any constitution an impossibility.

Further, the income derived from the sources of revenue which form part of the reserved list will, after providing for the administration of those subjects and of Law, Justice, and Police, leave a large surplus which, with the normal growth of revenue, will be adequate to meet the growing expenditure. I doubt whether any taxation or borrowing for the needs of those departments has been found necessary in the past or will be required in the future The annual discussion my colleagues would avoid by settlement of revenue for a period of time. This will interfere with the legitimate exercise of their power over finance by the Legislative Council; such settlement may lead to taxation and borrowing when otherwise it would be unnecessary, and lead to unnecessary friction and criticism divorced from responsibility. Generally I have to state that my colleagues have, throughout their report, made assumptions which are calculated to show the apparent necessity of a stringent control over the ministers All the difficulties suggested by my colleagues presuppose non-interference under any conditions on the part of the Governor with the minister and an absence of any provision enabling the Governor to decide in cases of dispute between the minister and the members of the Executive Council. It appears to me that the provisions in the Reforms Report scheme form a sufficient answer to all the objections advanced.

My colleagues are also of opinion that one more official, who will be ordinarily a civilian, should be appointed to the Executive Council. In the Report the transference of some of the functions of government to ministers was held to make it 'impossible' to retain an Executive Council of more than two members, one of whom was to be a European and the other an Indian. And this reduction of the European element from two to one was regarded as equivalent to an increase in the Indian element. My hon. colleagues, however, support their proposal on the main ground that the Governor—a new man from England—will be left with only one European adviser as a member of his Council. And it is also said that work can be found for one more member. It does not appeal that the conclusion that was arrived at the time the Report was framed that there will not be sufficient work for three members of the Executive Council is unfounded. Before 1911 there were only two members. At present there are three. A good portion of their work will now be transferred to the ministers. I am satisfied that there is no reason, on the score of the work, for the appointment of one more member. A stronger objection is that involved in the second reason given in the Report. It will materially reduce the relative strength of the Indian element in

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the Executive Council. An Indian member will have no chance as against two English official members. For consultation and advice, the secretary in the department, who will or may be present, will be available. Neither the *adlati* nor any additional member is required. In reserved subjects, therefore, with the modifications proposed by my colleagues with reference to budget and taxation, this addition of one member will practically get rid of the influence or power accorded to the Indians or representative Councils in the Reforms Report. In the interests of good government, is it advisable or necessary to depart from the scheme?

First, let us take the budget and consider the restrictions on the provincial governments imposed by the general standing orders and the Secretary of State. The sanction of the Secretary of State is required to the appointment of any English officer drawing a certain pay; to create any new post which would ordinarily be filled by gazetted English officer; to create any new post over a certain monthly pay; to give any honorarium exceeding, I believe, a thousand rupees; to make any grant of land except under very special conditions. The right to purchase motor cars was so much abused that now they cannot be purchased for public business without the sanction of the Secretary of State. These are only some of the orders; there are many more of the same kind. All these indicate not only the nature of the restrictions that are imposed upon the provincial governments but also the close supervision which is deemed necessary for the exercise of their powers. There is no reason to think that no such restrictions would be necessary in the future. We propose by these schemes to give the local governments enhanced powers of appointment—powers by which they may appoint officers drawing very high salaries, over even a thousand rupees. We propose now to give them powers to carry out schemes, without reference to the Government of India or of the Secretary of State, which involve lakhs of rupees. If it was necessary for the Government of India or the Secretary of State to exercise this close supervision over the local Governments in the interests of the taxpayer, that supervision can only be relaxed on the ground of increasing popular control. Lord Curzon has remarked, and so also, I believe, almost every administrator who had to consider this question, on the growing tendency in every department to increase the emoluments and to increase the establishments. Far, therefore, from getting rid of the control over the budget by the Legislative Council, it appears to me that the relaxations by the Government of India and the Secretary of State of their power of control, and the additional powers which it is proposed to confer upon the local governments require not only the powers conferred upon the minister and the Legislative Council by the Reforms Report, but additional powers. Restrictions were placed upon the powers of the Government of India in the appointments of Englishmen because it was felt that otherwise the Indians would have no chance at all.

Similarly, take the questions of industrial expansion, the separation of judicial and executive functions, increase of taxation by recurring settlements without the consent of the Legislative Councils. All these are really financial questions, and, under the scheme proposed in the Reforms Report, the popular assembly will have considerable influence in shaping the policy of the Government with reference to all these. The proposals of the Government of India will leave the legislative councils and the minister without any such voice in the settlement of these questions. It is, therefore a considerable departure from the Report. My colleagues, I am afraid, do not realize the strength of the feeling for reform due to questions referring to these matters.* They ignore altogether the very important considerations which arise therefrom. There is no split in the Congress Party or so far as I can see among Indians on the broad lines of policy that should be pursued on the matters above referred to. The addresses presented to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy draw prominent attention to these grievances.

I cannot help thinking, in these circumstances, that if these restrictions are removed we may expect great waste of public funds in the future and great and alarming discontent. I would, therefore, as already stated as against the new proposals of my colleagues, not only support the scheme in the Reforms Report so far as taxation and budget are concerned, but would go a little further in the same direction by enacting that the Governor's power of restoring any provisions in the budget in the interests of the reserved subjects should not be exercised so as to confer any benefits on the services which they would not obtain in the ordinary course, and the Governor should not be allowed without the sanction of the Secretary of State to restore any provisions

* See paragraphs 3 to 12 above.

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in the interests of reserved subjects with reference to any matter for which the sanction of the Secretary of State is now required. It should be remembered that in the case of transferred subjects the council has got the powers of removing the minister, and a corresponding power does not exist in the case of the reserved subjects.

Peace and Order.

28. Leaving now the question of the budget, let me take the equally important question of peace and order. If sedition had its origin in Bombay, it would be noticed that this was due to the harsh administration of the plague regulations by a collector, which would have been impossible if the Indian element was powerful in the government of the country. Similarly the course of maladministration by the Government of Eastern Bengal which was responsible for the growth of real Bengal sedition would also have been practically difficult. Under the law which we have recently passed and under certain regulations which were passed at the commencement of the last century to meet certain exceptional classes of cases, it would be open to an executive Government in a province to deprive a man of his liberty and of his freedom of speech without the orders of the magistrate or any other judicial tribunal. The press may also be deprived of its freedom by executive action, the ordinary courts being deprived of their jurisdiction. The Governor of a province has the power of depriving a person who attacks him of his liberty of person and of his property without affording him a public opportunity of proving his allegations before the ordinary tribunals of the country. Under this law no Indian paper would venture to indulge in criticisms distasteful to the head of a province. Any agitation against the civil service or bureaucratic form of government would scarcely be possible under the civilian head of a province. The Home Rule agitation, or in fact any constitutional agitation may be suppressed without the interference of a judicial tribunal solely at the instance of an executive government. In these circumstances, it seems to me to be imperative that the Indian element and the popular element should be powerful in the Government of a province. Otherwise we will certainly perpetuate all those evils due to the inutility of the Councils which, as forcibly pointed out in the Report, are responsible for the widening gulf between officials and non-officials.

Grand Committees.

29. It is proposed to constitute grand committees out of the members of the legislative councils in order to legislate on 'reserved' subjects when the Governor considers such legislation 'is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquillity of the province, or any part thereof or for the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subjects.' So far as the 'reserved' subjects are concerned, it is said that such exceptional means of legislation are required on account of the poverty, ignorance and helplessness of the great majority of the population, who cannot for the reason be left to the mercies of a legislative council who will not adequately protect their interests. Further it is said that the masses themselves will not take any part in political life, and therefore all such questions concerning the revenue, those arising from the relations of the landlord and tenant must be retained by the executive government. It is also said that such power is necessary in order to defend British commercial interests and other questions concerning industries, etc. All questions that arise between classes and creeds also should not be left to the ordinary legislative councils. I have pointed out already that it may well be doubted whether in the interests of the good government of the country such exceptional powers are necessary. Our electorates are becoming wider; all kinds of interests and views divergent among themselves are going to be represented; and if in these circumstances, the government cannot secure any majority, the probabilities of their being in error are great. The grand committee as constituted is obviously intended as a check on a popular assembly, and is in itself therefore an undesirable institution. It creates an undesirable antagonism between a local executive and a local legislative council, and if there are other means of attaining the same object in view it is undesirable to retain it. I think the safeguard of the Imperial Legislative Council for all affirmative legislation and the powers of veto possessed by the Governor and the Viceroy to negative any Act which is passed by the local legislative council, and the power of ordinance for urgent occasions would be amply sufficient. This would secure a careful consideration of a measure rejected by the local legislative council before its introduction into the Imperial Legislative Council.

The objections to legislation by the Government of India are stated in paragraph 248 of the Reform Report. The first objection advanced is

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that such legislation will strike at the root principle of provincial autonomy, according to which the provincial governments must be autonomous in their own legislative field. Provincial autonomy was promised by Lord Hardinge's Delhi Despatch of 1911 for the purpose of increasing popular control. We, therefore, do not want the so-called provincial autonomy if it is intended thereby to increase the power of the executive government over the legislative council. On the other hand it is a principle recognised by the Reform Report that the control now exercised by the Government of India and by the Secretary of State over subordinate governments can be relaxed only in proportion to increasing popular control. It is quite right, therefore, that where a provincial legislative council has passed a measure, the Imperial Government or the Secretary of State should interfere as little as possible; but that the local executive government should be able to get passed through a grand committee a measure which has been rejected by the Legislative Council goes against all these principles. There is, in that case no question of real provincial autonomy. It must be borne in mind that the grand committee though technically a part of the legislature is brought into existence and will always be utilized to register the decrees of the Executive Government and may, therefore, be regarded as its agent for enacting measures rejected by the Legislative Council. The provincial government becomes independent both of the Provincial Legislative Council and of the Imperial Government; whereas, the proposal I put forward retains the power of the Imperial Government, for it can hardly be doubted that legislation by a grand committee will practically put an end to legislation in the Imperial Council

The other objection that is advanced that the Government of India would be very reluctant to undertake responsibility by legislation is, in my opinion, rather a recommendation than an objection as a Legislative Council should be over-ruled only in very exceptional cases. The Government of India cannot be accused 'of ignorance of local condition' as they will be acting only on the advice of the local Governments and after full consideration of, the discussions in the local Legislative Council.

Disregard of provincial wishes is a common factor whether the legislation is by the local Executive Government or by the Imperial Legislative Council. The Imperial Government in such a case would be an arbitrator between the local Executive Government and its Legislative Council. The 'ungrateful' task has to be undertaken by somebody, and it is much better that it should be undertaken by a Government far removed from local excitement. The reason that such legislation is unpopular and controversial is only an argument for subjecting it to examination by a government which is not subject to local temptations of prestige, power and increased revenue. The Imperial Government will be able to attach due weight to the circumstances that may be urged by the local Government and the arguments which induced the local Legislative Council to reject the measure. I also disagree with the proposal to reduce the elected element in the grand committee.

We are all agreed that the heads of provinces should in future, be Governors instead of Lieutenant-Governors (paragraph 218), but my colleagues are of opinion that the existing practice of appointing only civilians in accordance with the rule which requires twelve years' service in India for a Lieutenant-Governorship must be or will be followed for a long time to come. I regret I cannot share in this view. The primary consideration that should weigh with the Secretary of State in making the appointment is the fitness of the person to carry out the duties not, as hitherto, of an autocratic head of a province but of a constitutional ruler. The civil service generally have shown their hostility to the proposed reforms. They have expressed their strong opinion of the unfitness of Indians to hold high appointments or to carry out the duties which will devolve upon them as Parliamentary leaders. There will be many persons therefore among them who are not likely to work in harmony with Indians or to view with sympathy their political progress, which must curtail the privileges hitherto enjoyed by their own service. The Secretary of State should certainly, therefore, take the question into consideration when he makes the appointment. 'It may indeed be questioned whether the life spent in the Indian civil service is calculated, except in rare cases to stimulate that part of political talent which consists in the study and guidance of political opinion, or in the framing of the large legislative proposals which are from time to time needed in actively thinking political communities.'*

This fact also will have to be borne in mind. Those civilians who are in sympathy with Indian progress or who can be trusted to work smoothly with the political machinery of the future under the altered conditions and who are not prejudiced by

* Mr. H. A. L. Fisher: "The Empire and the Future."

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the feelings of hostility to the proposed reforms evinced by many of them may be appointed as heads of provinces. I do not think, therefore, that the confident expression of opinion by my colleagues as to the continuance of the practice hitherto existing is justified.

31. The same question arises with reference to the qualifications of a member of the executive council. It is intended, according to the Reform Report, that one member should be an Indian and the other an official with qualifications of 12 years' service under the Crown which is now required by law. I do not understand the Report to lay down that this should be retained as a statutory qualification, though no doubt in practice the qualification will be insisted upon. At present the appointment is in practice limited to the civil service. One can easily conceive cases where a Governor might require the presence in his executive council of a person of outstanding abilities in some particular line either in India or in England. There is no reason why the Secretary of State should be debarred from nominating him. My colleagues are of opinion that there must be a statutory provision that one member should be an Indian and that the other should have the existing qualification. I doubt whether this is necessary.

32. The only other point which I have to notice has reference to the right of a legislative council to make rules for its own conduct of business. Every council ought to have such a right, and no reasons have been shown why we should insist upon the consent of the president. The rights and privileges of a president or of a vice-president, in so far as they do not refer to the ordinary conduct of business, should not of course be interferred with.

The Government of India.

33. The first question has reference to responsible government. I recognise that it has been laid down in the Report that there should be no responsibility in the Government of India as in provincial governments, that is to say that there should be no Indian minister responsible to the legislature. This can be defended only on the ground that many of the departments of administration have been transferred to the provincial government and that those retained by the Government of India are far too important to be handed over to responsible Indian Ministers before the experiments have justified themselves in the provinces. These, of course, are subjects which concern peace and order and the good government of the country, foreign states, Army and Navy, and also questions in which the interests of England or her people are greatly involved. There are, however, questions which only concern the internal administration of the country and which have been recognized as fit for transfer to a minister and the legislative council. In all those cases, therefore, in which the Government of India retain a right to interfere with the transferred subjects, there should be no objection to introducing responsibility in the central government. Indeed responsible government seems to be necessary in order to carry out the principles indicated in the Report. It is proposed to allow powers of interference to the Government of India in the transferred departments of the provinces, for instance, to secure uniformity of legislation where such legislation is considered desirable in the interests of India or of more than one province. It is also desired to retain in the Government of India power to decide questions which affect more than one province. *Ex-hypothesi*, these are subjects which ordinarily should be dealt with by ministers in accordance with the will of the local legislature; and if it is proposed to remove these from the legislative council for reasons which have nothing to do with their capacity to deal with questions of that character, it is but reasonable that in the Government of India also the decision of such questions should be left to the legislature and an Indian minister. If necessary an Indian member of the executive council may be an Indian minister for this purpose. Supposing there are certain subjects which are not now transferred for temporary reasons, and of which we contemplate transference in the course of three or four years, I cannot see any reason why in such cases also responsible government should not be introduced so far as such subjects are concerned. Responsible government in the provinces demands responsible government in the Government of India in the same subjects, as otherwise provincial responsibility will be diluted.

The Council of State.

34. The next important question refers to the Council of State. I have very strong objections to the power given to the executive government to pass laws through the Council of State without a previous discussion in the legislative assembly. The Governor-General can exercise his power of issuing ordinances which will operate for six months. If any discussion is necessary, he can introduce the Bill into the legislative council to ascertain the popular view. If it is a matter in which the Governor-General in Council has made up his mind, then, of course a discussion is useless

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and unnecessary and an ordinance can at once be issued. Now with reference to the Council of State itself.

A Council of State as a second chamber representing interests not properly represented in the Imperial Assembly, I understand, and I raise no objection to it. A Council of State for the purpose of securing delay and for greater deliberation of subjects also might be necessary and I would not raise any objection to such a council either. But this Council of State is constituted for neither of these purposes. Its avowed purpose is to carry out the will of the executive Government when they cannot carry it out on account of the opposition of the legislative assembly. It is, in fact, an unreal council. Rather than constitute such a council, it is much better to lay on the executive council itself directly the obligation to pass the law. It will not then be exercised so frequently as it would now be with a State Council to give the measure that it passes an unreal appearance of popular support. It will belittle the importance of the legislative assembly and thus create an antagonism between it and the State Council and the executive government.

There is another serious objection. It is undesirable to give the executive council unrestricted freedom of action in matters in which popular opinion is decidedly against it. Disastrous consequences have attended such freedom of action; and as long as the Executive Government have that power of action, they are bound in the discharge of their responsibility to act upon it if they take a view contrary to that of the legislature. Again, there are great questions of administrative reform which should be carried out and which have not been carried out on account of the opposition of the bureaucracy due to their apprehension of loss of prestige, etc. I have referred to many of them already. There can be little doubt that a Council of State would check reforms as in the past in all these directions. I think, therefore, that the Council of State as constituted will prove an obstruction. At the same time, I recognise that in the Reforms Report it has been laid down that in matters referred to above, there should be no responsibility to the legislature. A *via media* appears to be to direct that in all cases Bills should first be submitted to the legislative assembly; and on their failure to pass such Bills, all the papers should be laid before the House of Commons to whom the Select Committee would no doubt submit their report; and it is only after such sanction is obtained that further step should be taken to proceed with the measure, either by the Executive Council or the Council of State.

Two further courses have been suggested: to confine the Governor-General's or Viceroy's power of certification to certain definite subjects or to curtail the power of certification to those Bills which have not been rejected by a certain percentage of the members of the Legislative Council.

I am clearly of opinion that the power of the Council of State, if it is not to be dropped, should be curtailed.

Budget

It is now proposed to delegate larger powers to the Government of India. It is obvious that if hitherto the interference of the Secretary of State has been necessary in the interests of the Indian taxpayer, and that it has been necessary will appear from the various orders which restrict the Government of India's power of expenditure —then the Secretary of State should be allowed to forego the exercise of his own power only with the development of popular control; otherwise, there is no justification. That the powers hitherto exercised by the Secretary of State were necessary in the interests of the taxpayer will appear from an examination of the instances in which such power has been exercised. It will also appear from a consideration of the rules themselves and the occasions and the reasons which led to the passing of such rules. It appears to me therefore that all resolutions on the budget by the Legislative Assembly should be given effect to in all those instances in which it would not now be within the competence of the Government of India to incur any outlay without the sanction of the Secretary of State; at any rate, if full effect is not to be given to it, the power to over-rule the Legislative Council in that respect should not be given to the Executive Government in India but should rest only with the Secretary of State.

I do not agree with my colleagues in discarding the provision about appointing members of the assembly to positions analogous to that of Parliamentary Under Secretaries or the Standing Committees. At present, or under the new scheme, there is no means of non-official members acquiring that knowledge which can be acquired only by holding an office. The knowledge of Indians in the public services will not be available to non-officials for criticism of Government proposals. The ministers will have intimate knowledge only of the transferred departments and that also only in the provinces. These Under-Secretary-

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ships and Standing Committees will enable the non-officials to acquire that information which they would otherwise lack. In the earlier stages of discussion, it was generally admitted that these would form a good training ground for future administrators. It is undesirable, therefore, to drop them.

In the Imperial Council also, as in the provincial councils, I think it should be left to the council to frame their own rules.

37. If there is any demand in which the associations who have addressed the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and all classes are unanimous it is in the request they make that half the members of the Executive Councils, both provincial and Imperial, should be Indians. The Congress and the Moslem League as well as the Sikhs and the non-Brahmin classes of Madras want it. The reasons are obvious. Every body feels that without the infusion of an adequate Indian element into the executive councils, the reforms that are essential for the better government of the country will not be carried out. Again, there are various questions, particularly those affecting finance that are settled by the Government of India and by the Secretary of State in consultation with one another which require a strong Indian element in the executive council. In all those questions, without adequate Indian influence the Government of India will easily yield to the Secretary of State. Various influences will act upon the Government of India which require adequate Indian influence to counteract them. Indian influence is also required to prevent the executive government of India from being unduly autocratic or unsympathetic towards popular movements. I would, therefore, propose the addition of one more Indian member to the two members proposed by the Government of India. If this is not accepted, I would suggest the appointment of an Indian minister to exercise the Government of India control over the transferred departments in the provinces. He may be called in for consultation but not for decision.

C. SANKARAN NAIR.

Delhi, 5th March 1919.

Lord Willingdon on "Unitary Government"

Soon after the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the Government of India addressed a circular letter to the Provincial Governments for an expression of their views on Indian Constitutional Reforms. The Local Governments accordingly submitted their opinions, some separately and others in groups. The Lieutenant-Governors of the United Provinces, Punjab and Burma and the Chief Commissioners of the Central Provinces and Assam submitted an alternative scheme to that of the Joint Report. The Governor of Bengal and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa while preferring the general plan of the scheme propounded in the Joint Report "to any other scheme which has been devised" suggested a more cautious advance on constitutional experiments. Sir George Lloyd, who had just then assumed the Governorship of Bombay rightly urged "that time is a factor of vital importance in the consideration of the whole question of reform." "I am convinced," wrote His Excellency, "that delay is a greater danger even than an imperfect scheme and that those of us on whom must fall the heavy burden of putting reform schemes into actual operation, will be better able to work an imperfect scheme with the good-will and confidence of all concerned than to operate a more perfect scheme—if one can be devised—when confidence and good-will has been broken and alienated by disappointment and delay." But it was reserved for the Government of Madras to indulge in a wholly destructive criticism. Their memoranda on the reform proposals are on the whole the most reactionary of all the documents bearing on the subject—an unenviable distinction to be sure! But the Government of Bombay under Lord Willingdon offered a welcome contrast. His Excellency's sympathetic attitude towards Indian aspirations and his marked interest in political reform for India make his criticism altogether invaluable. It will be seen that Lord Willingdon's scheme, though differing in procedure from that of the Joint Report is conceived in the generous spirit characteristic of him. In fact even those who are not for his scheme and who whole-heartedly subscribe to the scheme of the Joint Report will read His Excellency's criticism with the care it deserves. And as Mr. Montagu has already stated that it will be within the province of the Joint Committee not only to recommend modifications in his own scheme but also to consider the relative merits of diarchy and "unitary executive" there is no doubt our readers will read with interest Lord Willingdon's suggestive contribution to the literature on the reforms. [*Ed. I.R.*]

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WHILE this Government is anxious to support as far as possible the main principles of the scheme they find it necessary to point out certain defects.

The question of administrative and legislative devolution is dealt with in paragraphs 212 and 213, and upon these subjects this Government has only two suggestions to offer. First, in the opinion of this Government, the demarcation of the Imperial and Provincial spheres, both legislative and administrative, should be effected by statute and not by any species of constitutional practice. As regards legislation in particular it would, in practice, be inconvenient that the powers of the Provincial and Imperial legislatures should not be clearly and unmistakably defined, and it is further important that that definition should be a statutory definition in order to avoid any possible doubt as to the competency of the respective legislatures and to escape the possibility of legislation by one body encroaching on the sphere of the other body. In the second place I am to suggest that although the question of the relaxation of the control of the Government of India in the administrative sphere can be dealt with at any time, and need not therefore necessarily be decided now, yet in the opinion of this Government some relaxation will undoubtedly be necessary in view of the greater powers which it is proposed to give not only to the Provincial Governments but also to the Provincial Legislative Council. The Governor-in-Council is inclined to doubt whether it is correct to say that a general relaxation of the control of the Government of India would be opposed by Indian opinion, as is suggested in paragraph 213 of the report. The Governor-in-Council has reason to believe that the contrary is the case. It is, however, unnecessary to enter into the details of this question, as it is one that can be dealt with independently of the proposed reforms.

The next matter which calls for discussion is the Provincial Executive, which is dealt with in paragraphs 214 to 224. On this most important and difficult question the Governor-in-Council, I am to say, regrets that he is unable to accept the proposed scheme of Government as one which is likely to work satisfactorily in practice. The Governor-in-Council is aware that the proposal is intended to meet a period of transition only. But it is not possible to say with any approach to certainty how long this period of transition is likely to last, and it is therefore not easy to accept for an indefinite period a scheme which is open to serious objection. That such a scheme as is proposed could not be accepted as permanent is recognised in paragraphs 233 and 354 of the reports. But whatever the transition period may be, the work of administration has to be continued, and in the opinion of this Government it is unsafe to accept a form of Executive which is admittedly open to serious criticisms merely because it furnishes a convenient stop-gap. This Government, I am to say, fully appreciate the ingenuity of the proposed solution, and the advantages which it offers in theory in the way of future development on settled lines. But administration is a practical business. It is proposed to substitute for a form of Government which, whatever its defects, is well tried and has in the working produced results which are far from negligible, a machinery which is wholly untried and which is, it is believed, without precedent in the history of the world. Therefore, I am to say that the Governor in Council considers that the burden of establishing the practicability of the new form of Government lies very heavily upon those who advocate it. I am further to point out that criticism directed against the existing form of Government or the development of that form which is found in paragraph 217 of the report is open to the obvious answer that the form of Government criticised is at least, one which can be seen at work, while no such answer is possible to any criticism of the new scheme. Further, when it is admitted, as in paragraph 217 of the report, that an extension of the existing form of government would not have been unfavourably received in India, it is surely not unfair to argue that the merits and the validity of the new proposal should be established by those who advocate it beyond all reasonable criticism. Also it is, as every practical man must admit, difficult if not impossible to forecast what difficulties may arise in the working of machinery so novel and so complicated, and therefore it is impossible to feel that such criticism as is attempted can be exhaustive. Of the existing form of government we know the best and the worst, but of that which is proposed the virtues and defects can only be conjectured. On these general grounds, the Governor in Council is most reluctant to make a leap in the dark which the proposal implies. He prefers most strongly to adhere to that which is known and can be trusted and to proceed upon that basis rather than to risk a doubtful experiment. He considers that the new scheme is obnoxious to criticisms which are at least as cogent

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as those which can be suggested against a development of the Executive Government upon the present lines and therefore the burden has not been discharged by those who are endeavouring to substitute the new scheme for the old.

In addition to these general considerations, there are certain special criticisms which the Governor in Council wishes to offer for the consideration of the Government of India. What he finds it impossible to accept is the proposed division of the Executive Government into two portions. He regards it as a fundamental principle that the responsibility of the Executive Government, or Cabinet, or whatever it may be styled, shall be one and undivided. He considers that the suggested division of functions contains the seeds of friction which will, in all probability, lead to a complete deadlock, and he doubts whether it is in fact possible to divide the functions of government in the manner proposed. Yet, such a division is essential for the successful working of the scheme. It is proposed that the subjects with which Executive Government have to deal should be divided into two portions known as the reserved and the transferred subjects. The report seems to assume that it will be easy to classify the functions in question and allot them to councillors on the one hand or Ministers on the other, in accordance with a pre-conceived plan. It is necessary to point out that this presupposes that each Member of Council under existing conditions exercises independent control as regards the subjects allotted to his charge. This, however, is not the case. Apart from cases in which it is necessary to obtain financial sanction, which will be dealt with hereafter, the whole theory of Government by Council postulates that in all cases other than those of secondary importance, the orders of two members of council will be obtained. It is in fact this feature of Government by council which renders it in the eyes of the Indian public distinctly preferable to that by a single Head. So long as the public feel that orders in all matters of importance receive the concurrence of at least two Members of the Government, particularly if one of those Members is an Indian, they feel confident that questions or issues will have been considered in all their aspects, and that justice will be done to all concerned.

It appears, however, to be assumed that it will be possible to divide the functions of government into two separate compartments, with reference to one of which the Councillors will act and the Ministers will advise, and with reference to the other the Ministers will act and the Councillors will advise, and it is assumed that the number of cases in which their functions will overlap will be comparatively few in number and such as can be easily settled in the event of the difference of opinion by reference to His Excellency the Governor. But is it possible to demarcate the various functions of government into two distinct spheres, and to lay down that questions arising in one sphere shall be dealt with by one part of the Government and those arising in the other sphere by another part? A reference to the records of Government will show that there is scarcely a question of importance which comes up for discussion and settlement in any one of the departments of Government which does not require to be weighed carefully in the light of considerations which form the province of another department of Government. The primary duty of the Government as a whole is to preserve peace and order, to protect the weak against the strong, and to see that in the disposal of all questions coming before them the conflicting interests of the many different classes affected receive due attention. And it follows from this that practically all proposals of importance put forward by the Minister in charge of any of the departments suggested for transfer in Illustrative List No. 11 appended to the Report will involve a reference to the authorities in charge of the reserved departments. It is more correct to say that, so far from questions on which the functions of the two portions of the government overlap being few in number as is implied in paragraph 221 of the report, there are few, if any, subjects on which they do not overlap. Consequently the theory that, in the case of a transferred subject in charge of a Minister, it will be possible to dispense with reference to departments of Government concerned with the control of reserved subjects is very largely without foundation.

It is undesirable to burden this letter with detail. But a reference to one question which is at present attracting the attention of this Government will show that this statement is fully justified. Take, for instance, the question of introducing free and compulsory education. At first sight it would seem to be impossible that this question should impinge to any material extent on the functions of those departments which are intended to be reserved for the Executive Council. It would seem to be in its nature so entirely educational that, except in so far as financial provision is required, no other department would have to be consulted. But, as the discussions in Council have shown, there are a

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number of points in which other departments are concerned. In the first place it is clear that the introduction of compulsary education must, if experience in England is any guide, be accompanied by a large increase in the number of prosecutions of parents for not sending their children to school. It is possible that the enforcement of this policy in manufacturing areas, where the children earn good wages in the mills, might lead to discontent on the part of the mill-hands and consequent disturbance. The matter must therefore be considered from the police point of view. Secondly, the disposal of this large number of prosecutions might involve a great strain on the magistracy. This would have to be considered from the point of view of the judicial department. Thirdly, the compulsory attendance of children at schools in rural areas, particularly at harvest time, might reduce the supply of labour in areas where that supply is inadequate, and render it impossible to gather the crops as they ripen. This might seriously affect the ability of the ryot to pay his assessment, and would therefore have to be brought to the notice of the revenue department. Such instances are by no means rare. It cannot, in the opinion of the Governor-in-Council, be too clearly recognised that the functions of government must remain under one authority, and that any attempt to divide them on stereotyped lines can only result in confusion.

I have dealt so far with the impossibility of allocating responsibility for separate subjects to individual members of the Government, due to the necessity for considering government as a whole. I am now to consider how far it is possible to impose complete responsibility on the Ministers and at the same time secure an uniform standard of financial control throughout the whole Government. In this connection I am to express a feeling of disappointment at the somewhat inadequate method in which this question has been dealt with in the report. The matter is discussed in paragraphs 221 and 256, and the assumption underlying those paragraphs appears to be that the ordinary procedure will be that the Council and the Ministers combined are to frame a budget which will thereafter be presented to the Legislative Council. In framing this budget as well as in passing it through the Council the Governor-in-Council will be entitled to demand that adequate provision shall be made for reserved subjects. When this is secured, and when the whole budget has been passed by the Legislative Council, the Ministers in charge of the transferred subjects will apparently be at liberty to expend the lump budget grants placed at their disposal without control or check other than the somewhat shadowy veto of His Excellency the Governor. It is apparently contemplated that some friction may arise when these budget grants are fixed, but that as soon as the budget is settled, the possibilities of conflict between the Councillors on the one hand and the Ministers on the other will disappear. Each will have their own grants and the Ministers will be responsible to the Council (or to their constituents it is not clear which) for the manner in which they spend them.

It is difficult to believe that this is seriously intended. At the present moment, as is well known, all proposals put forward by various departments of Government have to be referred to the Financial Department for sanction. The latter department decides, in the light of standing orders issued by the Secretary of State, whether from a financial point of view they are expedient and whether they are within the powers of the Provincial Government to deal with, or whether they must be referred to higher authority for sanction. In other words, the Financial Department of the provincial Government, like the Treasury in England, is invested with the superintendence and control of all expenditure up to the time when it is made: the fact that there is budget provision merely indicates the acceptance by the finance department of the probability that the expenditure will be necessary but it does not imply actual sanction to its being made. Is it intended that when subjects are transferred to the control of the Ministers that the present system should continue?

The question is one of very great importance. In the English Cabinet the Finance Department, in other words the Treasury, under the control of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is of course a member of the Ministry, is charged with the superintendence of all revenue and expenditure. The position of the Treasury "may be regarded as one of perpetual conflict with servants of the State who want more pay than the Treasury thinks they are worth, with the departments of Government which want more money than the Treasury is prepared to ask for from the Parliament and Government, with the House of Commons, which contests the amount demanded and the mode in which it is proposed to be raised, and with the taxpayer." When the new constitution is established, and the Ministers in charge of transferred subjects appointed, who

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is to perform the duty assigned to the Treasury in England? Is the Finance Department to be concerned with the transferred subjects or not? If the answer to this question is Yes, it is clear that the head of Finance Department, who is *ex-hypothesi* a Councillor, must control the method in which grants made for transferred subjects are expended. He must therefore become responsible along with the Ministers and responsible to a very marked extent. Thus the theory that the Ministers and Ministers alone are responsible to the Legislature becomes untenable.

If the head of the Finance Department is not to exercise any control, then it will be necessary to set up another finance department under the control of the Ministers whose duty will be to superintend the expenditure of grants made for transferred subjects. In the latter case there will inevitably be different financial standards for different departments under the same Government, and this must eventually lead to friction, waste, and maladministration. The result is that it is impossible in the opinion of this Government to contend that the proposals of the report will achieve their object, namely, delegation of responsibility to the Ministers. The essential indivisibility of the functions of government and the necessity recognised in all governments throughout the world of maintaining the unity of financial control at once renders this impracticable.

But there is still one feature more which in the opinion of this Government calls for serious criticism. It is proposed that the Ministers shall, if they require revenues beyond those allotted to them, after the provision of funds for reserved subjects, be at liberty to propose taxation for which they and they only shall be responsible. Now it seems to this Government that where taxation is concerned it is quite impossible to say that the Ministers shall be responsible and the Councillors shall not. The public would most certainly hold the whole Government responsible, so that there too the proposal in the report to transfer responsibility by compartments would prove a failure.

The odium of new taxation should rest upon those whose policy has made that taxation necessary. But this will not inevitably be the case under the proposed scheme. It is not improbable that the demands of the reserved subjects may compel the Governor-in-Council to allocate so large a portion of the available funds to those subjects as to leave no sufficient surplus for the administration and development of the transferred subjects. The power to impose fresh taxation is vested in the Ministers alone, and they may be compelled to appeal to the Legislative Council to impose fresh burdens on the public to meet expenditure which is not required by any policy of theirs. This would place the Ministers in a false position, and inevitably give rise to undesirable friction. On this ground also it appears expedient that proposals for fresh taxation should emanate from the whole Government.

Finally, it is proposed that the Minister who is first appointed should be on his trial for a period of training, and at the end of this period his constituents should decide whether or not his policy has been such as to justify them in re-electing him to the Legislative Council. Now it is hardly necessary to observe that the electorates throughout this Presidency must be ignorant, and it will be necessary, if they are to arrive at a fair estimate of the virtues or defects of the retiring Minister, that they shall have a clear idea of what he has done. He may act on his own responsibility or in concert with another Minister, or as one of the entire Government, or against his will under the control of the Governor. I am to urge that it would be impossible for the public to distinguish between these cases. It will be difficult even for a highly educated person such as a collector to distinguish between the authorities responsible for the various orders which may reach him. It would be impossible for the ordinary agriculturist voter to know that the order directing him to vaccinate his child comes from the Minister whom he returns to Council because the latter is concerned with sanitation, and that another order under the Police Act directing him to attend a roll call every day comes from an Executive Councillor with whose continuance in office he has nothing to do. The difficulties inherent in the introduction of an electoral system in rural areas in this Presidency are already considerable. It will be impossible to expect from the voters, 80 per cent. of whom will be illiterate, more than general ideas on the subject of what they consider right or wrong in the actions of their representatives. If before judging the latter they are expected to possess the knowledge of a correct classification, which at the present moment is not possessed by anyone who has not a close acquaintance with the work of the secretariat, it is obvious that their votes cannot be given intelligently, and that the theory that the Ministers will be responsible to their constituents is in practice an illusion.

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I am further to point out that the convention insisted on in paragraphs 221 and 222 that the two portions of the Government should form, not two Governments but one Government, and that the decision should be loyally defended by the entire Government is likely to lead to difficulties more serious than appear to be recognised in those paragraphs. It is possible, it is even probable, that occasions will arise when the decision of that part of the Government which is responsible for the reserved subjects will not meet with the approval of the Ministers, and it is equally probable that the decisions of the Ministers with reference to the transferred subjects may not be approved by the members of the Executive Council. In such cases it would be extremely difficult for the Government to act as a whole in the face of the public. Where all the members of Government have a voice in the decision of any matter, as in the form of executive advocated by this Government, any member can fairly subordinate his own views to the decision of the whole body of which he is a member. He has had his say in the matter, he has recorded his vote, and if the decision goes against him, as a member of the Government he is perfectly entitled to uphold the decision of the majority. But here it is proposed that the Minister or member of the Executive Council, as the case may be, should support a decision of which he heartily disapproves and as to which he has had no deciding voice. In the form of government advocated by the Governor-in-Council the decisions are, in reality, the decisions of the whole Government and can be defended as such. In the opinion of the Governor-in-Council this is a most serious objection, which it is difficult to accept even for a period of transition.

I am now to invite attention to the formidable list of duties which the new scheme will impose upon the Governor. It will be for him to decide *inter alia* (*a*) who should be selected as Minister or Ministers (paragraph 218), (*b*) whether the allotments for reserved subjects should be insisted on or not (paragraph 254), (*c*) whether a subject belongs to the reserved or transferred sphere (paragraph 221), and to decide in cases where a subject trenches on both spheres, (*d*) whether legislation should be certified or not (paragraphs 252 and 253), (*e*) whether a Bill should be assented to or returned for consideration (paragraph 254), and (*f*) whether the proposals made by a Minister as to a transferred subject shall be vetoed (paragraph 219). The majority of these duties are imposed upon the Governor owing to the suggested division of the two spheres of Government, and in the opinion of this Government the burden, in practice, will be intolerable. Every one of these decisions may give occasion for friction between the Governor and the Minister, or possibly between the Governor and the Legislative Council. An occasion for political agitation may arise out of all or any of these matters. The last duty in particular will impose upon the Governor the necessity of keeping a close and constant watch on every order issued in the transferred sphere.

It may be objected that it is proposed to issue for the guidance of the Governor an instrument of instructions such as is contemplated in paragraph 219. Without the text of the proposed instrument it is difficult to criticise in detail, but the Governor-in-Council is of opinion that it is impracticable to provide in such an instrument instructions which can be exhaustive, having regard to the diversity of the difficulties which can be foreseen, and when allowance is made for the unforeseen difficulties, the impracticability of the proposal is even more obvious. If the instrument is not exhaustive it ceases to be of much value. In the nature of things it cannot be exhaustive, and it will merely serve to fetter the discretion of the Governor in circumstances which cannot have been anticipated when it was drafted. If, therefore, the control of the Governor is to be the ultimate safeguard, as it will be in many matters under the proposed scheme, there should be no endeavour to fetter that control in the manner proposed. The above remarks, I am to say, contain the main criticisms which the Governor-in-Council offers for consideration with reference to this portion of the subject, but he would again insist that it is beyond human sagacity to forecast with accuracy the manner in which such machinery as this will work. There may be other and more serious difficulties which have not been foreseen and which time alone can bring to light.

The Governor-in-Council has so far set out what appears to him to be the principal objections to the form of Executive Government proposed in the report. I am now to set out the main lines of the alternative which he advocates as being suitable to the conditions of this Presidency.

I.—The executive should consist of five members including the Governor. There should be four members of Council of whom three should be Indians. Of these three, two should be chosen from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. The Governor should have power to appoint a

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fifth Member of Council at his discretion should necessity arise.

II.—There should be a largely increased Legislative Council with a substantial elected majority of about four-fifths.

III.—There should be no division of subjects either in the Executive Government or for the purposes of the Legislative Council.

IV.—There should be standing committees, both financial and for the other departments of administration.

V.—Resolutions of the Legislative Council on matters of administration should be recommendatory only.

VI.—The budget for the year should be prepared by the Executive Government and presented to the Legislative Council not later than January in each year after consideration by the Financial Standing Committee. All items in the budget, both on the income and the expenditure side, should be discussed and passed by the Legislative Council with such alterations as they may deem necessary. The Governor will have a right of veto as a result of the exercise of which the original estimate shall be reinstated.

VII.—Legislation by the Legislative Council should also be subject to the veto of the Governor in cases in which he considers the peace, order and the safety of the State is at stake.

VIII.—As regards Government Bills reference is invited to the proposal explained in paragraph 25.

With regard to the proposal to give the Governor discretion to appoint a fifth Member of Council I am to point out that the considerations set out in paragraph 266 of the report, as to the burden of work imposed upon the members in charge of the departments of the Imperial Government, apply with equal force to the case of the Provincial Governments. The increased size of the Legislative Council and the creation of standing committees will entail a great strain on the members of Government. That strain is already heavy and may well become impossible to endure in the near future. No doubt the scheme comprises the addition of one Member of Council but it is quite possible to conceive that a time may come when even this increased executive will be unable to cope with the increase in work. Therefore it is provided that the Governor should have discretionary power to appoint a fifth member.

I am now to set out the advantages of this proposal. In the first place it leaves Government free to act together on all subjects and to present an united face to the outside world. Secondly, it avoids the complications inseparable from an attempt to divide the functions of Government. Thirdly, the system of financial control is simple and efficient. The budget will be discussed and passed by the Legislative Council, and their resolutions will be binding in all cases except when His Excellency the Governor considers that peace, order, and the safety of the State require the exercise of his veto. Fourthly, the Legislative Council, which has a largely increased elective majority, is placed in the position in which it can demonstrate during this period of training its fitness to exercise still greater powers. Fifthly, the individual members of this Council will enjoy the same opportunities as the report affords them of association with the Executive Government on advisory committees, and of dealing at first hand with important questions connected with the budget and the various administrative departments.

It has been suggested that a scheme of this nature is defective in that there is no direct responsibility on the part of the Legislative Council, and that this will encourage members to indul e in an increasing extent in irresponsible criticism. To this the Governor in Council entirely demurs. He contends that the proposal connotes full devolution of responsibility on every member of the Legislative Council as regards the whole sphere of administration, whereas the proposal in the report imposes responsibility on the Legislative Council through the Minister or Ministers as regards the transferred subjects only. The veto of the Governor is common to both.

I am to urge strongly for the consideration of the Government of India that the training imparted in this way will be far more effective than any which can be secured by the scheme put forward in the report. The advisory committees will be able to study the various questions placed for their consideration from all points of view. There will be no artificial barriers placed between the various classes of subjects, and there will be one single financial controlling authority. It may be anticipated that occasions will seldom arise for the exercise of the Governor's veto.*

* For full text of the Memorandum the reader is referred to "Indian Reforms" page 138. Price Re. 1. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

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TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

Islam and the World's Thought.

Mr. Zia-ud-din Ahmad Barni, writing in the May number of *The Theosophist* points out that catholicity is Islam's first contribution to the world thought. A Mussulman makes no distinction between one prophet and another, so far as his prophethood is concerned, and further does not limit salvation to the so called Mussulmans alone, but to all who are rightdoers. Again Islam is the greatest democratic force the world has ever known. The differences of caste and colour vanish away into its "ever-widening thought and action" Islam has no submerged classes or untouchables as they are called. Conversion to Islam carries with it enfranchisement; and Islam retains up till now something at least of that practical democracy which its founder had preached and practised in the olden days. Though Mussulmans frequently preached war and extermination of non-Muslims, the spirit of intolerance was quite at variance with Islamic principles which are characterised by catholicity of spirit and broad-minded toleration.

Its greatest contribution is the encouragement which it has given to Science and Art. The Prophet taught on the score of education, "go in quest of knowledge even into China. Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave. The acquisition of knowledge is a duty incumbent on every Muslim, male or female." Again he says: "The ink of the scholar is more valuable than the blood of the martyr." The Arabs under Moawiyah collected the sciences of the Greeks and showed great interest in them, and under the Abbassids learning reached its highest pitch. Spain under the Ommayyads made much progress in all branches of knowledge. Mussulmans made the first telescope and built observatories in many places; they evolved an altogether new architecture and taught scientific agriculture and they developed the Greek system of medicine. In India the Mussulman Emperors built like giants and finished like jewellers.

Another great contribution of Islam is that it has placed great ideals and glorious traditions before the world in general and Muslims in particular. A Mussulman is to build his character on these. The men of Islam have always rushed joyously to martyrdom and have an exceptionally firm trust in God and His will. Above all Islam never despairs and will again begin to mould the souls of men and light in their hearts, a simple faith in God and a love for service.

The Indian Budget for 1919—20.

The Journal of the Indian Economic Society for March 1919 includes an article by Mr. C. S. Deoli on the merits or otherwise of Sir James Meston's first Budget.

The peculiar features of 1918-19 are that the current revenue and expenditure have departed widely from the Budget estimates presented in March 1918. Sir James Meston remarks: "After the strain and artificial conditions of recent years it is not easy to speculate how far the rebound will go or what directions it will take and the only thing that is certain is that we must incur a large expenditure to recover the ground which has been lost in a period of severe economy."

It is high time that the system of voting supplies for different services is introduced in India. The ways and means problem involves a double process (1) that of finding funds sufficient to meet the probable calls on them and (2) that of our resource which means the process of distributing the cash balance between the paying centres including the Home Treasury. In India the problem of resource is the chief difficulty. In 1919-20 the Government hopes that this problem will not recur in the acute form recently experienced, as they propose to undertake a large capital outlay on Railways which will utilise the large resources we possess in London. It is rather unnatural that the most important financial centre should be outside its limits.

The main currency question is the *managed* rupee which stabilises the gold price of the rupee for purposes of foreign exchange.

The Provincial Revenues are taken at close £37 millions and the expenditure a little over 38½ millions, the deficit being met by drafts on their large accumulated balances. There is no ship-building programme and Government has devoted an extraordinary large sum to the Railway Capital Programme, the present milage of which is enough to go on.

It is a matter of satisfaction that Local Governments have been informed to incur more expenditure on (1) The extension of education in directions where it has been specially hampered by war economies (2) The development of Industries (3) The repair of actual damage to public institutions and services and (4) Capital outlay on the development of forests, agricultural experiments and the like.

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The Expansion of Europe.

Mr. W. R. Shepherd explains in the March issue of the *Political Science Quarterly* the interaction of European and non-European in the development of modern civilisation during the past five hundred years. The vast field of action which the European has made his own comprises two distinct areas; (1) that inhabited by aboriginal folk having little or no civilisation at all and (2) that occupied by certain peoples of Asia who had attained much earlier than the Europeans themselves a high degree of civilisation, which is in some respects quite superior to even the European. Through a reciprocal rubbing away of their rougher points of contact, the two great divisions of mankind have become conscious in ever increasing measure of the duty of laying aside narrow-mindedness and the overvaluation of self, the duty also of bearing forth to humanity at large their gradually awakening mutuality of esteem.

The diffusion of European civilisation itself is subject to a double limitation. Firstly, viewing the breadth and depth of its application, the process has little more than begun. Secondly, even the most hopeful of enthusiasts for European culture can hardly expect that the various types of Asiatic civilisation will eventually become transformed into European or fail to perceive that European culture itself must be more and more influenced by Asiatic ideas and institutions. From their mutual contact, a universal civilisation will not be the outcome. European relations to backward countries are regarded partly from the standpoint of a more or less evident imperialism and partly from that of the *white man's burden*—the former inherited from the period before the 19th century and the latter a product of subsequent growth. Just as the one suggests exploitation, the other conveys the idea of the duty of importing the blessings of the European civilisation, both implying contempt for an assumed inferior.

The history of European colonisation should not be confounded with that of the expansion of Europe. Expansion includes colonisation and vastly more. It is the interpenetration of Europeans and non-Europeans all the world over in all departments of human activity. Two concepts are inherent in its interpretation. One is that dependencies, other than mere seaports and restricted hinterlands, are the germs of new societies and new nations. In this first concept there are two sides. The Europeans in the dependencies have the natural environment of the locality into which they have transplanted themselves. The environment for the native peoples is that artificially established for them by Europeans. This mutuality of environmental operation works in two ways. The second concept is that whatever Europeans have done overseas and overland beyond their own frontiers forms an essential part of the history of their particular nations. It reveals both the impress made on the civilisation of Europe by what the Europeans carry back from their distant ventures and the manner in which this undergoes a change amid new conditions of existence.

As a historical concept European expansion involves two movements, the outgoing and the incoming. Operating in each movement are two interacting factors, the one that has been given and the one that has been received.

The transit of European ideas and institutions and the reaction on European life and thought may both be considered from several standpoints. U.S.A. is engaged in the work of European expansion on its own account; while Japan plays an important part in the expansion of Europe, though in a mediate sense; and the latter is both the product of the expansion of Europe and an intermediary for its extension to China.

The whole topic, in its manifold aspects needs a great historian.

Women and Co-operation.

In the June number of the "Hindustan Review" Mr. K. S. Abhyankar contributes an article on "Woman and Co-operation." The subject is a very interesting one, and the writer in dealing with it traces directly what part woman has played in the field of co-operation. As a customer it is for woman to understand "the differences between pure goods made under fair conditions and cheap and nasty articles produced under quite other conditions. If the local store is stocked with, let us say, the soaps, cocoas and jams of private firms, instead of the soaps, cocoas and jams produced by the wholesale, it is chiefly because customers will have it so." Women can understand, the writer says, if they discriminate rightly that their interests as social beings lie in the spread of the co operative movement.

Then he discusses at length the history of the co-operative movement in England, Scotland and Ireland. In western countries, women are not

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only house keepers, but purchasers as well. He describes the movement in England as "a self-governing organisation of women, who work through co-operation for the welfare of the people, seeking freedom for their own progress and the equal fellowship of men and women in the home, the store, the workshop, and the state." He pays a glowing tribute to Mrs. Acland, the first secretary of the Guild, to whose efforts are attributed the success of the movement. To-day in England women are share-holders, members of educational committees, delegates to co-operative congresses and what not. All questions affecting women's social and political life are discussed at various conferences. Then he treats about the history of the movement in Scotland and Ireland. The work done in Ireland is supplemented by an organisation called "The United Irish Women." Mr. C. W. Russel is a great believer in woman's co-operative movement. "Women" says he, "however they may err as individuals are concerned collectively far more than men about the character and well-being of a race." Elsewhere Russel says "we cannot build up a rural civilization in Ireland without the aid of Irish women. It will help life little if we have methods of the twentieth century in the fields and those of the fifth century in the home."

The war has done incalculable service to the woman's cause by providing opportunities for her to distinguish herself in various walks of life.

The unit of co-operation is the home. The sense of corporate social existence is a thing which deserves to be brought home to the minds of Indian women; as they have not yet realized the possibilities of the co-operative movement. "Development needs freedom" is a favourite maxim as much of pedagogy as of politics. Nor is the truth of less force when applied to women. We can never exaggerate the fruits of emancipating her from the prison of the home, to play a part in social existence. Her present sense of perpetual dependence on others must vanish in the matter of co-operation. The writer advises us that co-operation on the part of women is all the more necessary since "an interesting development of the day is the breaking up of the joint family and the migrating to cities by small families." This is indeed wholesome, considering the benefits which would derive from a joint family without involving any serious disadvantage. But what about the "immemorial" social restrictions on womanhood? Will "man" play the better part by heaving out a path for womankind?

The English Public Schools

Mr. Alec Vaugh, writes in the March number of *The English Review* about the necessity for reform of public school education. The public school is not a jerry built affair that can be overturned and rebuilt in a few weeks; it has grown up round certain unconscious but clearly marked traits in the English temperament. It conforms to the character of the nation and any sudden attempt to rebuild it is bound to defeat its own purposes. A slow modification of attitude and method is the only way to effect any considerable reform. But the difficulties are very great. Schoolmasters are doing all they can to foster the conspiracy of silence woven round all save the most superficial activities of the school-world.

The truth is that the boy goes to the public school fresh and interested in his work; and for the first term that freshness lasts. The next term sees a slight falling-off. No one inspires the boy to take any interest in his work, athletic success is that which counts; and for athletic success he strives; he works at his play and plays at his work. With the exceptional scholar the situation is distinctly worse. He is trained like a *Prize Pomeranian*, fed with scholarship, leaves the tricks of the business and lives in a world of *digamma* and *enclitics*. From his class are drawn schoolmasters and Government officials. The public school provides no outlet for a boy's emotional nature. Only in rare instances does it touch his soul side. In its wider and humaner sense the spiritual life is starved. And the only remedy lies in finding for each boy some inner interest that will appeal to him as strongly as athletics.

The relations between the headmaster and the parents are very difficult. The public school system is competitive; and it is dangerous for any school to get a reputation of unorthodoxy. All that the Governors appear to want is a flourishing commercial concern and they put the headmaster there to give it to them. It is necessary that a system so conservative and competitive should be remedied. The only way to reform is through a patient modification of the existing system. Schoolmasters at present persist in their attitude of denial and self-complacency; and parents do not realise the facts that boys do not work at school, they are taught very little, that spiritual and intellectual life does not exist for them and that for want of something better they have made a god of games.

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Welfare Work in Factories

Mrs. R. M. Grey, writing in the April number of *The Social Service Quarterly*, says that the out-standing fact established about welfare work by the War is that it pays and that America discovered this fact even before the War. Welfare work is not a drain and is actually a source of income. Many nobler motives have driven philanthropic work, but none is more cogent or of more universal application.

Welfare work supplies conditions under which all workers can do their best. They naturally divide themselves into conditions inside and outside the workshops. Under the first heading, workers should work only so long as their work is productive and they should have rest intervals sufficient to maintain their strength and interest at its maximum and sufficient food to produce the same result. Sanitary arrangements should be such as to encourage a high standard of personal cleanliness. Medical attendance must be available and must ensure that the helplessness of childhood is not abused and the next generation allowed to suffer.

Of all evils the out-standing one in India is excessive hours. Only men's appalling ignorance and callousness of everything outside their own lives could tolerate the present state of affairs. It does not strike the well-nourished, well-housed, well-amused rich man, who finds himself quite fagged at the end of a six hours day, that there is something dreadful in the expectation that mill labourers, men, women, and too often children also, shall rise in the dark (because hooters are forbidden), stagger half asleep to the mill gates, snatch a little more sleep on the stones outside the gate, toil at a monotonous task from daylight to dark, with one short recognised interval for food, and several short unrecognised intervals for sleep or tobacco. They declare that the labourer is only working at half pressure all the time, that he has all sorts of ways of saving himself, that manual work is quite different from brain work; which is just another way of saying that he is human. And since he is human, the Indian workman will respond to the same treatment as other human beings. If his hours are shortened, he will feel fitter and will unconsciously or consciously work harder. Already in the few experiments that have been made in Cawnpore and elsewhere in reducing hours, it has been found that there was no decrease in output, but on the contrary a slight increase. It is quite certain that the very first thing Indian welfare workers will fasten on, as the cause of inefficiency of the workers, and of consequent loss to employers, will be excessive hours.

It is difficult for the welfare worker to confine himself or herself to indoor conditions only. In India, the illiteracy of the mill labourers is a great hindrance to welfare work. It is difficult to get men to take part in that most efficacious of all means of improving their status—the co-operative movement, if they are too illiterate to keep their own books. In some places, above all in Bombay, the housing conditions are such as to nullify any efforts that could be made to improve the physique of the men during working hours. Only when these three main evils, excessive hours, illiteracy, and bad housing conditions have been drastically reformed, will the welfare worker begin to get a real chance to make the life of the factory employees healthy and happy.

[In this connection the reader may be referred to an article on the "Menace of welfare work" published in this issue.—Ed. *I.R.*]

Co-operation in the Missionary Field.

In an article in the March number of *The International Review of Missions* Mr. J. H. Oldham describes certain aspects of missionary work in which a successful solution can be found only by common consultation and united action on the part of the various missionary societies. The first aspect is that of allowing all missionaries of all nationalities in a country. The question is important, because not only the work of missionaries of enemy nationality but also that of missionaries of a different nationality from that of the governing power, may under certain circumstances seem to call for government regulation. To entrust any considerable share in the work of education to missionaries of alien nationality who may not understand or fully sympathize with the educational aims of the government of the country, may present difficulties. Governments are being forced to pay increased attention to propaganda of all kinds and to watch and regulate it. The awakening of the national consciousness of peoples expresses itself among other ways in the desire to defend their institutions and their heritage against the inrush of western civilisation and this may result in an attempt to restrict Christianity as an alien influence threatening the integrity of national life. Even European governments may sometimes look on Christian propaganda as a disturbing influence on the social order making the task

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of government more difficult. As a result of these and other causes, it is necessary that missionary bodies should unite, appoint joint committees to consult and act for them. These alone can take a broad view of the social forces which affect the lives of Asiatic and African people and help to relate missionary policy with what is best and most progressive in the policy of governments.

In other fields *e g.*, in education, it is necessary that Christian bodies can retain their influence in the face of coming changes in only one way and that is by combination. The missionary societies must consult and act together; and the action of such joint effort in India has produced two very good fruits viz, the Women's Christian College at Madras and a Commission for the study of the problems of village education. Large questions of a similar nature, affecting the work not of one society but of all, arise in connection with medical missions and with the provision of an adequate Christian literature.

The presentation of the missionary cause to the home church, the necessity that exists of the missionary cause striking its roots deeper into the national life—these can only be done by combining the gifts and resources of the various missionary bodies; and the work can be effectively accomplished only through co-operation.

Missionary co-operation must thus become a clearly recognised element in the policy of missionary societies.

The Aims of the Labour Party

Sir L. Chiozza Money, late Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Shipping explains in the April number of *The English Review* the aims of the Labour Party. The Coalition Liberals under the leadership of Mr. Lloyd George, are, he says, not so much the expression of a partnership of political opponents, as a fusion of men who in essential things have come to think very much alike. Nor indeed do the Free Asquithian Liberals differ in their appeals, very much in point of policy or promise from those made by the Coalition Liberals. The sons of rich Liberals and Radicals of two generations ago for the most part embraced conservatism as the expression of class-feeling in politics. The capitalists joined the landlords politically and changed the orientation of the conservative party in industrial matters and carried the unfortunate opposition to Labour aspirations with which their fathers had associated the Liberal party. Simultaneously the Liberals and Radicals losing much of their class connections largely accepted the earlier views of the Conservatives on industrial matters. Then came the almost purely political turmoils of 1885-1905 beginning with Gladstone's advocacy of Home Rule and ending with Chamberlain's advocacy of Tariff Reform.

As Protectionists the Conservatives preached their fiscal policy as a panacea for all social and industrial ills. As Free traders, Mr. Asquith's Liberal government of 1905-14 were content to concern themselves with Irish Home Rule, the House of Lords etc. and a parsimonious Old Age Pensions Act. As to the profound underlying economic questions both parties had become largely neutral; and the birth of the British Labour Party was a direct consequence of this attitude. It appeared in some strength in 1905 and has now risen to a representation of 62 in the recent election—according to a system of proportional representation, its votes would have given it 133 seats. In the few years preceding the war Labour became both conscious and vocal as never before; and when the war broke out the Labour party was making marked progress in the constituencies. The conduct of the war compelled the Government to socialistic methods and to become the greatest industrial capitalist and ship-owner in the country. The Coalition Liberals, the Free Liberals and the Coalition Conservatives all avoid any reference to disturbing the existing structure of individualism; while the Labour Party stands for industrial democracy and the socialisation of industry. The experiences of the war make it the more remarkable that the power of Government in industry should be resigned in peace to private control. The war has proved beyond all doubt the national weakness and danger of the pre-war industrial system and that vital industries should not be left in the hands of capitalists whose first object is profits and of workers whose first object is wages.

The Labour Party, Sir Chiozza concludes, is insistent upon industrial democracy as a means to a far greater output of material wealth and an equitable distribution of the results of that larger output. It also sees in industrial democracy the only means of giving full citizenship and self-respect and a proper sense of social responsibility to the individuals of a modern industrial state. It aims to substitute democratic for the individual ownership of industrial capital, as distinguished from personal property in the real sense *i e.* the things proper to the personal use and conforts of the individual.

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On War

A writer in *the Positivist Review* for April, 1919, says that both Bacon and De Quincey regard war as being in a sense healthful and beneficial. Bacon rather insists on its advantage as affording exercise which braces the national constitution, while De Quincey puts his case even higher and claims that it ennobles and elevates the ideals and planes of living and thinking. Two extracts from them are given below.

"No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and certainly, to a kingdom or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever: but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace, noble courages will effeminate, and manners corrupt."—LORD BACON, "Of the True Greatness of Kingdom and Estates."

"War has a deeper and more ineffable relation to hidden grandeurs in man than has yet been deciphered. To execute judgments of retribution upon outrages offered to human rights or to human dignity, to vindicate the sanctities of the altar and the sanctities of the hearth these are functions of human greatness which war has many times assumed and many times faithfully discharged. But, behind all these, there towers dimly a greater. The great phenomenon of war is this and this only, which keeps open in man a spiracle—an organ of respiration for breathing a transcendent atmosphere, and dealing with an idea which else would perish—viz., the idea of a mixed crusade and martyrdom, doing and suffering, that finds its realisation in a battle such as that of Waterloo—viz., a battle fought for the interests of the human *race*, felt even when they are not understood."—DE QUINCEY, "On War."

Bacon however says that civil war within the nation is like the heat of a fever. We thus reach the idea that war is a disease and may admit that like a disease, it may, if not fatal, have beneficial and even ennobling results.

Wordsworth seems to have passed through two stages in his declared views on this point which show him at first more or less in agreement with Bacon and De Quincey, and afterwards, if he did not abandon them altogether, to be hesitant.

Among his "Poems dedicated to National Independence and Liberty" there is one which appears in "Part II." entitled "Ode. 1815." It was composed in 1816 amid conditions not wholly dissimilar from those obtaining in the world to-day. As at first published it contained four lines which have been often quoted—De Quincey quotes them in his essay—and are well known :—

> "But Thy most dreaded instrument
> In working out a pure intent,
> Is Man—arrayed for mutual slaughter,
> —Yea, carnage is thy daughter!"

Many readers and admirers of Wordsworth appear, quite intelligibly, to have stumbled a little at this attribution of "carnage" as God's "daughter." And in 1845 these lines were eliminated, and the two following printed in place of them:—

> "But man is Thy most awful instrument
> In working out a pure intent."

Wordsworth was, however, always impressed with the truth that a war may be not only "just" but "*necessary*," as may be seen particularly in his fine tract on the "Convention of Cintra"—of which it has been said that if he "had never written a single verse, this essay alone would be sufficient to place him in the highest rank of English poets."

But it must be possible to find remedies less heroic than war for diseases of the body-politic.

Emanuel Swedenborg

Swedenborg was, until he turned fifty, a scientist of the most eminently practical kind, whose encyclopædic knowledge was always turned into utilitarian channels. His intellect was very wide and his mental activity was all-absorbing. Other persons besides Swedenborg have been encyclopædic, amassing vast stores of miscellaneous knowledge, but few, if any, have possessed at the same time Swedenborg's extraordinary capacity for utilizing the knowledge gained and turning it to practical account. His philosophy recognises the synthetical as well as the analytical method as requisite to arrive at true conclusions. Both are necessary in reflecting upon a tracing one and the same thing; for in order to do so there is required both light *a priori* and experience *a posteriori*. "He who is possessed of scientific knowledge and is merely skilled in experiment, has taken only the first steps in wisdom. For such a person is only acquainted with what is posterier and is ignorant of what is prior. Thus his wisdom does not extend beyond the working of the senses and is unconnected with reason. Whereas nevertheless true wisdom embraces both."

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This Swedenborg, so writes *the Occult Review* for April, was a medium of communication between this world and the world of spirits. He became gradually led by his philosophical speculations to an investigation of the nature of the soul and its operation in the body and the mutual relations of the two. It was while continuing this persuit that Swedenborg found himself in touch with another than the physical world which he decribes in the Introduction to his work *Arcama Cœlestia* (1749). He regarded that the Bible must be taken as a divinely inspired book, but in the allegorical sense. His doctrine of correspondences was merely the recognition of the allegorical relationship between the spiritual and the material. The Universe is symbolical throughout; and all material things are derived from their spiritual archetypes. His doctrine of Degrees is that the 3 degrees of the human mind correspond to the 3 kingdoms of nature *i.e.*, spirit, soul and body, corresponding to animal, vegetable and mineral. He insisted that sex is a spiritual as well as a physical distinction, denied the virtue of celibacy and declared that true chastity resided in the perfect marriage relation. What is important to us however is that his spiritual communion was continuous for a number of years and this could not be considered the result of a monomania. Of his psychic gifts there is plenty of evidence quite outside the teachings of his celestial visitors.

Swedenborg's estimate of the status of the spiritual beings with whom he communicated, even if we accept their reality, need not be ours. Recent investigations and records of innumerable psychic experiences have tended to show what a miscellaneous crowd of spirits hover around the confines of this material world. Swedenborg's mistake has been made by many spiritualists of the present day, and sometimes with disastrous results. Swedenborg had not before him the evidence which we now hold to warn him of the necessity of testing the quality of his spiritual communicants. The experiences encountered overwhelmed him by their unexpected and apparently miraculous character, and his naturally sane judgment was at fault for want of a criterion by which to estimate them. Few of those who now accept the genuineness of psychical phenomena are prepared to question Swedenborg's exceptional mediumistic powers. To allow them to their fullest extent is by no means to accept the doctrine which was preached through his mediumship.

Co-operative Marketing

In a country so predominantly dependent upon land as India is, the most vital question is not for which crops the climate and soil are most suitable; but which crops will yield the highest net return to the cultivator. The second question is essentially a problem in practical rural economics. As communications have improved, the cultivators have become less dependent upon the local market and it has become possible to grow tea, coffee, jute, groundnuts and cotton for export. Where this is the case there is a tendency either towards the capitalisation of agriculture as exemplified by the big tea estates or towards dependence upon powerful middlemen. The individual cultivator is not in a position to study the requirements of distant markets and his own output is too small for his embarking on commercial transactions. So long as he grows staple crops he can without much difficulty secure something approaching a fair price; but where the crop is a speciality for which there is no regular market quotation, the producer is at the mercy of the middleman. The production of specialities is thus dependent upon the system of marketing; and it is the defective organisation for marketing that accounts for the small out-turn of high paying special crops and for the devotion of so large an area to less paying staple crops.

The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly (March 1919) puts forward an urgent plea for the introduction of the co-operative method which alone can protect the small cultivator and secure for him all the advantages which his crop can earn. Now the small cultivator pours his produce into the nearest market which is not unseldom the worst. He knows nothing of the advantages of warehousing, storage for a better price, preservation to last over a glut, grading in order to secure a higher price for better produce, etc. The result is all round inferiority and waste By co-operation the cultivator will be relieved of the necessity of growing food for his family on land that is better adapted to something else and will be able to concentrate his resources on the most profitable crop. In a country of small holdings this is of very great importance. Co-operation will gain all the advantages which a large scale efficient organisation can give. It will reduce among other things, cost of packing, commission sales, railway rates, losses from failure to recover the sale money and give the cultivator improvement in cultural skill.

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Neutrality.

Mr. R. F. Roxburgh, writing in the *Journal of Comparative Legislation* (for April 1919) traces in outline the development of the conception of neutrality, with particular reference to the changes it has undergone during the late war.

The conception gradually developed during the 16th century when the Swiss confederation, by its policy of holding a loop from wars between neighbouring states, afforded a constant example of neutrality in practice, however imperfect it may have been according to modern notions. Grotius did not use the term neutrality and established only two doubtful rules. In the 18th century, thought ripened into two rules; *viz.*, a state, if neutral, should not give active assistance to either belligerent; and a neutral should not be passive in permitting its citizens to give aid to either belligerent through acts over which it was supposed to have control.

The First Armed Neutrality was the earliest organised attempt by a group of neutral powers to extort from belligerents in the name of neutrality greater security for their maritime commerce. The attitude of U. S. A. during the years 1793—1818 marked the next step in the evolution of neutral rights and duties. Washington's proclamation of a determination to stand aside from European quarrels enabled the conception of neutrality to acquire important political and diplomatic significance on the American continent.

After the Napoleonic Wars, small states wedged between great powers were permanently neutralised; and the term 'neutralisation' came to be applied to certain arrangements made by convention with regard to various international waters. One of the ideas of the Congress of Vienna was that wars might at least be localised by making neutrality easy and belligerency difficult. The Crimean War, the Boer War, the wars of 1870 and 1898, and the Russo-Japanese War were each confined to a few belligerents; in all these the political power of neutral states was very great; and belligerents became bound by political expediency to acquiesce in neutral claims. Neutrality as a maxim of state policy seemed to possess high ethical quality when contrasted with the horrors of war.

Rules of neutrality were moulded by a long series of conflicts and compromises, determined primarily by reference to the relative political power of the contending parties, though under the influence of the dominant principles and personalities of the time. The International Conferences at the Hague and in London in 1899, 1907, 1908–9, removed some of the uncertainties and reconciled some of the divergent practices in maritime law and advanced the cause of international peace.

In the course of the present war, access to the supplies of money, munitions and raw materials which could be drawn from neutral countries was seen to be a vital and perhaps determining factor in the struggle. In these circumstances, each group of belligerents resorted to a systematic propaganda in neutral countries against neutrality of thought. Neutral governments strove hard to fulfil their obligations; but as the belligerents were not restrained by the fear of bringing neutral powers into war against them the belligerents resorted to reprisals against one another. Moreover, the rules for belligerent and neutral conduct evolved by the previous international conferences proved to be inadequate and ill-adapted; and the Allied Powers fell back upon the admitted and historic rules of the laws of nations, so far as they were not actually bound by conventions.

The collapse of the neutral fabric, built with so much care during the past fifty years is due to the number and strength of belligerents in this war and the consequent weakness of the neutral powers and also to the great miscalculation of the German Government which adopted a policy of deliberate lawlessness in the false hope of escaping the consequences. As a maxim of foreign policy neutrality has lost its former ascendency. This is due in part to the fact that so many peoples have felt it their duty to bear their share in the war; and partly to the realisation that modern war inflicts such hardships on neutrals as to make their condition hardly more tolerable than that of belligerents.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

WAR WORK OF INDIANS IN BRITAIN. By Mrs. Saint Nihal Singh. ["The Modern Review," July 1919.]

HINDUISM AND IMAGE WORSHIP. By Mahamahopadhya Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., ["The Hindustan Review," June 1919.]

A PRACTICAL SCHEME OF AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN BENGAL. By Mr. G. C. Dutt, I.C.S., ["The Bengal, Behar and Orissa Co-operative Journal."]

THE PROPOSED REFORMS IN INDIA. By Mr. Chirol Roberts. ["The United Empire," June 1919.]

THE INDIAN COTTON COMMITTEE. By Dr. Harold H. Mann, D. Sc. ["The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly," June 1919.]

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The Maharaja of Bikaner on India at the Peace Table.

On his arrival from England at Bombay on July 17, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner accorded an interview to the *Times of India*. In the course of the interview, His Highness said :—

We had a most interesting and strenuous time in Europe though after yet another absence, this time of 8 months, I am very glad to return home and after a little rest which I now very badly need, I hope to be enabled to devote myself to the affairs of my State which since the outbreak of war I have necessarily not been able to attend fully. At the time of our arrival in England neither the Dominion Representatives nor we from India had any idea of the exact part which we were to play at the Peace Conference. In fact we did not know whether any of us would even be directly represented or not. But as you are aware, it was finally arranged for representation to the five representatives of each of the five big Powers, Great Britain, America, France, Italy and Japan, India and the Dominions should have separately the same representation at the table of the Peace Conference as some of the other powers. The British Empire had two representatives each from Australia, Canada, South Africa and India, whilst New Zealand had one representative. And to show that this was no minor point it will perhaps suffice to add that Powers such as China, Portugal and Rumania also had only two representatives each.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

Owing however to the adoption of the panel system the Dominion representatives as well as those of India were eligible for inclusion among the five representatives provided for Great Britain over and above the number reserved for each part of the Empire, as already stated, when some members of His Majesty's Government were away from Paris. Besides our work at the Peace Conference we conducted much important business at the meetings of the British Empire Delegation. Thus both at the Peace Conference as well as in the deliberations of the British Empire Delegation, India had representation and voice on a footing of absolute equality with the Dominions. It will appear therefore that India took her full share in the Peace Congress, and its recognition by the world at large of her important position in the British Empire is a matter of sincere satisfaction. Just as the resources and the armed strength of our Empire—and we must not forget what the world owes specially to the all powerful British Navy very materially for the achievement of victory—so it will be a matter of pride to all residing within that Empire to know that the British Delegation had a considerable say in the deliberations and decisions of the Peace Conference. I do not know that I can tell you much that will be news to you or which would be of special interest to India.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

India's inclusion among the original members of the League of Nations, which, considering our present transitional period, was not as easy as it may appear to the ordinary man in the street, is also a step the significance of which cannot be over estimated. And it is a matter of peculiar gratification to me to feel that it was left to me alone to conduct the final negotiations as regards her inclusion in the League during the unavoidable absence in England on urgent official business of both Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha. The membership of the League of Nations carries with it the responsibility of adherence to the Labour Convention. In this connection the Indian delegates had to urge the special circumstances of the Indian labour and industries and the peculiar social, economic and climatic conditions prevailing in this country which required specially to be safeguarded, and I am happy to say that our efforts here were also crowned with success. Mr. Montagu, Lord Sinha and I had the honour of being appointed Plenipotentaries, Commissioners and Procurators in respect of the Indian Empire by His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, authorising and empowering us to negotiate and conclude any treaties, conventions or agreements which might ensue as a result of our deliberations and discussions at the Peace Conference. And in accordance with this authority the Peace Treaty with Germany contains the signatures of Mr. Montagu and myself as only two representatives each could sign on behalf of India and the respective Dominions, that being the limit as I have already said of our representation at the Peace Conference. The omission of Lord Sinha's name on this occasion was purely a matter of accident. He will continue of course to be one of the plenipotentaries and no doubt will sign on behalf of the Indian Empire other treaties still to be concluded.

. . . . . .

THE TURKISH QUESTION.

In connection with the terms of settlement with Turkey the most important duty of the Indian Delegates was to keep before and persistently to urge upon the British Prime Minister and the Council of the Allied and Associated Powers the sentiments and the feelings of our brother Moslems in India and throughout our stay in Europe this important subject continued to receive our special attention. As you will have already come to know Mr. Montagu, Lord Sinha and I, accompanied by His Highness the Aga Khan, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, and Mr. Yusuf Ali formed a special deputation for the purpose of putting the Indian Moslem case before Mr. Lloyd George, President Wilson, M. Clemenceau and the Italian Prime Minister, a body commonly known as the Council of Four. This was brought about through the good offices of the British Prime Minister and the active support of Mr. Montagu than whom nobody could have worked more energetically or sympathetically and with greater effect in this direction. Although no final decision had been arrived at up to the time of my departure from Europe I would beg my Moslem fellow countrymen to believe that Mr. Montagu as well as Lord Sinha and I have to the utmost of our ability and energy constantly and strongly pressed the Indian Mahomedan point of view and that we spared no pains to acquaint all concerned with the true Mussalman sentiments regarding this important question.

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UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Mr. Lloyd George on the Peace.

Replying to the debate on the second reading of the Treaty of Peace, Mr. Lloyd George said: He looked to the League of Nations ultimately to repair and redress imperfections in the Treaty of Peace. The League would exist as a court of appeal to readjust crudities. Nevertheless he claimed that the Conference had redressed many old wrongs while he could not think of any new ones created. Moreover they had established guarantees and securities as far as human foresight permitted against the repetition of past horrors. They had disarmed and punished and had demonstrated to the world that national rights and liberties would not be trampled upon. (Cheers). The Treaty would be a lighthouse in the deep, a warning to nations and rulers of nations against the perils upon which the German Empire had shattered itself. (Loud Cheers.)

Mr. Asquith on Coalition Government.

A Coalition may be, and often is, a necessary instrument in time of war. It is in my judgment wholly unsuited to the constructive tasks of peace. For what is it? Assuming, as we are bound to assume, and as I am sure we readily assumed, that all its members are animated by honest convictions, what is it? It is a conglomerate in which the pebbles are imprisoned and isolated in an alien material, but those are the conditions under which the Coalition is carried on, and I express to you, for whatever it is worth, my own deliberate judgment when I say that we must return to healthy political and Parliamentary conditions, until we see once more an independent Liberal Party pursuing its own ideals by its own methods, and upon its own lines.

Marshal Haig on the Citizen Army.

Only by adequate preparation for war can peace in any way be guaranteed. It is the duty of every man to prepare himself beforehand for his country's defence. Let us not forget the lessons of the war. My message, as a man who has seen enough of war to make me determined to spend my utmost efforts to prevent its recurrence, is to urge that we should set up forthwith the organisation of a strong Citizen Army on Territorial lines—an organisation that will ensure that every able-bodied citizen shall come forward when the next crisis comes, not as a willing, patriotic, but militarily ignorant volunteer, but as a trained man. To meet whatever danger might threaten us we need to organise at once our democratic Citizen Army. (*Speech on receiving the Freedom of London.*)

Sir George Lloyd on the Reforms.

Peace is to bring to India new responsibilities and with them possibly new dangers. The Reforms Bill is, I am glad to say, now before the Parliament, and I hope will be passed into law without any great delay. It is our task, both the task of my Government and of you, gentlemen, to guide India's national aspirations and enthusiasm, which, after all, the British people are responsible for awakening and it is our pride that we are so responsible out of the difficult and sometimes stormy waters of transition into the ample harbours of prudent and deliberate achievements. Just as in your armies a regiment that tries to move with forced marches becomes a rabble, so equally in our national development, you should remember that safety and solidarity of a State is perfected by steady advance rather than by forced marches. But this must not delay us in starting out on the march.

Sir John Rees on Brahmin Oligarchy.

The Brahmins and a few other classes had always been the, or, at all events, a predominant factor in the Government of India. It was suggested that there should, therefore, be special representation of the lower castes. But suppose it were seriously suggested here that the products of the public schools, the Universities, the educated, and the upper classes generally should be ruled out from appointments in the public service, everybody would say we had gone mad. Our position must be that equal opportunities must be offered for all. He could quite understand that the Indian Civil Service did not like the proposed changes, but it was too late to resist them now. It was no use to stand up for autocracy and bureaucracy. These things had been swept away by the war wave, and no man who stood up for their reconstruction, could be called a practical politician. (*Speech in London.*)

Mr. Runciman on Free Liberalism.

There was a tendency in Government circles to govern this country independent of Parliament. Members asked that they might be freed from Parliamentary control, just as the Prime Minister, before the election made his request that when he was returned, he would be returned without any of the disadvantages of criticism. There was a growing tendency to be little Parliament, and that was the gravest peril into which democracy could slip . . . He would rather be outside the House of Commons as a free Liberal than he would be inside the House of Commons with his wrists shackled and his tongue tied.

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H. H. The Maharaja of Bikaner.

i. Letter from Mr. Montagu.

On the eve of his departure for India H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner received the following letters:—From the Right Hon'ble Edwin Montagu, M.P., Secretary of State, 25th June, 1919:—

I cannot let you start on what I hope will be a pleasant and speedy voyage home without a word of farewell. We have now been working together for the best part of a year and I have to thank you for a colleagueship which I value and appreciate. You, Lord Sinha and I have worked together in Paris and in London for the welfare of India and you have earned the welcome which I am sure awaits you from those on whose behalf you have spent so many months in Europe. We have seen India welcomed by the Allies as a member of the League of Nations. We have seen India a party to the Labour Convention and we are to sign, on behalf of India, the Peace which Germany had accepted. We have taken a full share with the Dominions in the deliberations of the British Empire. These events cannot but lead not only to an assured status for India in the world but I trust to a progressive realisation of the partnership she has earned in the Empire. All the time we have had many an opportunity of discussing together those questions in which you are more particularly interested and you have been able to give me much assistance and advice with regard to the Native States. It is unnecessary for me to assure yon that I mean to do my part in achieving the recommendations which the Viceroy and I made on this matter. I can imagine the pleasure with which you are returning to the State you love so well. Please accept my best wishes for its continued prosperity and my thanks for the great public services.

ii. From the Premier.

From the Right Hon'ble D. Lloyd George, M.P., Prime Minister, 28th June, 1919:—

Now that you are returning to India I want to thank you for the services which you have rendered since you accepted my invitation last autumn and came to assist in our deliberations. It seemed to me obvious that the Indian Princes, whose share in our victory, both personal and from the resources of their States, has been so splendid, should be represented at the Peace Conference by one of themselves. You have devoted yourself to the interests of the Indian Empire and can return with the satisfactory knowledge that you have played a part much appreciated by your colleagues. I can assure you that the views expressed by you and the other members of the Indian Delegation on matters of particular interest to India will continue to be carefully considered. I look forward to the part which is to be played by the Indian Princes in the affairs of the Indian Empire when we have achieved those reforms in the Government of British India which the Bill now before Parliament contemplates.

The Maharaja of Alwar on Reforms.

On the occasion of laying the foundation stone of a Council Hall at Jamnagar by the Maharaja of Alwar, His Highness made an interesting speech, in the course of which he said:—

Some people maintain that we have no connection with British India; nevertheless I cannot conceive how as Indians we can remain interested spectators of what is going to happen outside of our very doors. As Indians we cannot but rejoice at the prospects that are before our countrymen of making a substantial advance, as we hope it will be, towards the ultimate goal of political salvation which has been laid before us by the great people in whose hands lies at present the destiny of our country. As Indians we cannot but hope and pray that that advance may be rapid and on sound and progressive lines. What the exact path is going to be may not be our direct concern. As to the exact method some of us may agree with it, others may not. There must be details on which some must always disagree for that is only human nature. I certainly can claim to be no great student of democracy and so cannot persume to preach the precepts of a doctrine with which I myself am not thoroughly familiar, but what I can claim, however for the sake of our order, is to pray that whatever line may be chalked out for India's destiny my mother country will rise at no distant date to that position which will enable her to be placed on a position of equality with the other great dominions within the British Empire.

The Late Ruler of Bhavnagar.

The State of Bhavnagar has been in mourning owing to the death of the Maharaja. Great sympathy is felt for the Maharani of Panna, who is the daughter of the Maharaja. His Highness followed a progressive policy for the 23 years he was on the *gadi* and introduced many important reforms in his State. It was only recently that he abolished the drink traffic in the State and founded a People's Representative Assembly in October last year.

The New Dewan of Mysore.

Sirdar M. Kantaraj Urs., B A, C S.I., assumed charge of his high office of Dewan on the 14th July amidst the customary honours and ceremonies. A deputation of representative bodies waited on him the next day to offer the citizens' congratulations on his recovery from illness and the assumption of office. He is the first close kinsman of the Maharaja to be called on for such a high office since the Rendition.

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Mr. Gandhi on Indians in S. Africa.

Under the auspices of the Home Rule League, a public meeting was held on the 13th at Gokuldas Hall Bombay to protest against the proposed legislation relating to Indians in the Transvaal. Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji, presided. Mr. M. K. Gandhi moved :—

(1) That this public meeting of the Bombay citizens respectfully but emphatically protests against the Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Bill reported passed by the Parliament of the Union of South Africa as it contravenes the Smuts-Gandhi Agreements of 1914 and it violates the elementary rights of the British Indians lawfully resident in the Transvaal and, therefore, calls upon the Government of India and the Imperial Government to intervene so as to secure the repeal or the veto of the said Bill (2) That this meeting tenders its heartfelt sympathy and assurance of support to their Indian fellow-citizens in Transvaal who are heroically struggling against the unjust and the unwarrantable encroachments made by the said Bill upon their rights as citizens of the Empire.

Mr. Gandhi gave the history of the anti-Indian legislations in South Africa which had led to the passive resistance movement on the part of the Indians residing there. By the Act of 1886 it was enacted that no Indian in Transvaal could own landed property and that the Indian traders should obtain a licence costing £3 to trade there. The latter provision had been done away with but the former disability still remained. Mr. Gandhi said that in 1914 he had corresponded with General Smuts as a result of which, an agreement was arrived at viz. that the vested rights which the Indian settlers in Transvaal had up to that time enjoyed should continue. This was also their present contention. Mr. Gandhi told the audience that while he was in Transvaal he found on a reading of the laws there, that there were two ways left for the Indians to become owners of land there. One was to take lands from the Europeans by mortgages and thus become landowners or to form themselves into corporations for the purpose. He gave advice to the Indian settlers who took advantage of it and became owners of landed properties. They have been enjoying these rights and under the new legislation it was proposed to deprive them of those rights. There was also a section in the Act under which Indians would not be granted licences to trade in the gold area. Mr. Gandhi said that these encroachments on the rights of Indians were intolerable and what Indians in this country had to do for their countrymen in South Africa was to raise a voice from one end of the country to the other for the repeal of this measure. By doing that he assured the meeting that they were strengthening the hands of the Government of India who were with them in this matter. He did not know what view the Imperial Government was likely to take for their past experience showed that they had a tendency to give in before the clamours of the Colonies. After other speakers had addressed the meeting the resolutions were carried.

Mr. Manilal on Indians in Fiji.

The following extracts from the petition of the Indian Imperial Association of Fiji, of which body Mr. D. M. Manilal, M.A., LL.B., is Chairman explain the situation in Fiji :—

1. We have heard that there are movements on foot amongst the European residents of this Colony to propose the annexation of Fiji with New Zealand or Australia. And we also read of a third proposal, namely, the idea of a federation of Fiji with the surrounding groups of Islands in Australasia.

2. We do not see our way to agree to the former two proposals as put forward by the white residents. We as Indians distinctly realise that Fiji is one of those Colonies where the future mainly if not entirely depends upon the Indian element. And therefore we sincerely believe that such Colonies should, in a scheme for re-arrangement of the British Empire, be connected rather with India which is our Mother-Country than with any other portion of the British Empire. The white population can never expect to be in the majority as regards numbers in tropical climates, and they cannot retain their commercial and social superiority for ever. Time will come when the Indian section will be fully educated and brought up to realise its self-respect, dignity and responsibilities so as to take a place on terms of equality with the European section, and then numerically being in the majority they will be the main factor to consider in matters of government.

3. If, as Professor Seely has observed, "Colonies depend upon the Mother-Country as fruit upon the tree," we certainly feel that our destinies can more naturally be nursed by India, our home, than from the home of a minority of this Colony's population.

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Food Grains in India.

A press note issued by the Department of Statistics in India states :—The wholesale prices of cereals and pulses in India in the middle of June, 1919, showed a rise of 2 per cent., as compared with the previous fortnight. The noticeable provincial fluctuations are an increase of 11 per cent. in rice and jawar in the Madras Presidency.

In the middle of June, 1919, the wholesale prices of food grains and pulses in India increased by 90 per cent. (unweighted average) as compared with the average of the prices which prevailed at the corresponding date in the last three years. The weighted average showed a rise of 100 per cent. The price of rice rose by 62 per cent. In the chief rice producing provinces the increase was 67 per cent. in Bengal, 110 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa, 47 per cent. in Burma, and 48 per cent. in the Madras Presidency. Wheat prices advanced by 70 per cent. The price of barley increased by 65 per cent. (unweighted average) the weighted average showing a rise of 86 per cent. The average prices of jawar and bajra rose by about 127 per cent. Gram prices showed a rise of 95 per cent. (unweighted average) while the rise by using the weighted average was 110 per cent.

The Tata Silk Farm.

The Tata Silk Farm in Bangalore, the premier silk institution in the country has a staff of 100 students and employees, 20 reeling basins and 20 hand-looms. Every process is here taught, including silkworm rearing, silk reeling, warping, bleaching and weaving., and a bright future is drawing for silk as a cottage industry throughout the length and breadth of India. Commenting on the report just published of the farm's activities during 1917 and 1918 "Indian Engineering" says it shows that these two years have been very marvellous ones as regards its work, although during the last six years it has made a rapid advance. It also serves to show that the day of hand industry is not finished, but if carried on proper business lines it will still hold its own. The farm's work here is educational, but it has also advanced on business lines to show its students and apprentices that it can be made into a profitable business as well as to help men to self-support. The farm authorities have just had three letters from large firms in Australia, who want to do business with it, in which they say they would sooner deal with India than China and Japan. The farm keeps more than two villages engaged in rearing silk worms all the year round.

Mr. Gandhi on Swadeshi.

The production of cloth, says Mr. Gandhi, can be increased in the country by three ways (1) by starting more mills, (2) by purchasing foreign yarn and weaving it on hand looms, (3) by weaving oneself or getting woven cloth out of yarn spun in one's own country.

Now apart from my views against machine-made cloth, it will be seen that it is no easy thing to start mills as quickly as we would. It certainly takes some time to erect buildings for the mill, to get machines from abroad and to procure labour. Assuming therefore for a moment that there would be no difficulty in obtaining capital, it is not possible for us to add to the stock of our cloth by means of having new mills. It is not doubt possible to weave cloth from yarn obtained from abroad, and the second Swadeshi Vow was devised with the view that it is far better to use cloth woven in our country out of foreign yarn, and thus to save some money at least going out of the country, than not to use Swadeshi cloth at all. But the more I think, the more I see dangers in this. Our demand for foreign yarn in a quantity sufficient for cloth neeessary for lakhs of men, is likely to send up the price of foreign yarn to such an extent that the rise will be equal to the wages we have to pay for labour here which would mean that we had gone ahead only to fall back. If, therefore, we could find some way out, we would not have to depend on foreign yarn. This brings us to the third way, viz., to get yarn spun here, and to get it woven on handlooms. This is the royal road, and the surest to lead us to the goal. If this is adopted by the people, the goal will be reached with the least possible labour and in the shortest possible time. This would also provide thousands of men and women with an independent calling, and hundreds of thousands of poor women and widows with a means of livelihood, to be pursued in their own homes.

India to Australia by Air.

The Rangoon Cantonment Committee recently discussed arrangements for the landing ground for the proposed aerial flight of the Handly-Page machine from India to Australia in October. The part of the *maidan* which is used as a race course is suggested, and the removal of trees, light stands, race course rails, etc., will be necessary. General Borden's plan was considered with the notes by Major Thon, M. C, late of the Royal Aerial Force, now residing in Rangoon as Manager of Messrs. Douglas and Grant Ltd.

Banana Syrup.

Cut the fruit in thin slices and place them in a jar. Sprinkle with sugar and cover the jar, which is then enveloped in straw and placed in cold water and the latter is then heated to the boiling point. The jar is then removed, allowed to cool and the juice is poured in bottles. A little absolute alcohol may be added if desired.—*Industry.*

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Mr. Devadhar on Danish Agriculture

On the evening of the 9th instant Mr. Devadhar lectured to the students of the Agricultural College at Poona on the above subject under the Presidency of Mr. P. C. Patil, Deputy Director of Agriculture, who had been to Denmark. Mr. Devadhar said that though he had very short time at his disposal he managed to spend about a week in Denmark, which country is regarded as a model for agriculturists. Owing to the keen competition of Russia and the United States, which began to pour tons of grain into European markets, Denmark had to introduce improved methods of agriculture. The state encouraged the formation of small holdings, co-operation was well developed and an alliance between the theoretical scientist and the practical farmer was effected. Thus though its soil is not very rich Denmark is now pro rata to its area and population the greatest grower of farm produce that History has seen. He showed how grain crops were displaced by potatoes and other root crops. After quoting some up to date statistics regarding the progress of the co operative movement in Denmark he described the conveniences and up-to-date scientific appliances and facilities for transport that he noticed even in small villages or rural areas of about 3,000 people. The lecturer then showed how every Danish farmer was a member of some six or seven different co-operative organisations and how practically every one connected with agriculture was served by the movement. He also showed a large number of photos and pictures of agricultural life in that country. The lecture was illustrated with full up-to-date statistics and concluded with an appeal to the students to study the progress of agriculture in Denmark based upon scientific and co-operative methods.

Value of the Indian Cotton-Seed Crop

A paper on the treatment of cotton seed for commercial purposes was read recently before the Royal Society of Arts, London. The following abstract of that part of the paper which dealt with the potential value of the Indian cotton-seed crop is taken from *Indian Engineering*. The total area under cotton in India has been of late nearly 23,000,000 acres, and the total estimated output of cotton from this acreage is 4,500,000 bales of 400 lbs. each, or about 800,000 tons of cotton. From these figures the quantity of seeds produced during the year may be roughly calculated on the basis of 30 per cent. lint and 70 per cent. seeds, which amounts to 1,870,000 tons. The amount of seeds required for agricultural purposes would be, at the rate of 14 lbs. per acre, about 100,000 tons, leaving about 1,750,000 tons for feeding cattle and for crushing. The author of the paper remarked that he had gone carefully into the matter, and, assuming that only 1,500,000 tons of seed per annum were potentially available in India for crushing, and that the residual fibres on such quantity were properly turned to account, the average Indian cotton-seed crop should have a market value, under pre-War trading conditions, of certainly not less than 18 to 19 crores of rupees. After deduction of the costs and expenses of treatment (about two crores), this worked out to a return of about 106 rupees per ton of seed. The average price of cotton seed up country in pre-war times did not exceed 45 rupees per ton. Hence, the net loss in revenue owing to the absence of a fully developed crushing industry might be put at £4 per ton of seed, or £6,000,000 per annum as a minimum figure. Doubtless, were 1,500,000 tons of cotton seed milled scientifically in India, and the products dealt with in the light of modern knowledge and experience, the actual net loss in revenue would prove to be much higher than £6,000,000 per annum.

Agriculture in Bengal

The Bengalee writes:—The formation of small associations of agriculturists is suggested to test and adjudicate on proposed improvements to discuss their success and failures and to bring their needs to the notice of the department. How much we wish that primary education had been free and compulsory and education had made some progress among the agriculturists to enable them to derive the greatest benefit from such organisations. These are expected to be useful in bringing to fruition in the interior the successes obtained by experiment and the Government will be furnished with a first-hand agency for ascertaining the needs and the wishes of the agricultural population. We should like to see these organisations as efflorescences of private effort with as little of official influence as possible. But to make the Agricultural Department a useful body in the truest sense of the expression, it should be manned largely, if not exclusively, by Indian Agricultural graduates hailing from the West find themselves quite at sea in coming face to face with the peculiar agricultural conditions of the country.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS

[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

Men I have seen. By Pundit Sivanath Sastri. Published by R. Chatterjee, *Modern Review* Office, Calcutta.

These interesting reminiscences originally appeared in the pages of the *Modern Review*. Pundit Sivanath Sastri had the privilege of intimate association with some of the most remarkable personalities of recent times in Bengal. He can therefore write with the ease and familiarity born of intimate knowledge of his subject; and his style is engagingly racy and vivacious. Besides he is happy in his themes—for who would not be anxious to know more and yet more of such men as Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Devendranath Tagore, Ramkrishna Paramahamsa and Ananda Mohan Bose?

Internationalism. By Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts. The International Reform Bureau, 206 Pennsylvania Ave. S. E, Washington, D. C.

In a concise outline this book brings together the scattered facts about the increasing co-operation of nations. Chapter one recalls the Crusades and other instances where three or more nations have co-operated in war. The second chapter records *the great treaties* made by three or more great powers at the end of wars to keep the peace of the world and "the balance of power." The fourth shows international co-operation in commerce; fifth, in philanthropy, such as the Geneva Red Cross Convention. Chapter six records the progressing crusades against the white man's rum and opium as a hindrance to progress. There are other chapters on the international white slave traffic, international action needed on gambling and Sunday and immigration.

A History of the Sikhs. By J. D. Cunningham, Edited by H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., (Oxford University Press).

This well-known historical sketch of the Sikhs has been revised and edited in a manner at once clear and intelligible to the lay reader. The Editor has added fresh notes to elucidate difficulties in the text and has included no less than [illegible] appendices which are of great historical value. Two maps have been added and every effort has been taken to make the book attractive. We have much pleasure in commending it to the public.

Indian Labourers in France. By Capt. P. Kashi Nath, Oxford University Press, Bombay.

This is the latest of the war pamphlets issued by the Oxford University Press. Sir Stanley Reed writes an appreciative introduction in which he points out that Captain Kashi Nath "writes with a knowledge and experience which invest his narrative with authority."

The New Elizabethans. By E. B. Osborn, John Lane, London.

Under this happy title Mr. Osborn has supplied a judicious selection of the lives of young men who have fallen in the war. The book is a fitting tribute to the memory of the young heroes who have died chivalrously in the full flush of their promise. As such it must be dear to the relatives and comrades who live to mourn their loss. The lives are primarily of those with a gift for utterance and the criticisms are appropriately generous.

The Training of Teachers. (Bureau of Education, India. No. 8).

With a view to facilitate the training of teachers by suggesting better and easier methods, this volume has been issued recording the description of systems obtaining in Madras and United Provinces by H. S. Duncan M.A. and A. H. Mackenzie M.A., B.SC., respectively.

Quarter Century of Moral Legislation. By Wilbur F. Crafts, PH. D. The International Reform Bureau. Washington.

This volume gives some of the chief debates in the American Congress since 1888 and indicates where others may be found. The object of this publication is to promote various temperance measures and to advance generally right moral laws. The activities of the International Reform Bureau must be of great interest to all, especially to those interested in social reform.

BOOKS RECEIVED

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF HURRISH CHUNDER MOOKERJI. Edited by Nares Chandra Sen Gupta, M.A., B.L., The Cherry Press, Calcutta.

THE MECHANISM OF THE SENTENCE. By The Rev. A. Darby, Oxford University Press, Bombay.

EASY TEST PAPERS IN ARITHMETIC AND ALGEBRA. By W. S. Beard, Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.

REAL FACTS CONCERNING THE REFORM MOVEMENT IN MAURITIUS. By A. F. Fokeer, Standard Printing Establishment, Mauritius.

ORGANIC CHEMISTRY FOR INTERMEDIATE CLASSES. By Madho Prasad, M.Sc., Victoria College, Gwalior.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

June 24. Public meeting in Bombay presided over by Mr. Gandhi protests against the Rowlatt Legislation and prays for the withdrawal of the deportation order on Mr. Horniman.

A memorial is sent to the Viceroy signed among others, by Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and Sir D. E. Wacha praying for Mr. Kalinath Roy's release from jail.

June 25. The Deccan Sabha earnestly appeals to the Viceroy to stay execution of all capital sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission in the Punjab.

June 26 The All India Congress Committee send a cable to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State and Lord Sinha requesting suspension of the execution of all sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission pending enquiry.

The Home Department, Government of India, say that they are unable to postpone execution of sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission.

June 27. Mrs. Besant addresses the Labour Conference at Southport on the subject of Home Rule for India.

June 28 The Peace Treaty was signed to-day.

June 29. H. M. the King Emperor's message to the Empire on the signing of the Peace Treaty is published in Simla.

President Wilson sails for New York.

June 30. The Young Men's Buddhist Association, Burma, decides to send a deputation to England in connection with the Reform Scheme.

July 1. H. E. Sir George Lloyd pays a visit to Ahmednagar in order personally to inspect the Famine Relief Works in the district.

July 2. The Press Association of India cables to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State and Lord Sinha urging repeal of the Press Act.

Official celebration in Madras of the signing of the Peace Treaty.

July 3. Mr. Gandhi writes to the press protesting against the proposed restrictions on the Indians residing in South Africa.

Mr. Lloyd George speaks in the House of Commons on the Peace Treaty.

July 4. The Editor of the 'Punjabee' is placed under censorship under the Defence of India Rules.

July 5. Lord Willingdon holds an informal Conference at the Banqueting Hall to discuss the future of the Madras Publicity Board.

July 6. The Governor-General-in-Council has reduced the sentence of imprisonment on Kalinath Roy from two years to three months.

July 7. The Amir's letter discussing armistice terms is received in Simla.

July 8. Sir Sankaran Nair leaves Simla for Madras where it is announced that he will hand over charge of his office of Education Member.

July 9. The Martial Law Commission delivers judgment in the Amritsar Conspiracy Case convicting several persons.

July 10. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar appeals to Mr. Gandhi through the Press, not to resume Civil Disobedience.

July 11. H. M. the King Emperor approves the appointment of the Hon. Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay as member of the Bihar and Orissa Executive Council.

July 12. The Madras Liberal League cables to the Premier and Secretary of State offering congratulations on the conclusion of Peace and praying for amnesty to political prisoners.

July 13. Sir Sankaran Nair arrives in Madras.

July 14. Sirdar M. Kantaraj Urs. B.A., C.S.I. assumes charge of office of Dewan of Mysore.

July 15. H. E. the Viceroy accompanied by H. E. the Governor of Bombay visits the old Peshwa's Palace in Poona.

July 16. The Joint Committee of the House of Commons holds its first sitting.

The Special Tribune sentences Lala Govardhan Das to three years rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000.

July 17. H. M. the King Emperor approves of the appointment of the Hon. Mr. Shafi in succession to Sir Sankaran Nair.

Death of Dr. T. M. Nair in England.

July 18 The Maharaja of Bikaner is entertained at a public reception in Bombay.

July 19. Peace celebrations in Madras.

H. E. the Governor unveils the King-Emperor's statue.

July 20. Death of Mr. T. Ananda Rao, Ex-Dewan of Mysore.

Meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Calcutta.

July 21. Mr. Gandhi has issued a communication to the press announcing postponement of civil disobedience in deference to the warning conveyed by H. E. the Viceroy and several friends.

July 22. H. E. the Commander-in-Chief accompanied by three Generals have left Simla, for the North-West Frontier.

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Literary

What the Indian Reads.

Professor Oliver Elton in a paper read under the auspices of the English Association said that in India everything educational was really political, more especially instruction in the English language and literature, for English was the language imposed by the conquerors, and needed by the conquered for intercourse and affairs. The goal to be gained by the Indian speaking broadly, was not culture of letters, but a salaried position, however small, under the State. For this the graduate had a better chance. "B.A." gave him dignity in his own eyes, and in that of his world; even "failed" B.A. might give him a wife with a better dowry, for he had been near the rose. (Laughter.) There were 28,000 students reading in the Calcutta University alone. The Indian had been forcibly fed with our literature ever since Macaulay's Minute enacted that English letters, history, and lore should be the diet of the literate class in schools and colleges. Consequently the Indian in general accepted it as the order of things; he did not always dislike it; but did the training sink in the soil? "Romeo and Juliet," the "Vita Nuova," or "Jane Eyre" were equally impossible subjects for the Indian college. The Indian liked Dickens, found something in Scott, and always cared for Shakespeare best of all. The educated Indian generally had a brain which was quite different from ours, but to under-rate it was a common political mistake. The Indian, among other things, had a swiftness of temperament which instantly made him aware of how he was being treated. (Cheers.)

M. Rolland's Letter to Sir Tagore.

The following letter (published in the *Modern Review*) has been sent by the great French author, Romain Rolland to Sir Rabindranath Tagore:

"Certain free spirits, who feel the need of standing out against the almost universal oppression and servitude of the intellect, have conceived the project of this declaration of Independence of the Spirit,—a copy of which I enclose.

Would you give us the hononr of uniting your own name with ours? It appears to me that our [illegible] are not out of harmony with yours. We have already received the consent of Henri Barbusse, of Paul Signac, the painter, of Dr. Frederick Van Eeden, of Prof. Georg Fri Nicolai, of Henry Vander Veldo, of Stefau Zweig and we expect the consent of Bertrand Russell, Selma Lager, of Upton Sintclai, Benedetto Croce, and others. We think of collecting at first three or four signatories for each country,—if possible, one writer, one savant, one artist—and then publish the Declaration making appeal chiefly to the intellectual elite of all nations. If you can recruit for us some names in India, Japan and China, I should be very much obliged. I could wish that henceforth the intellect of Asia might take a more and more definite part in the manifestation of the thought of Europe. My dream will be that one day we may see the union of these two hemispheres of the Spirit, and I admire you for having contributed towards this more than anyone else. Allow me to tell you in conclusion, how dear to us are your wisdom and your art, and accept, I pray, the expression of my profound sympathy."

To this M. Romain Rolland added the following postscript. "I have allowed myself to lay stress on certain passages of your lecture of 1912 at Tokyo, in one of my articles published during the War. I am sending it to you under a separate cover with the request that you will pardon the imperfection of the French translation. I enclose with it a little pamphlet, dedicated to one of our old philosophers of Europe, who has exercised a great attraction over my thought and whom perhaps you will love also—Empedocles of Agrigentum."

SIR RABINDRANATH'S REPLY.

The following letter was sent in reply by Sir Rabindranath to M. Romain Rolland:—

"When my mind was steeped in the gloom of the thought that the lesson of the late war had been lost, and that people were trying to perpetuate their hatred and anger into the same organised menace for the world which threatened themselves with disaster, your letter came and cheered me with its message of hope. The truths that save us, have always been uttered by the few and rejected by the many and have triumphed through their failures. It is enough for me to know, that the higher conscience of Europe has been able to assert itself in one of her choicest spirits through the ugly clamours of passionate politics; and I gladly hasten to accept your invitation to join the ranks of those free souls who, in Europe, have conceived the project of a Declaration of Independence of the Spirit."

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Educational

New Deccan College.

The opening ceremony of the Willingdon College at Sangli was performed by Sir C. H. Setalvad, the Vice Chancellor of the Bombay University. There was a large and representative gathering of ladies and gentlemen, including, among them, the Chiefs of Sangli, Miraj (Senior and Junior), Jamkhandi, Ramdurg and others. The life members of the Deccan Education Society, including Principal Paranjpye and other professors of the Fergusson College and Dr. Mann, were also present.

The proceedings were opened by the Chief of Sangli welcoming the Vice-Chancellor and expressing the warm appreciation of the Chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country of the benefits to be derived from the College.

Principal Paranjpye invited the Vice-Chancellor to declare the College open. The College has received the warm support of all in the Southern Maratha Country; the Chief of Sangli has made available capacious buildings for housing the College till the permanent buildings come into existence. The Chief of Miraj has presented a good laboratory and library of 5,000 volumes and the Chief of Ichalkaranji has endowed large sums for scholarships. Further endowments were announced at Sunday's gathering. The College has created great enthusiasm and there are already more students seeking admission than can be accommodated.

After unveiling the photographs of Lord and Lady Willingdon and declaring the College open, Sir C. H. Setalvad addressed the gathering. He paid a warm tribute to Lord and Lady Willingdon and to the great educational work of the Deccan Education Society. That society, he said, with its noble and talented band of life-members has set an unique example of self-sacrifice and patriotism and they will bring to bear in the conduct of this institution their vast experience of over thirty years.

Proposed Relief to Parents.

The Board of Education have proposed to the Royal Commission on Income Tax that Income Tax relief should be granted to parents with children at a University. The scale proposes an abatement of £ 225 a year for a son or daughter between 21 and 25 years of age.

Appeal for Educational Scholarships.

The Maratha Aikyechha Sabha, which, for over thirty years, has been trying to ameliorate the condition of the Marathi-speaking Hindu backward classes, has petitioned to the Bombay Government for the grant of special scholarships to members of these classes following the precedent of the grant of the special scholarships to Muhammadans with a view to stimulate professional studies. It is pointed out that the number of Medical, Engineering, Forest and Agricultural graduates among the backward classes is extremely small and that it is in fact insignificant in proportion to the population. The Government has granted two scholarships of Rs. 10 each per month to students drawn from the backward classes attending the Medical and Engineering Colleges but it is urged that the value and number of the scholarships should be increased to Rs. 25 and 27, respectively. Lastly the Sabha points out that the bestowal of these scholarships would have beneficial effect in stimulating the educational progress of the community.

Mrs. Sinha's Gifts.

Mrs. Radhika Sinha, the wife of Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha has made a gift of about a lakh of rupees each to the Lahore, Allahabad and Patna Universities. The money will be appropriated to the foundation of a chair in the first two Universities and to the construction of a public library and reading room, at Bankipore wherein Mr. Sinha's splendid collection of books is to be housed and which is also to serve the purpose of a public hall for the holding of political and social meetings.

Sir H. Harrison and Modern Languages

Sir Heath Harrison, of Brasenose College Alderman of Hampshire and formerly a ship-owner of Liverpool, has offered the University of Oxford the sum of £25,000. The proceeds of the trust fund are to be expended as to not more than one-fourth of the annual income in providing instruction within the University in French and other modern European languages, and as to the rest of the income in the institution of travelling scholarships. It is provided that such travelling scholarships shall be held exclusively by natural born British subjects, and being undergraduate members of the University of Oxford, while studying French or other modern European languages in foreign countries.

In Convocation a decree will be proposed gratefully accepting the gift, decreeing the establishment of the fund, and making regulations relating thereto.

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Legal

The Kaiser's Trial

It is announced that von Bethmann-Hollweg, after refraining at Government's express wish from the same step on May 20th, addressed on June 25th a communication to M. Clemenceau requesting the Allies to allow him to stand trial instead of the ex-Kaiser and placing himself at their disposal. Von Bethmann Hollweg says:— He bears for his period of office sole responsibility under the German constitution for the Kaiser's political acts and therefore claims that the reckoning, which the Allies desire to demand for the alleged acts against international morality and the sanctity of treaties, shall be solely demanded from him. He hopes that the Allies, in respect of the legal position fixed by public constitutional law, will yield to this urgent request.

A message from Paris subsequently stated: The Allies will not ask Holland to extradite the ex-Kaiser but will merely ask her in the name of the League of Nations to inform the ex-Kaiser that he must appear before an International Court or leave the country. It is expected that Holland as a member of the League of Nations will not refuse.

A high French authority on International Law in the course of an interview said: The proceedings against the ex-Kaiser would be carried out on moral grounds, therefore the sentence of the Court would be of an exclusively moral character. There could be no question of a sentence of death or imprisonment. Probably only the crimes of the ex Kaiser against international morality in starting the War and violating Belgian neutrality would be severely condemned. The Hohenzollerns would be declared for ever deposed and it would be made impossible for the ex-Kaiser to do further harm by allotting him a residence which he would be forbidden to leave.

Since the above was in the press, we learn that the five sons of the Kaiser and von Hindenburg have also offered themselves to be tried in place of the Kaiser.

Punitive Police in Amritsar

We hear, says the *Civil and Military Gazette*, that 200 punitive police have, to use the official nomenclature, been sanctioned and entertained in connection with Amritsar for the protection of the civil station for a period of three years.

Women as Magistrates

The Bill enabling women to be appointed magistrates passed its third reading in the House of Lords on 25th June with a clause added, confining its operation to women of 30 and over. The Bill now goes to the House of Commons.

The Amritsar Executions

Mr. Montagu has ordered the postponement of the execution of Bugga Ratanchand in connection with the Amritsar riots pending an immediate appeal to the Privy Council.

Lawyers and Satyagraha

Notices have been issued by the Bombay High Court under section 10 of the Letters Patent, against Messrs. Vallabbhai J. Patel, Barrister-at-Law, Jiwanlal Desai, Barrister-at Law, and Krishnalal H. Desai, High Court Pleader, to show cause why they should not be suspended from practice, or otherwise dealt with, under the Disciplinary Jurisdiction of the High Court on the ground of their being signatories to the *Satyagraha* pledge against the Rowlatt Act. Similar notices under the Bombay Regulations Act 12 of 1827 have been issued against Messrs. Kalidas J. Jhaveri, Manilal V. Kothari and R. B. Dabolkar, District Court Pleaders and signatories to the *Satyagraha* Pledge.

Madras Lawyers in the 18th Century

In the eighteenth century, the European lawyers of Madras came from almost every profession except the legal, says Mr. Dodwell in an interesting article which appears in the current number of the *Calcutta Review*, entitled, "Madras Nabobs." He writes that at the beginning of that century, the Madras lawyers were described as "broken linen-drapers and other cracked tradesmen." In the middle of that century, one Attorney was a man of all-work who had served Clive in his commissariat business. Three more were young servants of the Company who were destitute of any legal training or experience. Another was a decayed mariner and yet another a discharged soldier who had also been butcher to the garrison. Private trading was universal, even ministers of the Gospel were not averse to it. In 1727 a reverend gentleman was dismissed as "he had exchanged his study for a counting house and had turned super cargo." Even ladies were fond of trading. At Pondicherry, the wife of the Secretary to Government was selling chintz and carpets in 1745.

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Medical

Mortality in Bombay.

The *Times of India* commenting on a recent debate in the Corporation on the high mortality in Bombay city, shows that though the death rate nominally stands at 88·29 this figure is calculated on the census of the population taken in 1911 and it is trustworthily estimated that the population now in the city is double of what it was then. Still the unusually high figures cannot wholly be attributed to the method of calculation, for the mortality is now nearly twice as high as it was at this time last year. The returns for plague, small-pox and cholera are unimportant and plague at any rate is much lower than last year. Dr. Viegas pointed out in the Corporation that a feature of the situation is the prevalence of pneumonia. The *Times of India* says:—In so far as this is a complication following influenza it may be caused by dust-borne germs, for dust is now very bad indeed in the city and to that extent must disappear when rains break, but pneumonia is also a complication of relapsing or famine fever and this is very prevalent. Germs are conveyed by vermin and so its spread is greatly encouraged by the terrible overcrowding of the city which is worse than ever.—

Anti-Influenza Measures.

The following press communique has been issued by the Education Department:—The method and value of nasal douching as a preventative of influenza:—

The Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India recommends the douching of the nasal cavities and throat as preventative of influenza. The following description of the method of douching is published for general information:—(a) dissolve one teaspoonful salt in a pint of warm water, (b) gargle the throat with some of the solution; (c) place the remainder of the solution in a basin; (d) immerse the nostrils in the solution; (e) sniff slowly some of the solution up the nostrils until it is felt at the back of the throat; (f) raise the head from the basin and allow the solution to flow from the nostrils into a bucket; (g) repeat this process two or three times. The whole ritual should be carried out four or five times daily. The above procedure has been reported to have given very good results during the last epidemic in South Africa. For instance, out of 91 persons, mostly nurses, who were especially exposed to infection only three developed slight attacks.

Treatment of Rheumatism.

A new treatment described for joint affections, such as rheumatism, is being used very successfully at a foreign military hospital where it has been introduced. "Double nitro-peroxide" is employed, which actually "extracts" the inflammation. It is used mixed with a starchy substance which holds its action until it is placed on the skin over the deceased parts, from which, we are assured, it extracts the impurities, the germs and their poisons. The material is sprinkled on lint or gauze and placed on the skin. When the doctor removes the dressings, from six to twelve hours later, there will be seen blisters. If there is no infection the treatment will not affect the skin.

Cures for Influenza.

Doctors never differed more than they do to-day writes the *Popular Science Siftings*. They are not even in accord about the simple domestic remedies for preventing influenza. For instance, Dr. Robert A. Lyster recommends "a solution of permanganate of potash . . . for gargling and 'snuffing' up the nose." Sir Malcolm Morris says, "the solution of common salt and permanganate of potash for washing the nostrils and throat is a most horrible mixture." It is recommended by the Local Government Board. Sir St. Clair Thompson says, "No healthy nose should be douched . . . he is entirely opposed to the use of permanganate of potash." Others could be quoted to as varying an effect. Well may it be asked, what do the doctors know that they are agreed on?

Vitality of the Indian People.

The annual report of King George V Anti-Tuberculosis League, Bombay, for 1918, records: "The vital resistance has been reduced during the last 50 years by various social, economic and industrial upheavals which have tended to change the life and habits of the Indian people. The great expansion of towns, the growth of modern industries and the continual migration from villages to towns have revolutionised our methods of living to a very great extent. We have frequently given instances of cases coming under our observation of patients from Bombay going to upcountry and spreading infection there, and *vice versa*, people coming to Bombay from villages for work and contracting this disease in a few months. The outcome of this main cause has been to give rise to (a) overcrowding and insanitation, (b) poverty and want (c) high rents and dear food (d) intemperance, all of which tend to cause a vicious circle leading ultimately to the lowering of vital resistance."

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Science

Indian Science Congress.

The seventh annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress will be held at Nagpur from January 13th to 18th, 1920. Sir Benjamin Robertson, Chief Commissioner, has consented to be the patron of the meeting, whilst Sir P. C. Ray will be the president. The following sectional presidents have been appointed :—Agriculture D. Glouster Esq ; Physics and Mathematics : Dr. N. F. Moss Esq ; Chemistry : B. K. Singh Esq ; Botany : P. F. Fyson Esq ; Geology : P. Sampat Iyengar Esq ; Medical Research : Lt.-Col. J. W. Cormwall, I.M.S. The Honorary local Secretaries are M. Osen Esq and V. Bose Esq. Further particulars can be obtained on application to the Honorary General Secretary, Dr. J. L. Simmonsen, Forest Research Institute and College, Dehra Dun.

New Method of Detecting Flaws.

An X-rays photograph of the interior of the carburetter of an aeroplane engine, showing a block in the petrol feed was one of many interesting exhibits at the Royal Society, when a joint meeting of the Rontgen and Faraday Societies discussed radiometallography.

It is now possible to take photographs through two inches of hard steel, and to detect flaws in castings of turbine propeller shafts, aeroplane engines, and new alloys. A difference in thickness of a 200th part of an inch is revealed in a steel casting two or three inches in thickness by X-rays photography.

Professor Bragg, F.R.S., showed X-rays photographs of various mechanisms in which flaws were detected without taking the intricate parts to pieces. So perfect is the picture made by the rays that the most delicate structure of a fresh cherry blossom was shown.

Telephoning To Canada.

It is announced by the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company that they have succeeded in establishing wireless telephone communication between Ireland and Canada.

Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, at a conference lunch of the American Chamber of Commerce in London, referred to the matter, and prophesied that business men in New York would soon be able to converse clearly and easily with their equals in London by wireless telephone of any kind.

Indian Scientific Departments.

A comprehensive programme of the work of the various scientific departments for 1919-20 has been issued. The important work of the Geological Survey will be continued in Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Burma. Economic enquiries in wolfram and tin in Tennasserim, in sulphur and chromite in Baluchistan and Seistan and in mica in Bihar and Orissa will be conducted.

The scientific research work of the Survey of India will consist of a gravimetre survey, atmospheric refraction, meteorology, a magnetic survey and solar photography. Seventy-five permanently marked repeat stations in India, Burma and Ceylon will be visited and observation will be taken at each to determine the annual charges in the magnetic elements for the period of 1915–20.

Beside this, work will be done in various other directions such as forest, botany, chemistry and zoology and agriculture.

Academy of Scientific Navigation.

A representation having been received by Government from some Indian seamen on the question of establishing a fully equipped institution or academy for training Indians in the art of scientific navigation, as no facilities at present exist for their obtaining competency certificates for higher posts in the mercantile marine, and as difficulty has been experienced of late in the manning of new vessels from 200 to 600 tons, which are being constructed in India, the Government of Bombay propose to establish a State-aided institution on the lines of training institutions in European countries. Government have accordingly appointed a committee of the following officers and gentlemen to consider the proposal and submit their conclusions :—Port officer and Shipping Master, Bombay. Mr. F. C. Annesley of the Bombay Steam Navigation Company, Mr. F. L. Barnell, Marine Superintendent, Moghul Line, Capt. H. J. Rouse of the B.I.S.N. The committee will decide where the nautical institute can be most suitably situated, its equipment and staff and its establishment and maintenance cost.

Telephoning by Light

A searchlight telephone, in which conversation is transmitted by a beam of light, was exhibited at a Royal Society *cvnversazione* at Burlington House recently. Clear and distinct messages were received in the principal library some distance from the transmitter, and the inventor, Dr. A. O. Rankin, stated that the apparatus had been tested over a distance of 1½ miles with success.

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Personal

The Late Dr. Nair.

The death of Dr. T. M. Nair in London on July 17 removes from public life a vigorous and interesting personality. Though a successful medical specialist, Dr. Nair has for long been associated with the public life of this Presidency. His interest in politics began in the early nineteen when he was yet a student at Edinburgh where he graduated M. B. & Ch. B. in 1894 and took his doctorate in 1896. He was Secretary and later President of the Edinburgh Indian Association, one of the editors of the University Magazine, and a member of the University Students' Association. Having apprenticed at Brighton he specialised in ear and throat for a time in Paris. And in 1897 he returned to Madras and set up a successful practice.

But he did not confine himself to medicine. He soon found his *Metier* in Municipal politics. His earnestness, his thorough mastery of details, his independence, and his eloquence soon won for him a commanding position in the Corporation of Madras. In fact, the way in which he led the opposition during the recent debate on the City Municipal Bill in the Madras Legislative Council is still fresh in the minds of all. And even those who could not see eye to eye with him in his recent political adventures found in him the sturdy champion of the people's rights.

It is unfortunate that all the energy, eloquence and courage of this indefatigable fighter should have been in recent years, misspent.

Hon. Krishna Sahay

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay (who has been appointed member of the Executive Council, Bihar) was born in October 1868 and graduated from the Presidency College in 1890. He was enrolled as a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court in July 1892 when he commenced his practice in the district courts at Patna where he soon rose to eminence. On the creation of the Patna High Court he joined the highest tribunal of the Province and was elected President of the Vakils' Association about two years ago. He was appointed Law Lecturer of the Patna College in 1894 and held that post till 1909. In 1909 he was first elected a member of the Bengal Legislative Council by the Bihar Landholders' Association. After Bihar and Orissa were converted into a separate province the Rai Bahadur was returned to the Provincial Legislative Council in 1913 to the Imperial Legislative Council in 1916. On the creation of the Patna University he was nominated a Fellow and a member of the Syndicate by Government.

The Rai Bahadur, says the *Express*, has always been a staunch Congressman with sober and moderate views. He was one of the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council who signed the famous memorandum on the Reforms. At the last session of the Council he took a lively part in the debate on the Rowlatt Bills and strongly opposed the passing of the measure. The Rai Bahadur cast in his lot with the moderate party of the Congress in 1918 and was nominated a member of its deputation to England in the beginning of the current year. He visited England in 1914 and has always been a keen social and political reformer.

Mr. Asquith.

The *New Statesman*, commenting on Mr. Asquith's speech analysing Lord French's First Book of Revelations, observes :—

The chief value of Mr. Asquith's speech, the public service which it rendered, was that it came as a sudden and vivid reminder of days not, after all, so long past, when personal loyalty and public decency had still a very important place in English political life. It is not a question of political opinions. In that matter it is quite possible in the future that for our own part we shall more often find ourselves supporting Mr. Lloyd-George than Mr. Asquith. But even Mr. Asquith's strongest political opponents cannot, and, in fact, do not, fail to recognise that quite apart from his extraordinary intellectual gifts, he is pre-eminently a man who honours the best traditions of British politics, and so exemplifies them in his own person that his disappearance from the political arena would leave a sense of more irreparable loss than even that of a Gladstone or a Disraeli.

The Late Mr. Ananda Row.

We regret to record the death on July 20 of Mr. T. Ananda Rao, C.I.E., late Dewan of Mysore at the advanced age sixty-seven. The late Mr. Ananda Rao, was the son of the great Indian statesman Sir T. Madhava Rao. Mr. Ananda Rao joined the Mysore service early in life and retired at the end of 1912 after two years of Dewanship. It was during his administration that the Mysore Economic Conference, which has very recently been made permanent, was established.

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Political

India Office Reform

The following is the official summary of the proposals made in the report of the Committee on the Home Administration of Indian affairs.

(1) Save in the case of absolute necessity, legislation should not be certified for enactment by the Council of State without the previous approval of its substance by the Secretary of State, on the ground that its enactment is essential in the interests of peace, order, and the good government of India.

(2) Where the Government of India are in agreement with a majority of non-official members of the Legislative Assembly either in regard to legislation, or in regard to resolutions on the budget, or on matters of general administration, assent to their joint decision should only be withheld in cases in which the Secretary of State feels that his responsibility to Parliament for peace, order, and good government of India, or paramount considerations of imperial policy, require him to secure reconsideration of the matter at issue by the Legislative Assembly.

(3) As a basis of delegations, the principle of previous consultation between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, would be substituted in all cases in which previous sanction of the Secretary of State in Council has hitherto been required.

(4) In the relations between the Secretary of State and the Local Governments the principle should, as far as possible, be applied that, where the Government are in agreement with a conclusion of the Legislature, their joint decision should ordinarily be allowed to prevail.

(5) Assent to or disallowance of Indian legislation by the Crown should be signified by His Majesty in Council.

(6) The powers and authority now vested in the Secretary of State for India in Council should be transferred to the Secretary of State.

(7) The Secretary of State should be assisted by an Advisory Committee, to which he shall refer such matters as he may determine and he may provide by regulations for the conduct of the business of the committee.

(8) The Advisory Committee should consist of not more than 12 and not less than six members, appointed by the Secretary of State.

(9) Not less than one-third of the members of the committee should be persons domiciled in India selected by the Secretary of State from a panel of names submitted by non-official members of Indian Legislature.

(10) The tenure of office of a member of the committee should be five years.

(11) The members of either House of Parliament should be ineligible for appointment to the committee.

(12) The salary of the members of the committee should be £1,200 a year.

(13) The Indian members of the committee should receive a subsistence allowance of £600 a year in addition to salary, in respect of their domicile.

(14) Statutory provision should be made for recommendations (6) to (13) inclusive.

(15) The Secretary of State should regulate, by executive orders the conduct of correspondence between the India Office and the Governments in India.

(16) Action should be taken with a view to the transfer of the agency work of the India Office to a High Commissioner for India, or some similar Indian Governmental representative in London.

(17) No formal system of interchange of appointments between a member of the India Office and India services can be recommended, but deputation between the two countries should be encouraged.

(18) Occasion should be taken now and then to appoint an Indian to one of the posts intermediary between the Secretary of State and heads of departments.

(19) The charges on account of political and administrative work of the office should be placed on the estimates, those on account of agency work of the office being defraved from Indian revenues, the appointment to be determined by agreement between the India Office and the Treasury.

(20) The Committee are not in favour of the proposal to establish a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs and Sir James Brunyate, Prof. Keith and Mr. Basu have stated their views in a separate memorandum.

The Joint Committee

In the House of Lords the following were appointed on the motion of Lord Sinha to serve on the Joint Committee of the Government of India Bill: Lords Crewe, Selborne, Middleton, the Duke of Northumberland, Lords Islington, Sinha and Sydenham. Among the members of the Commons appointed to serve on the Committee are Mr. Montagu, Sir Henry Craik, Mr. T. J. Bennett, Sir Donald Maclean, Mr. Ben Spoor and Commander Ormsby Gore.

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General

Mr. Gandhi on Civil Disobedience

In the course of a letter to the press dated the 21st July, Mr. Gandhi writes :—The Government of India have given me, through His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, a grave warning that the resumption of civil disobedience is likely to be attended with serious consequences to public security. This warning has been enforced by His Excellency the Governor himself at the interviews to which I was summoned. In response to these warnings and to the urgent desire publicly expressed by Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and several editors, I have, after deep consideration, decided not to resume civil resistance for the time being. I may add that several prominent friends belonging to what is called the extremist party have given me the same advice on the sole ground of their fear of a recrudescence of violence on the part of those who might not have understood the doctrine of civil resistance.

The Calcutta Postmen.

The *Catholic Herald* takes up the Calcutta postmen's case and comparing it with that of the railway employees who threatened a strike writes as follows:—"Some time ago, the Covenanted Officers of a big Railway Company respectfully represented to the authorities that they and their families were starving on Rs. 350 a month, and that unless they were given Rs. 500 they would go on strike, hold up all railway traffic, starve town and country, cut off troops and supplies necessary to carry on the Afghan War and suppress the revolt in the Punjab. A big gentleman went to Simla, and there other big gentlemen sat in conclave, with the result that the Covenanted Officers got the Rs. 500 they claimed, and were warmly congratulated on their patriotic restraint and law-abiding behaviour.

"A week later, the Calcutta postal peons respectfully represented to the authorities that they and their families were starving on Rs. 15 a month, and that unless they were given Rs. 20, they would go on strike. No big gentlemen took any notice of it, and on strike they did go, with the result that one man got 20 days' rigorous imprisonment for being the Treasurer of the Strike Funds, five others were condemned to three weeks' rigorous imprisonment for being the leaders, eight others were fined, others were sacked, and the rest pardoned and kept on the old rates.

2nd Clown: But is this law?

1st Clown: Ay, marry, is't crowner's quest law.

2nd Clown: Will you ha'the truth on't? If these had been white gentlemen .... &c.

1st Clown: Why, there thou say'st: and the more pity that great folk should have countenance in this world to hang the public more than their even Christian. Come, my spade."

Child Welfare in India.

A Press Communique states: The unhappy condition of Indian women in child-birth and the high rate of infant mortality in India are so well known that the public will undoubtedly welcome the announcement that an exhibition in maternity and child welfare will be held in Delhi next February under the patronage of Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford.

The problem before the organisers is how to adapt exhibitions of a similar kind which had been held in other countries to the special needs of India and it is hoped that the educated public not in Delhi alone but in other parts of India also will co-operate as far as possible. There must be many people both Indian and European, who have thought on this subject and advice exhibits or gifts of money will be gratefully received by the organisers. Further information can be received by application to the Honorary Secretary, Infant Welfare Exhibition, Dufferin Fund Office, Simla.

The King-Emperor's Message

The following Royal Proclamation by the King-Emperor, dated 1st July, 1919, is published:—

Whereas a definite Treaty of Peace between us and the Associated Governments and German Government was concluded at Versailles on the 28th June last, in conformity thereunto I have thought fit hereby to command that the same be published in due course throughout all Our dominions and we do declare to all Our loving subjects Our will and pleasure that upon the exchange of ratifications thereof, the said Treaty of Peace be observed inviolably as well by sea as by land in all places whatsoever, strictly charging and commanding all Our loving subjects to take notice hereof and to conform themselves thereunto accordingly.

Given at Our Court at Buckingham Palace this first day of July in the year of Our Lord 1919 and in the 10th year of Our reign.

God save the King-Emperor.

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